ASIA

IN THE MAKING OF EUROPE

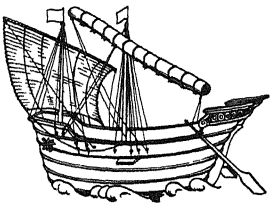
DONALD F. LACH

VOLUME

I

The Century of Discovery

BOOK TWO



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

CHICAGO AND LONDON

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 64–19848

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, CHICAGO & LONDON
The University of Toronto Press, Toronto 5, Canada

© *1965 by*
The University of Chicago
All rights reserved. Published 1965

Printed in the
United States of America

Endpaper. The World Map from Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp, 1575). Courtesy of the University of Chicago Libraries.

Contents

BOOK ONE

PART I

Heritage

Introduction 3

Chapter I: ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES 5

1. India in the Greek Tradition (600–100 B.C.) 5
2. The Expanding Horizons of the Graeco-Roman World (26 B.C.–A.D. 300) 12
3. The Medieval View of Asia (300–1300) 20
4. The Revelation of Cathay (1240–1350) 30

Chapter II: THE RENAISSANCE BEFORE THE GREAT DISCOVERIES 49

1. Trade, Exploration, and Diplomacy 50
2. Travel Accounts of India 59
3. Cartography and Geography 65
4. Fine Arts 71
5. Literature 74
6. Technology and Invention 81
7. Summary 84

PART II

New Channels of Information

Introduction 89

Chapter III: The Spice Trade 91

1. The First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 92
2. The Beginnings of Trade between Portugal and India, 1499–1503 98
3. The Reorientation of Commerce in Europe, 1500–1515 103
4. The Conflict over the Moluccas 114
5. The Conduct of Trade at Lisbon and Antwerp, 1509–48 119
6. The Revival of Eastern Mediterranean Trade, 1548–70 127
7. The New Era of Contract Trade, 1570–98 131

Appendix. Pepper Prices in the Sixteenth Century 143

Chapter IV: The Printed Word 148

1. Portugal's Control of Information 151
2. Circulation in Europe of the First Reports, 1500–1520 154
3. The Widening Circle, 1521–50 171
4. The Iberian Commentators and Linschoten 181
5. The Great Collections of Travel Literature 204
6. The Evidence of Maps 217

Chapter V: The Christian Mission 229

1. The Portuguese "Padroado" (Patronage) of the East 230
2. The Jesuit Enterprise, 1542–1600 245
3. The Mission Stations of India 262
4. The Mission Stations of Further Asia 281
   - A. Xavier's Reconnaissance, 1546–52 281
   - B. Malacca and the Spiceries 286
   - C. Mass Conversions and Reform in Japan, 1552–82 290
   - D. Macao and Manila 295
   - E. Troubles in Japan, 1582–1600 303
   - F. Friars and Adventurers in Cambodia 309
5. The Jesuit Letters, Letterbooks, and General Histories 314

PART III

Four Images and a Composite Picture

Introduction 335

Chapter VI: INDIA 337

1. The Portuguese Profile 338
   - A. Geographic Placement and Adjacent Islands 339
   - B. Malabar 347
   - C. The Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar 369
   - D. The Deccan States and Goa 381
   - E. Gujarat (Cambay) 392
   - F. From Cape Comorin to Bengal 406
   - G. Hindustan and the Afghan-Mughul Struggle for Supremacy 418

2. The Jesuit Newsletters and Histories 427
   - A. The "Indian Letters" in Europe, 1545–1601 428
   - B. The First Impressions, 1552–70 431
   - C. The Second Generation, 1570–1601 446

3. The Italian, English, and Dutch Commentators 468

BOOK TWO

Chapter VII: SOUTHEAST ASIA 493

1. The Printed Sources in Review 493
2. Malaya, the Crossroads of Asia 505
3. Siam 519
4. Burma 539
5. Indochina 560
6. Sumatra, Borneo, and Java 571
7. The Spiceries 592
8. The Philippine Islands 623

Chapter VIII: JAPAN 651

1. First Notices 652
2. "The Best [People] Who Have Yet Been Discovered" 663
3. The Successors of Xavier, 1552–85 674
4. A Japanese Mission in Europe, 1584–86 688
5. Maps, Histories, and Polemics in Europe, 1585–1601 706

Chapter IX: CHINA 730

1. Behind the Portuguese Curtain, 1520–50 731
2. Mendoza's Book and Its Sources 742
3. The "Mightie Kingdome" 751
   - A. Political Entity, Organization, and Administration 752
   - B. Economic Resources and Crafts 764
   - C. Customs, Social Practices, and Learning 772
   - D. Military Weakness, Trade, and the Tribute System 786
   - E. Criticism and Evaluation 791
4. The Jesuit Writings 794
5. The Evidence of Maps 816

Chapter X: EPILOGUE: A COMPOSITE PICTURE 822

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY 837

CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHIES 865

INDEX 913

Illustrations

FOLLOWING PAGE 20

Map of the world according to Eratosthenes
Christ extending his divine power to all peoples, even the monstrous ones
Detail from Central Tympanum, Church of St. Magdalen, Vézelay, France
Elephant, from Reims Cathedral, France
Seal of Grand Khan Kuyuk on a letter to Rome
The pepper harvest
Dog-headed people of India
Fantastic Indians
The Hereford (England) World Map, *ca.* 1276

FOLLOWING PAGE 52

Martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta, by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, 1332(?)
Ecclesia militans, by Andrea da Firenze, *ca.* 1365
Parement de Narbonne, silk altar hanging, *ca.* 1375
Winged creatures, from an illustration in *Heures de Rohan*, *ca.* 1420
Madonna in a mandorla of exotic angels, by Gentile da Fabriano, *ca.* 1420
Adoration of the Magi, by Gentile da Fabriano, *ca.* 1423
Sketch of a Mongol archer, by Antonio Pisanello, *ca.* 1440
Illuminated Titus Livius manuscript of Charles V, *ca.* 1370
Gluttony. Treatise on the Vices, attributed to the "Monk of Hyeres," *ca.* 1400
Ptolemy's map of Asia
Martin Waldseemüller's map of the Far East, 1507

FOLLOWING PAGE 100

Lisbon in the late sixteenth century
Antwerp in the middle of the sixteenth century
The Fortress of Malacca, *ca.* 1630

Macao, *ca.* 1600
Coins used in commerce in the East Indies, Cambay, Ormuz, Goa, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengal, and Malacca
The Bourse at Antwerp
The port of Lisbon in the sixteenth century
A small merchant ship, *ca.* 1532
Manuelina Naus. A painting of Portuguese ships executed *ca.* 1521 by Gregório Lopes
Leaves and berries of canella or "wild cinnamon" (*Ravensara aromatica*)
The clove tree
Leaves and berries of the pepper plant
East Indian trees
East Indian trees and plants
Animals of India

FOLLOWING PAGE 164

Woodcut of Indian warriors
Title page of Valentim Fernandes' Portuguese translation of *Marco Polo*, 1502
Title page of João de Barros, *Asia*, 1552
Title page of Volume I (revised second edition) of G. B. Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, 1554
Title page of Book I of the *Historia* of Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, 1551
Portrait of João de Barros; first printed in the 1615 edition of his *Décadas da Asia*
Painting from life of Luis de Camoes, by Fernando Gomes
Facsimile of a copper engraving of Damião de Góis by Albrecht Dürer
Title page of first edition of *The Lusiads*
Title page of a sixteenth-century edition of António Galvão's *Tratado*
Title page of first edition, printed in Goa in 1563, of Garcia da Orta's *Colloquies*
Title page of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, 1596
Map of Asia, from A. Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1575
Map of eastern Asia and the East Indies, from Linschoten's *Itinerario*
Map of Eurasia and Africa from G. Mercator's World Map of 1569

FOLLOWING PAGE 260

Panoramic view of Goa in the sixteenth century
Chapel of Saint Catherine constructed in 1510 by Albuquerque and rebuilt in 1550 by Jorge Cabral
Cathedral of Old Goa
Dom Costantino de Braganza, Viceroy of Goa from 1558 to 1561
Alessandro Valignano, S.J. (1539–1606)
Coimbra in the sixteenth century
The ruins of the façade of the Church of Saint Augustine (Goa)
Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552–1610)
Title page from a typical Jesuit letterbook

Akbar and Prince Salim
Title page from the Venetian edition (1589) of G. P. Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*
Map of Asia, from G. B. Peruschi's *Informatione*, 1597

FOLLOWING PAGE 356

India in the late sixteenth century (according to European sources)
Quilon at the beginning of the sixteenth century
Cannanore at the beginning of the sixteenth century
The king of Cochin with his attendants
The "famous rhinoceros" of Cambay; woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, 1515
Mahmud III, king of Cambay (reigned 1537–54)
"Reisbutos" (Rajputs) of Cambay
"Baneanes" (Bānyas) of Cambay
Sati, or widow-burning
Gujarat
Bengal
Juggernaut and ceremonial religious suicide in the *Rath-játra*, a Hindu procession
A Portuguese fidalgo in India
Ships and boats of India

FOLLOWING PAGE 528

Southeast Asia in the late sixteenth century (according to European sources)
The map of southeast and eastern Asia in Ramusio's *Navigationi* (2d rev. ed.; Venice, 1554), Vol. I
Ortelius' map of southeast and eastern Asia
The map of Sumatra in Ramusio, *op. cit.*
The map of Java inserted into the Madrid edition (1615) of João de Barros' *Décadas da Ásia*
"Inhabitants of Malacca, who surpass all other Indians in courteous and amorous behavior"
Natives of Pegu, the Moluccas, and St. Thomas
Pigafetta's list of Malay words learned from the inhabitants of Tidore Island in the Moluccas

FOLLOWING PAGE 656

Fresco in the Teatro Olimpico depicting the young Japanese emissaries in attendance at a performance
Title page of Benacci's *Breve ragvaglio*, showing one of the Japanese emissaries clad in the European garments presented by Pope Gregory XIII
Letter of August, 1585, written in Japanese to the Duke of Mantua from Milan by Itō Mancio expressing the thanks of the Japanese emissaries for Mantua's hospitality, with Italian translation

Wood engraving of a map of Japan showing the major Christian places and the Jesuit houses, *ca.* 1585
Excerpt from a letter written by Father Balthasar Gago from Firando, September 23, 1555, with sample Chinese and Japanese characters
Excerpts from the same letter printed in *Cartas . . . dos reynos de Iapão e China*, 1598
Map of Japan by Luis Teixeira

FOLLOWING PAGE 752

Title page of first edition of Juan González da Mendoza's *Historia . . . del gran reyno dela China . . .*, 1585
A Chinese or Javan junk with reed sails and wooden anchors
Palanquin and land ship of China
Simple Chinese in their elegant native costume
Chinese mandarin and lady in their rich costume
Map of China by Luis Jorgé de Barbuda
Discussion of China on verso of Barbuda's map
Tartary, northern China, and Japan

CHAPTER VII

Southeast Asia

In our definition, southeast Asia divides into two vast geographical groupings: the continental peninsulas east of Bengal and south of China, and the insular world which lies within a vast triangle that has Sumatra, the Philippines, and New Guinea at its vertices. Life in the mainland states follows the rivers and flows in a north-south direction; communication and trade along the sea lanes of the archipelago run along east-west lines. In 1500 most of these lines intersected at Malacca, a hub of commerce for both the mainland states and the archipelago. A few places unrelated to this complex, such as the Ladrones (Marianas) will be mentioned collaterally. Australia is omitted because there are no certain references to this continent in the contemporary printed materials. It should be noticed, however, that Portuguese historians have claimed on the basis of evidence in sixteenth-century maps that voyagers touched on Australia in about 1522 and brought back to Europe word of its existence. The absence of additional references to Australia is attributed to Portugal's policy of secrecy and desire to conceal from the Spaniards whatever information it may have possessed on the continent down under.[1] But the evidence for Portugal's discovery of Australia in the sixteenth century is still much too vague and tenuous in our estimation to warrant more than mere mention.

I

The Printed Sources in Review

There is no question that the Portuguese jealously guarded every scrap of information which might have led potential competitors to the sources of the spice trade. And, so far as the published accounts and printed maps show, they

[1] R. H. Major, *Early Voyages to . . . Australia* (London, 1859), pp. v–vi For a statement of the claim that Australia was discovered by the Portuguese in 1522 see Armando Cortesão, "A expansão portuguesa através do Pacífico (Australásia, Macau, Japão)," in Antonio Baião (ed.), *História da expansão portuguesa no mundo* (3 vols.; Lisbon, 1937–39), II, pt. 3, chap. xi.

were successful for a time in keeping from others the authoritative information in their archives on routes, marts, prices, and methods of trade. Spies and the agents of foreign governments and commercial houses were naturally able to acquire copies of maps and rutters, and some of the interested outsiders, like Peutinger in Augsburg, collected a significant number of these documents [2] But, it is worth repeating,[3] that no accounts of the East Indies by responsible Portuguese authors were in print before 1550. All of the rutters and pamphlets on the spice trade which appeared before mid-century were the work of foreigners who had been employed by the Portuguese or who had derived their information either from participating themselves in the voyages or by interviewing those sailors fortunate enough to return. The exception to this generalization is, of course, the general announcements by the crown of Portuguese successes in Asia.

The first printed material on southeast Asia was included in the *Itinerario* of Ludovico di Varthema which appeared in 1510. Though there is some doubt whether Varthema himself actually got east of Ceylon,[4] we may conjecture that his vague material on Tenasserim (Mergui), Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and the Spice Islands should be dated approximately as 1505–6.[5] Nothing more was published in Europe on this region until after the return of the "Victoria" to Spain. The survivors of Magellan's expedition were courted and interviewed by a number of scholars, diplomats, prelates, and kings in an effort to learn from them the secret of the Spiceries. In 1523, Maximilian of Transylvania's *De Moluccis insulis* . . . was printed at Cologne and Rome, and it gave to Europe, on the basis of the author's interviews with the survivors, the first concrete information on the location of the Moluccas and the conditions prevailing there. Two years later, a truncated version of Pigafetta's story was published for the first time at Paris under the title *Le voyage et nauigation faict par les Espaignolz es isles de Mollucques.*[6] Pigafetta was the only participant in Magellan's expedition who left a written account. His work is particularly important for its vocabularies of Bisayan and Malayan words as well as for the author's deliberate and thorough investigation of trading practices in southeast Asia. After Pigafetta's story had been told in Venice, it was not until the publication in 1543 of the *Viaggi fatti alla Tana* that fresh news of Malacca, Sumatra, and the Moluccas appeared in print at the spice center on the Adriatic.

An aftermath of the successful circumnavigation of the world by a remnant of Magellan's crew was the dispatch of two more Spanish expeditions via the Pacific to the Spice Islands. These voyages, while unsuccessful in themselves, helped Charles I to establish a claim to the Moluccas which he finally abandoned

[2] A Cortesão and A Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica* (Lisbon, 1960), I, 15.

[3] See above, p. 181

[4] See above, p 165.

[5] A table with approximate dates is given in Sir Richard C. Temple (ed.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508* (London, 1928), p. xxv.

[6] Translations of this French version into Italian and English were reproduced later in the century by Ramusio and Eden, respectively. See above, pp 207, 210.

to Portugal in 1529 at Saragossa in return for a cash payment. While this arrangement officially brought an end to the contest for the Moluccas, the Spanish, particularly those in the New World, continued to hope and plan for a trading and missionary foothold in southeast Asia. The chronicles of Oviedo (Book XX, which deals with the East, was first published in 1548) and Gómara (published in 1552) summarized the information on the Spiceries obtained through the Spanish voyages and provided Europe with its first comprehensive accounts of the Philippines, Borneo, and the Spiceries.

In the first volume of Ramusio's *Navigationi* published in 1550, much of the data available at mid-century on southeast Asia was put between two covers for the first time. The Italian collector printed in the same volume the *Periplus of the Indian Ocean*, then ascribed to Arrian, along with the fifteenth-century travels of Nicolò de' Conti. He reproduced from manuscripts the letters on the spice trade prepared early in the century by Tomé Lopes, Giovanni da Empoli, and Andrea Corsali. He republished the *Itinerario* of Varthema in a new Italian version. The original text, Ramusio contended, was too full of errors to warrant reproduction. He included some of the available accounts of the Spanish circumnavigation of the globe by translating into Italian the Latin text of Maximilian of Transylvania and the French text of Pigafetta. He also published, apparently for the first time, the narrative of Juan Gaetano (also written, Ivan Gaetan) who described the expedition of 1542 headed by Ruy Lopez de Villalobos which sailed from Mexico across the Pacific to the Moluccas. Though he included in Italian translation a large part of the *Suma oriental* of Tomé Pires, Ramusio was unable to acquire the prize portion on the archipelago and Malacca which went unpublished until 1944. Ramusio's version, however, did include Pires' short accounts of Cambodia, Champa, Cochin-China, Burma, Siam, Pegu, and Arakan, as well as collateral references to the trade between Malacca and the Spice Islands with India, Pegu, and other parts of continental southeast Asia. The slighter and less authoritative summary of southeast Asia contained in the *Book* of Duarte Barbosa, who probably never got east of India, was acquired by Ramusio and is included in its entirety in Italian translation in his first volume.

In the 1554 augmented edition of Volume I, Ramusio added a map of the East Indies (probably drawn by Giacomo Gastaldi), Italian translations of two Jesuit letters from Malacca, and a brief narration on the Spiceries by a Portuguese who had returned on the "Victoria" from the Moluccas. In his second volume, which deals with the land travels into Asia, Ramusio included in the first edition (1559) his version of Marco Polo and in the second edition (1574) the travels of Odoric of Pordenone. The third volume of the *Navigationi*, first published in 1556, deals primarily with America but in it he included some authors, like Oviedo, who had remarks to make about the Pacific ventures of the Spanish, and also the discourses of Pierre Crignon on the French voyage of 1529 to Sumatra.[7]

[7] George B Parks (comp.), *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigationi* (New York, 1955).

The major Portuguese sources on southeast Asia, which began to appear contemporaneously with Ramusio's compilations, are six in number: Castanheda's *História*, Albuquerque's *Commentarios*, Barros' *Décadas*, the materials of António Galvão in the *Tratado . . . dos descobrimentos* (Lisbon, 1563), Damião de Góis' *Chronica do felcíssimo Rey D. Manoel* (Lisbon, 1565), and Jorge de Lemos' *Historia dos cercos que em tempo de António Monis Barreto, Governador que foi dos estados da India, os Achens, e Iaos puserão â fortaleza de Malaca, sendo Tristão Vaz da Veiga capitão della* (Lisbon, 1585). All but the last of these books deal with events in southeast Asia during the first half of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese chroniclers, like the Jesuit historian, Maffei, characteristically confine their attentions to the empire during its zenith. It was not until the seventeenth century that Diogo do Couto and Manuel de Faria e Sousa, both of whom were employed by the Spanish, endeavored to write general histories of the empire's decline and even they were forced from lack of information to leave a gap for the five years from 1575 to 1580.[8]

Castanheda, who was resident in Asia from 1528 to 1538, may possibly have journeyed to Malacca and the Moluccas. In his book he makes the general claim to have visited the places which he describes; Do Couto, keeper of the Goa archives in the later sixteenth century, records in his *Ásia* that Castanheda traveled extensively east of India and even to the Moluccas.[9] The eight books of Castanheda's *História* were published between 1551 and 1561, but it is mainly in Books II through VI (published in 1552–54) that he takes up southeast Asia in connection with Portuguese activities there for the period from 1511 to 1542. While his first book was translated a number of times into various languages during the sixteenth century, the books (II–VI) pertaining to southeast Asia were translated only into Italian and that did not occur until 1577–78 (Venice).

In his treatment of southeast Asia, Castanheda follows closely the enterprises of the Portuguese but pays little attention to local conditions. He has less interest in geographical description than Barros and pays only passing deference to the pre-European history of the peoples in the regions discussed. Malacca, the Moluccas, and Pegu are described and commented upon in considerable detail, and his discussion of Pegu is clearly his best effort. It is probable that Castanheda used Barbosa for some of his data on the trade and ports of southeast Asia, though without acknowledging it. His narrative, which is generally prosaic and dry, begins to take on life when he comes to describe the struggles at

[8] See I. A. Macgregor, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on South East Asia," in D. G. E. Hall (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia* (London, 1961), p. 196.

[9] *Década* IV, Book 5, chap 1. Many students of Castanheda seem not to have known about this possibility, or, if they did, dismissed it as being improbable and insufficiently documented. Certainly such travels were possible, even though we do not have contemporary documentation to clinch the matter. J. H. Harrison, "Five Portuguese Historians," in C. H. Philips (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1961), p. 163, has no hesitation in asserting unqualifiedly that "the great value of Castanheda lies in his personal acquaintance with Malacca and the Moluccas."

Malacca, Ternate and Tidore—perhaps another indication of the fact that he may have actually been in those places.

The *Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque* (Lisbon, 1557; rev. ed., 1576), prepared by the great captain's son on the basis of his father's letters written from the East, contains a mixture of firsthand observations and secondhand reports. Albuquerque's only direct experience in southeast Asia came during the siege and conquest of Malacca in 1511. While most of the description naturally relates to Malacca and its immediate vicinity, Albuquerque also comments on the initiation of relations with Siam and the dispatch of an expedition to explore the Moluccas. He also makes brief references to Sumatra, Pegu, Java, and Pahang. The abbreviated *Commentarios* includes rich detail on Malacca's history under the Malay sultanate. On the siege and capture of Malacca, there is considerable disagreement between the *Commentarios* and the letter of Giovanni da Empoli published by Ramusio. The account in the *Commentarios* is particularly valuable, no matter what Braz de Albuquerque might have done to his father's report, because the original is no longer extant.[10]

While references to various parts of southeast Asia are scattered throughout the *Décadas* of Barros, it is only the third decade (relating to the years from 1515 to 1525, not published until 1563) which deals extensively with the region. Since he never traveled to Asia, Barros' work is necessarily based exclusively on the reports of others, a fact which probably helps to account for his acceptance of several tall stories. But he more than compensates for his critical failings by his thoroughgoing researches into the official and unofficial sources available in his day. Barros' survey is more systematic for the region as a whole than any of the others produced in the century. While his description of Sumatra remained unsurpassed until the eighteenth century, Barros' information on Java and Indochina was not extensive and his narrative consequently is not always as clear and informative on these two territories as the reader might reasonably expect from an author of his competence and erudition.[11] But, unlike Pires and other writers who report from the scene, Barros seems to get his proportions better. He realizes that the intermediate world between India and China is similar to both but different from each. Always hostile towards the Muslims, Barros points out that Pegu and Siam are dominated by heathens and that they are rich and powerful states. While conscious of the wealth of the Indies, he does not overestimate, as do so many of the Portuguese, the importance of the archipelago and Malacca in the economy and politics of the entire region.

After the appearance of Lemos' book in 1585, the Portuguese secular writers provide no more sources of significance. Once again, the books which appear

[10] Academia das sciencias de Lisboa, *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* (7 vols., Lisbon, 1884–1935), although invaluable on Albuquerque's activities, the collection does not include his report of the siege. For the translation of his remarks on Malacca see Walter de Gray Birch (trans and ed.), *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalbaquerque* ("Publications of the Hakluyt Society," Old Series, Vols LXII and LXIII [London, 1880]), Vols. III and IV

[11] See Zoe Swecker, "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East" (Ph D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960), pp. 113–14.

between 1585 and 1601 are from the pens of outsiders. These later sources may be divided into three groups: the accounts of two Spaniards who obtained their information about the East by way of the Philippines and Mexico, the narratives of the commercial travelers and explorers from Italy and northern Europe, and the Jesuit letterbooks and histories.

The two Spanish books, which first appeared respectively in 1585 and 1590, are the work of religious writers with experience in America and hence are only collaterally concerned with southeast Asia. The first of these was from the pen of the Augustinian friar, Juan González de Mendoza and was called *Historia de la cosas mas notables, ritos, y costumbres, del gran reyno de la China* (Rome, 1585).[12] While this famous book deals primarily with China, as the title indicates, it also includes in its last chapters some interesting materials on Malacca, Indochina, and the Philippines. Mendoza depends for these comments on the experiences there in about 1579 of Martin Ignatius de Loyola, a relative of the first Jesuit general and a Franciscan missionary himself The second book by a Spaniard was the work of the famous Jesuit Humanist, José de Acosta, who sojourned for a long period in Mexico and learned about eastern Asia at this crossroads of the Spanish empire. Acosta's volumes first appeared in Latin (1588–89), and, in their complete form, were published in 1590 at Seville under the title *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*. While Acosta's work centers on the New World, it also includes scattered comments on the East Indies. From the viewpoint of the scholar interested in southeast Asia, Acosta's work illustrates strikingly how a Humanist of the late sixteenth century with overseas experience mentally wrestled with himself to integrate his knowledge of Asia inherited from antiquity with the newer information.

The Italian, Dutch, and English merchants who comment on southeast Asia had their narratives published between 1587 and 1599. The *Viaggio* (1587) of the Venetian, Fedrici, records that he was east of India on at least three different occasions, on the last two of which he was engaged in the opium traffic between Cambay and Pegu. On his first and most extended trip into southeast Asia, he visited from 1566 to 1569 in northern Sumatra (Achin), Malacca, Tenasserim (Mergui), Tavoy, and Martaban. His second voyage, which seems to have been restricted to Pegu, probably occurred in 1572–73. His third voyage, which again seems to have been limited to Pegu, possibly took place as late as 1577–78.[13] On the basis of these experiences it is not surprising, when we consider that Fedrici probably kept a diary, that he was able to provide the fullest and most accurate account of Burma (Pegu) prepared by a European in the sixteenth century.[14]

Gasparo Balbi, another Venetian, published his *Viaggio* in 1590. It is clear, because the author is precise in dating his peregrinations, that Balbi was in

[12] For a full analysis of this book see below, pp 743–45.

[13] Since he gives so few dates in his record, it is difficult to determine exactly when he was at a given place and how long he stayed there The above dates are based on the estimates given in Jarl Charpentier, "Cesare di Federici and Gasparo Balbi," *Indian Antiquary*, LIII (1924), 53–54

[14] "Fredericke . . has left us the best description of Burma that we have from a European source." See D. G. E. Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma (1587–1743)* (London, 1928), p. 18.

Pegu for more than two years (1583 to 1586). While Balbi pirated many of his comments on India from Fedrici, his record of events and his description of Pegu are the most independent and best part of his book.[15] It is also clear that Balbi's contemporaries in Europe valued the *Viaggio* most for its detailing of affairs in Pegu. Though Hakluyt probably knew Balbi's work, he never published it. When it finally appeared in English translation in Purchas' collection,[16] his account of India, except for materials on St. Thomas and Negapatnam, were omitted while the portion on Pegu was included in its entirety.

Linschoten, who was in western India from 1583 to 1588, published his *Itinerario* in its complete form in 1596. Though he never traveled east of India, Linschoten managed to reconstruct, from informants in Goa and from the books and maps at his disposal after he returned home, a comprehensive survey of the places in southeastern Asia known to the Portuguese. In his disquisitions on the flora and fauna of the East, Linschoten remarks on curiosities such as the elephants of Pegu, the great shellfish of Malacca, and the valuable camphor of Borneo. In 1597, the year after Linschoten's book appeared, an account of the first Dutch voyage to Java was published at Middelburg and in the following year it came out in an English translation.[17] While this narrative mainly recounts the problems of the voyage and the strife between the Dutch captains, it also includes comments on conditions affecting trade in Java.

Ralph Fitch was the first Englishman to visit southeastern Asia and record his experiences there. The account of his peregrinations which Hakluyt published in 1599 is based in part upon Fedrici and in part upon his own experiences. Fitch arrived at Pegu in 1586 and in the following year he made a journey to Chiengmai in the Siamese Shan states. After returning to Pegu, he left for Malacca in 1588 to collect information on the trade there. Then he made his way back to Pegu by way of Martaban, and, after a short respite in Pegu, began the long journey back to England. Since Fitch kept no diary or notes, his recollections are hazy and his descriptions much less precise than those recorded in the accounts of Fedrici and Balbi. Still, his experience of about three years in southeast Asia gave him a genuine understanding of certain features of life there, particularly of Pegu where he spent the most time. His independent picture of the Buddhist monastic system of Burma is still respected as a faithful representation.[18]

When Drake circumnavigated the world in 1577–80, his ship, the "Golden Hind," called at Ternate in the Moluccas, at Roma Island, and at Java. Notices of these places appeared in books and on maps prepared in northern Europe

[15] Charpentier, *loc. cit.* (n. 13), p. 61

[16] As reproduced in Samuel Purchas (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes* ("Publications of the Hakluyt Society," Extra Series, Vol. X [Glasgow, 1905–7]), pp 143–64.

[17] The original is entitled *Verhael vande Reyse by de Hollandtsche Schepen gedaen naer Oost Indien* (Middleburg, 1597). The English version, translated by William Phillip, is entitled *The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland into the East Indies* (London, 1598) See above, p. 202n.

[18] D. G. E. Hall, *Europe and Burma. A Study of European Relations with Burma to the Annexation of Thibaw's Kingdom (1886)* (London, 1945), p. 15

beginning in 1582. Of particular importance is the narrative compiled by Hakluyt from documents written by participants in the Drake enterprise. The final version, the last of several earlier and less complete compilations, appeared in 1600 in the *Principal Navigations*[19] and was entitled *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea . . . begune in the yeere of our Lord 1577* This short narrative is particularly rich in its description of the garb and court ceremonies of Ternate. It also gives a few notes on the political conditions prevailing in the Moluccas in the crucial year of 1578 when the Portuguese established themselves at Tidore, and it also provides a few references to the rulers of Java in 1579. The first voyage to the East of James Lancaster, an Englishman with long experience in Portugal, took place in the years 1591 to 1594. He was sent out by a group of London merchants to make a reconnaissance of the Portuguese route to Malacca. Two narratives of these voyages of pillaging and surveying were acquired and published by Hakluyt.[20] These documents contain fascinating data on Portuguese trade, but very little material on Asia itself. The English narratives are especially important because they refer to times for which we have very few other contemporary sources on the eastern archipelago.

The Jesuit letters published in Europe give scattered runs of information on various parts of southeast Asia from 1552 to the end of the century. Most of the Xavier letters from Malacca and the Moluccas were not published until the Tursellinus collection appeared in 1595–96. The early letterbooks, published mainly in Portugal and Italy, frequently include letters from his followers in southeast Asia. But, as in the case of India, a sharp break in published versions of the letters occurs beginning with the letters penned in the period from 1564 to 1568.[21] Several of the letters written before 1564 were republished beginning in 1569. Over the entire period (1552–1600) ten of the letters dated from southeast Asia were published three or more times. It is not until the last decade of the century, however, that new and substantial additions were incorporated into the letterbooks. Most of the letters dated from the islands give information on native customs and the problems being faced by the Jesuits in the Moluccas and in Amboina before 1570. Not a single Jesuit letter from the Moluccas was published during the last generation of the century. Those dated from Malacca are ordinarily concerned with matters far removed from the

[19] III, 730–42, also see XI, 101–33

[20] Barker's narrative is in Vol II, Pt II, pp 102–3, May's narrative is in III, 571–72. For recent, edited versions of these documents see Sir William Foster (ed.), *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Second Series, No LXXXV [London, 1940)], pp 1–51.

[21] C. Wessels, S. J., *Histoire de la mission d'Amboine . . 1564–1605* (Louvain, 1934), p. 9, asserts that as far as he can determine not a single letter from Amboina or the Moluccas was printed in the period from 1570 to 1600 which had been written during that time He accounts for this by referring to the complete dependence of the mission upon the crowns of Spain and Portugal. He also points out how slow Rome was to publish Teixeira and Valignano's surveys of Xavier's activities in the East, from the context into which he puts this discussion he seems to imply that the papacy was also under pressure from the Iberian powers to keep detailed information on the Spiceries out of print.

local scene. The Jesuits at Malacca, like the merchants, were usually in transit, and mostly write about the places from which they came or about what they have heard of the place to which they are going. As a whole, the Jesuit letters are much less valuable for southeast Asia than they are for Japan.[22]

The first author to use the Jesuit letters extensively, as well as many secular sources, was Maffei whose *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* appeared at Florence in 1588. In his scattered sections on the various parts of southeast Asia, Maffei includes more from the Jesuit letters than he does when commenting on India. As he recounts the expansion of the Portuguese and the Jesuits to about 1557, Maffei interrupts his narrative at appropriate points to present thumb-nail sketches of what he knew from his researches about such places as Sumatra, Siam, and Pegu. The Spanish Jesuit, Guzman, in his *Historia de las missiones* (1601), likewise gives occasional vignettes of those parts of southeast Asia where the Jesuits were active. Since Guzman depends more than Maffei upon the letters and Spanish sources, and less upon the Portuguese historians who wrote almost exclusively about the first half of the century, he recounts political events in a slightly less stylized manner and without too much regard for the sensibilities of the Portuguese. His detailed descriptions of the wars going on in southeast Asia during the last quarter of the sixteenth century and the amount of information he possessed on Cambodia reflect the fact that some of his sources came to him from the missionaries in the Philippines. In short, Guzman is particularly useful for the history of southeast Asia during the last generation of the sixteenth century, a period when firsthand accounts, aside from Jesuit letters, are in short supply. Neither Maffei nor Guzman had traveled to Asia and both based their narratives on the materials available to them in Europe.

The European sources generally tend to consider southeast Asia as a part of "further India," even though they bring out clearly how important the Chinese, Japanese, and Muslims were at Malacca and in the islands. The Moluccas, always of interest for its cloves and other spices, receives the attention of most of the writers, including the Jesuits. As the place where the Spanish and Portuguese empires met in the East, the Spice Islands in the sources receive radically different treatment on a number of relatively simple matters. The sources are especially contradictory on the exact location of the Moluccas and the Philippines, important questions in the debated question of ownership. The Portuguese historians and other Europeans who traveled in Portuguese India are especially authoritative on Pegu, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and Sumatra. The Spanish writers are best on the Philippines, Borneo, and Cambodia.[23]

[22] Based on a study of Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum* (Aachen, 1928), IV, *passim*

[23] While Portuguese adventurers and the Dominican missionary Gaspar da Cruz were in Cambodia by 1555–56, it is not until the last years of the century that concrete information begins to appear on Cambodia in European published works It was mainly in connection with the Spanish efforts to get a continental foothold that Europeans became aware of Cambodia In 1601, the first description of the ruins of Angkor was included in F. Marcello de Ribadeneyra, O. F M., *Historia de las islas del archipielago, y reynos de la gran China*. . (Barcelona, 1601), pp 173–87 For an excellent summary of the discovery of Cambodia by the Iberians see Bernard P Grosher, *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVIe siècle d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles* (Paris, 1958), chap. ii.

Java is the territory most slighted and the Javanese are the people viewed most hostilely by the Iberian authors, perhaps because of the sporadic wars in which they engaged the Portuguese, who sought to replace them as the great international traders of the region.[24] That the Portuguese were ultimately unsuccessful in their effort to eliminate the Javanese is brought out by the voyage of Lancaster which transgressed the Portuguese monopoly and by Linschoten when he writes to his countrymen: ". . . men might very well traffique [to Java] without any impeachment [hindrance], for that the Portingales come not thether, because great number of Iava come themselves unto Malacca to sell their wares."[25]

It was in the Byzantine versions of Ptolemy's *Geographia* that the first general description of southeast Asia became available before the fifteenth century.[26] Book VII, chapter 2 of the principal extant version lists the coastal features, riverine divisions, and the inland towns of the Golden Khersonese (Malay Peninsula). But no effort is made by the compiler to describe its countryside, people, or products. If the stylized Ptolemaic co-ordinates are abandoned when evaluating the data on southeast Asia, a clearly recognizable delineation of the coast of peninsular southeast Asia from the Bay of Bengal to Indochina emerges from the *Geographia*.[27] While modern scholars are not agreed on the identifications of the many rivers, gulfs, and inland towns mentioned in the *Geographia*, it is clear that the Byzantine compilers were aware of the strategic importance of the emporiums of the Malay peninsula in the trade of southeast Asia.[28]

Not until the late thirteenth century did the entrepôts, capitals, islands, and states of southeast Asia begin to be heard about in Europe under the names by which we know them today. Marco Polo refers by name to Champa (which corresponds roughly to modern Cochin-china), the Great Island of Java (Java or Cochin-china) and to Java the Less (Sumatra), while describing many other islands, towns, and peoples more difficult to identify. Significantly neither Polo nor Odoric of Pordenone, who returned to Europe in 1330, mentions Malacca. This may be accounted for by the fact that Malacca had not yet become a great merchandising center.[29] Odoric discourses on "Nicuveran" (the Nicobar Islands), but gives nothing more than some legendary information about them.[30] Other European travelers of the fourteenth century also refer to Champa, Java, and Java the Lesser (Sumatra), possibly based on the traditional yarns told to them by the Arab sailors with whom they voyaged. Nicolò de'

[24] The Javanese are usually described by the Iberian writers as fierce warriors who are base and unreliable in their business dealings. For an independent, and similar judgment see I. A. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXVIII (1955), 24.

[25] A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele (eds.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Nos. LXX and LXXI, Old Series [London, 1885]) I, 112.

[26] Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese* (Kuala Lumpur, 1961), pp. 138–40.

[27] For a map showing the Ptolemaic coastline superimposed on a modern map of southeast Asia see *ibid.*, p. 146.

[28] See *ibid.*, pp. 151–52.

[29] Probably founded *ca.* 1400. *Ibid.*, pp. 306–7.

[30] D. G. E. Hall, *A History of South-East Asia* (London, 1960), p. 189.

Conti, the Venetian who returned home in about 1444, calls Sumatra by the classical name of "Taprobana" and refers to "Andamania" (the Andaman Islands) and the city of "Panconia" (Pegu), the capital of the Mon kingdom of Pegu in Burma. Girolamo da Santo Stefano, the Genoese merchant, who visited Pegu in 1496 gives its name more correctly, tells about setting out on a trading expedition to Malacca, and of finally having ended up on Sumatra.[31] From this brief recapitulation of Renaissance travel accounts it can be observed generally that the few Europeans who traveled into southeast Asia before the opening of the sea route included in their summaries some information on Champa, Java, Sumatra (though not under this name until Santo Stefano's visit there in 1497), Pegu, and the Nicobar and Andaman Islands. Many other places and peoples in "further India" they also referred to under designations which are not so readily identifiable.

Varthema, whether or not he actually traveled east of India himself, was the first writer formally to introduce Malacca to Europe, though the Portuguese and those who sailed with them had heard about it shortly after landing at Calicut.[32] The merchant from Bologna also comments in some detail on Tenasserim (Mergui) and Pegu, and he seems vaguely to understand that the religion of Burma (Buddhism) is different from Hinduism.[33] Like Santo Stefano, he calls Sumatra by the name which we use today, and like Conti, he identifies it with Taprobane.[34] He also sailed eastward to Banda and to the Moluccas "where the cloves grow," and was the first European writer who even made an effort to describe the Spice Islands. Varthema then began his return westward and stopped on his way at an island which he calls "Bornei." It is not clear from his brief description whether or not he is referring to Borneo, the great island which derives its name from one of the chief Malay states (Brunei) existing on it when the Europeans first arrived there.[35] If we assume, as I do, that he is referring to Borneo, it can then be concluded that most of the major islands of the archipelago and some of the leading cities of continental southeast

[31] R. H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol. XXII [London, 1857]), Pt. IV, p. 7.

[32] In the Dutch work *Calicoen* (1504), "Melatk" is mentioned as the place from whence come the spices. The Nuremberg newsletter of 1505 (*The Right Way to Travel from Lisbon to Calicut*) gives the distance from Quilon to "Mellacka" and to "Scharmarttar" (Sumatra?). But, the famous letter from King Manuel to Castile (1505) makes no mention of Malacca. See above, pp. 160–61.

[33] Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. lxix.

[34] Conti also says that it is known locally as "Sciamuthera." But as far as its name is concerned, "even to the present day, it is like the other large islands of the Archipelago, Java perhaps excepted, without a name familiar to the inhabitants" (John Crawfurd, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries* [London, 1856], p. 413.) For its derivation from "Sumātrabhúmi" rather than "Samudra" see N. J. Krom, "De naam Sumatra," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en Volkerkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, C (1941), 5–25. Linschoten (in Burnell and Tiele [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 25], I, 107–8) continues to call it Taprobane at the end of the century, even though Barros had earlier insisted upon Taprobane's identification with Ceylon.

[35] It may be that he actually is referring to the island of Buru, south of the Moluccas. See Temple, *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. lxxv–lxxvi. Crawfurd (*op. cit.* [n. 34], p. 63) believes that he is talking about Borneo, and is simply giving one spelling of the Malay city or state which later European writers render as "Brune," "Brunai," "Burne," or "Burnai."

Asia were known in European literature (and some of them on maps) before the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511.[36]

Mention of Cambodia in a printed work probably first occurred in a letter written by King Manuel in 1513 to Pope Leo X telling of the visit of Cambodian envoys with Albuquerque at Malacca.[37] Though additional information on the archipelago (especially the Philippines) was made available in Europe by the writings of Maximilian of Transylvania and Pigafetta, it was only at mid-century with the publication of Ramusio's first volume that the Portuguese authors, Pires and Barbosa, were in print for the first time. The great collector also included Empoli's letter to his father in Florence describing conditions at Malacca when he was there with Albuquerque in 1511–12. Though Barbosa discourses briefly on many parts of southeast Asia, his information, collected in India, is uneven in quality and his notions of geographical relationships are hazy. It was not until the appearance of the great histories of Castanheda and Barros that a comprehensive description of southeast Asia was attempted by a European author. And, of the two general pictures sketched by the great historians of the discoveries, the portrait by Barros, who had never been on the scene himself, is the more vivid and comprehensible.[38]

In his first *Década*, the great Portuguese historian divides the Orient, or the entire area between Arabia and Japan, into nine large sections. Southeast Asia falls into his sections numbered five, six, and seven. The area between the Ganges and Malacca is embraced within section five, the region from the tip of the Malay peninsula to the Menam River falls within section six, and the last section extends from the Menam delta "to a famous cape which is at the easternmost of the firm land which we now know about."[39] Each of these sections he breaks down into smaller components, and specific places are located by their distance from the equator and from one another.

In discussing the archipelago Barros gives a particularly full description of the placement, dimensions, and topographical features of Sumatra.[40] The Moluccas, which he locates south of the equator, are said to be five in number and to lie in a north–south line parallel to a large island called "Batochina do Moro" (Halmahera).[41] While he discusses the relations of the Moluccas to the neighboring islands (and he knows about many of them), Barros fails to give a completely clear depiction of Java. In a number of cases, Barros dismisses geographical description almost entirely from his considerations and refers the reader to his *Geografia* which was never published or found.

As a visual aid to the reader who had no map at hand, Barros conceived of an

[36] Varthema's *Itinerario* was first published in 1510 For a bibliographical survey see above, pp. 165–66.

[37] Grosher, *op cit.* (n. 23), p 142.

[38] Maps were not added to the *Décadas* until the revised and augmented version appeared in Madrid in 1615.

[39] Hernani Cidade and Manuel Múrias (eds.), *Asia de João de Barros* . . . (Lisbon, 1945), I, 353.

[40] *Ibid.*, III 231–32.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 257–59.

ingenious device to help picture the complicated geographical configurations and relationships of continental southeast Asia. By placing his own left hand, turned palm down with the fingers pointing in towards the body, the reader can see in front of himself a rough picture of the coastline from eastern India to Indochina. The thumb, spread apart from the index finger, represents India, and the space in between stands for the Bay of Bengal. The index finger which is in turn spread apart from the remaining fingers represents the Malay peninsula. These three digits, pressed together and slightly drawn up underneath the palm represent the Indochinese peninsula and indicate its more northerly placement and its northward slant Specific localities and their relationship to one another are brought out by referring to the nails and knuckles of the fingers and to the nerves of the hand. The body of the hand is even used to help the reader get a rough idea of the placement of interior areas and of their relationship to each other and the coast.[42]

Through his references to this finger-map, Barros quickly locates for the reader the political divisions of India, the island of Ceylon, the three Burmese states of Ava, Arakan and Pegu, as well as Siam, "Jangoma" (Chiengmai), the three kingdoms inhabited by the Laotians, Cambodia, Champa, the various vassal states of Siam, Sumatra, Malacca and other cities, the Menam and Mekong rivers, and various mountain ranges. No other general description of southeast Asia was again attempted in the sixteenth century until the appearance of Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1595–96.[43] And Linschoten's discussion, based on traders' reports which came to him in Goa, is generally inferior to Barros' though it does include more recent materials, especially on Java. A short but accurate survey is also included in Guzman's *Historia de las missiones* (1601) and it brings in a few additional geographical details garnered from the Jesuit letters and the Spanish reports from the Philippines.[44]

2

Malaya, the Crossroads of Asia

Though the Malays were certainly a civilized people when the Portuguese first arrived at Malacca, the history of the peninsula before 1500 has had to be painfully reconstructed from oral traditions, archaeological evidence, and foreign sources. The earliest extant record in the Malay language is the *Sějarah Mělayu* (*The Dynasty of Mělayu*) which is usually dated between 1500 and 1550.[45]

[42] *Ibid.*, III, 76; my explanation is adapted from the summary in Swecker, *op cit* (n. 11), p 79

[43] Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 25), I, chaps. xvii–xxii

[44] Luis de Guzman, *Historia de las missiones* (Alcalá, 1601), I, 4–5.

[45] Sir Richard Winstedt, "Malay Chronicles from Sumatra and Malaya," in D. G. E Hall (ed.), *op cit.* (n 8), p. 24, dates it from "the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century." Wheatley, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p iii, attributes it "to a date no earlier than the middle" of the sixteenth century.

Chinese histories, encyclopedias, geographies, and travel accounts, supplemented by Arab and Persian records which begin in the ninth century, provide the most continuous and concrete data on early Malay history. Other dimensions are added to the story from scattered references found in Indian writings, the classical authors of the West, and in Siamese and Javanese accounts. The European chronicles, travelogues, and letters are consequently significant additions to this heterogeneous corpus of literature, because they incorporate native traditions current in the early sixteenth century as well as more specific materials recorded from personal experiences in the peninsula.[46]

The only Europeans to publish on the basis of personal experience in Malacca were Varthema (possibly), Empoli, Albuquerque, Castanheda (possibly), Fedrici, Balbi, Fitch, and the Jesuit correspondents. Barbosa and Linschoten largely base their accounts on materials which they gathered in India. Barros, Góis, Maffei and Guzman were never in the East, consequently their histories are founded exclusively on the oral and written reports of others. Barros, however, was not content to depend upon European sources. In his narrative he often prefaces his remarks with a cryptic aside to the reader explaining that what follows is "according to the natives." It is also possible that he obtained some of his information from the Persian, Indian, and Chinese materials which he is known to have had at his disposal On the early history of Mĕlayu (pre-Portuguese Malaya) we will generally follow Barros' comprehensive account[47] and modify it with appropriate observations from the others, especially Albuquerque, who concern themselves with the pre-European period.

The Humanist Barros, after noting that Malacca is situated on the peninsula called the Golden Khersonese by the Ptolemaic geographers, discourses learnedly but briefly on the true meaning of "Khersonese." He observes that he was not able to locate written records pertaining to the founding of the city or its earliest inhabitants. But, according to ideas current in the East, Malacca was supposedly founded a little more than 250 years before the Portuguese arrived

[46] The *Suma oriental* of Tomé Pires, which was written in Malacca from 1512 to 1515, gives one of the earliest and best accounts of the city's history, environs, administration, and trade. Unfortunately, however, this section was one of those omitted from the Ramusio version published in 1550. Hence, Pires' account did not become available until its discovery in the twentieth century and its publication in Armando Cortesão (trans and ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires . . .* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d Ser., Nos 89–90 [2 vols., London, 1944]). A few of Pires' references to Malacca's troubles with Siam were published by Ramusio from the section on continental southeast Asia Apparently, Pires' work as a whole was not even generally available in manuscript during the sixteenth century for it seems not to have come to the attention of later writers or cartographers. See Swecker, *op. cit* (n. 11), pp. 42–43 However, it is possible that Barros may have gotten some of his information on Malaya's early history from it.

[47] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), II, 249–59 This account is in his second *Década*, first published in 1553, which deals with Portuguese activities in the East from 1505 to 1515. For a French translation of Barros' historical discussion, as well as excellent editorial comment, see Gabriel Ferrand, "Malaka, le Mālayu et Malāyur," *Journal asiatique*, Series XI, Vol XI (1918), pp. 431–38. Because of its indispensable editorial comment, we will use Ferrand's version of Barros and Albuquerque.

there, or sometime shortly after the middle of the thirteenth century.[48] In earlier times the leading settlement of Mĕlayu was "Singapura" (in Sanskrit, Singhapura or City of the Lion)[49] where traders from east and west came to conduct their affairs. According to Barros, it was this city which Ptolemy called "Zaba," but recent scholars place Zaba as an island off the coast of Indochina.[50]

At the time when Singapore flourished (probably in the fourteenth century) as a great mart at the tip of the peninsula, its ruler, according to Malay tradition, was a king called "Sangesinga" (lord of Singapore)[51] and he owed vassalage to Siam. In the time of Sangesinga, one of the kings on the island of Java died and the care of his two sons was confided to his brother. This regent-uncle, coveting the kingdom for himself, killed the older of his nephews. The assassination of this prince touched off a revolt among the leading lords of the land. From the outset the rebels fared badly and many of them were forced to flee the country and settle elsewhere. Among these émigrés was one named "Paramisora" (Parameśvara, which means supreme lord)[52] who was graciously received at Singapore by Sangesinga. Parameśvara repaid his host by treacherously killing him and taking over his city with the aid of other Javan refugees. The king of Siam, hearing of the death of his vassal and son-in-law, attacked the usurper by land and sea. Unable to stand off the elephants and ships of Siam, Parameśvara, after ruling five years, retreated from Singapore with two thousand men and took up a position on the Muar River at Pago, a spot in the hills northwest of the site where Malacca came to be located.

Parameśvara was accompanied into exile by a people called the *Cellates*[53] who lived constantly on the sea and maintained themselves by fishing and piracy. The Cellates, who had aided Parameśvara in his conquest of Singapore and in his fight against Siam, now aroused the fear of the weakened Javan exile

[48] Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the first Portuguese emissary to arrive in Malacca, anchored there in 1509. Subtracting 250 years from this date would place the founding of Malacca around 1259. Wheatley *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 306, asserts incorrectly that Barros "proposed the *first* half of the thirteenth century." Albuquerque's son, on the basis of his father's letters, fixed the date at about 1421. While disagreement still reigns, most modern scholars are inclined to place the founding date around 1400, for their documentation they lean heavily on the account which Pires gives on the basis of Javanese materials (see Cortesão [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 46], II, 229–35). It should also be noticed, though most modern scholars have failed to do so, that Varthema remarks (in Temple [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 5], pp. lxxi and 84) about it being built eighty years before his visit there, or in about 1426.

[49] Barros and Albuquerque say that in the local language the word *Singapura* means a "treacherous delay." But modern scholars believe that *Singapura* is one of several "lion cities" so designated by the adherents of Buddhism in the Majapahit period. See Wheatley, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 304. For references in the Chinese sources see Hsü Yün-ts'iao, "Notes on the Historical Position of Singapore," in K. G. Tregonning (ed.), *Papers on Malayan History* (Singapore, 1962), pp. 226–38.

[50] Ferrand, *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p. 432, n. 6.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 433, n. 5, associates "*Sange*" with *Sang i*, a designation often affixed to divine and royal names, "singa" (for *singha*, also found in Singhapura or Singapore) means "lion."

[52] Translation of Professor C. C. Berg. For modern scholarship on Parameśvara as founder of Malacca see D. G. E. Hall, *op. cit.* (n. 30), pp. 179–80. After 1331 he was known as Ādityawarman, king of Mĕlayu.

[53] From *Sĕlatī*, an Arabic-Malay word meaning "people of the strait," and referring to the people of Malacca. Also see Ferrand, *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p. 434, n. 3, and S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (2 vols., Coimbra, 1919), I, 245.

and he refused to receive them at Pago. The sea-rovers then merged with the half-savage, indigenous inhabitants and established a settlement of their own on the site of Malacca. Such an affiliation was made possible by the common use of the Malay language and by the intermarriage of the Cellates with local women. Still, each group retained its own customs, and the Cellates continued to make their living from the sea while the Malays continued to farm the land. Their joint village with its balanced economy soon began to prosper and become overcrowded. The villagers then moved to a hill nearby which they called "Beitam" (Bertam),[54] a name which they also soon applied to the plain beneath it. Since this new place was spacious and fertile, and since they knew that Paramesvara was living in the hills in poor circumstances, the villagers invited the Javan prince and his followers to abandon the fortress at Pago and join them. Here, at this burgeoning town, Paramesvara lived out his few remaining years in fear of the Siamese governors at Singapore. On his death he left the ruling of the new city to his son, "Xaquem Darxa" (Sikandar Shah). His followers intermarried with the Cellates and the native Malays, and it was from this amalgam of peoples that the population of Malacca originated. Sikandar Shah gave the name Malacca to this new city in memory of his father's exile, because it means "an exile" in the Malay language. The people of the city henceforward called themselves "Malays," a word meaning to Barros the inhabitants of Malacca and its environs.[55]

Once the Javanese took over leadership, the plain of Bertam was put under cultivation and "duções" (plantations)[56] began to grow up in the countryside. At certain times of the year the townsmen took their wives to visit the "duções" for an outing. Though the Cellates were men of low extraction and the natives only half civilized, they both proved to be faithful servitors. Paramesvara and his son, knowing their worth, permitted these lowly people to intermarry with Javans of the highest rank and even conferred titles of nobility upon them. It is from these unions among the earliest inhabitants of the city that all the *mandari* (councillors) are descended. Sikandar Shah, the first to take the title of king, began to build up Malacca which soon rivaled Singapore as the entrepôt of the peninsula. With the death of the Siamese king who had defeated his father, Sikandar sent out fleets of ships manned by Cellates to patrol the straits and to force passing vessels to call at Malacca. As this policy succeeded, the merchants began to emigrate from Singapore to the new mart at Malacca, and the king of Siam began to feel pinched by the consequent loss of revenues. When it became clear that the Siamese ruler was about to mount an attack against Malacca, Sikandar Shah sent emissaries to him offering vassalage and promising to pay

[54] In the *Commentarios* this place is called Bintão For a discussion of the name see Ferrand, *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p 435, n 1 Possibly Bertam district about eight miles north of modern Malacca. See Wheatley, *op cit* (n. 26), p. 307.

[55] This etymology, also given in the *Commentarios*, is not accepted by modern scholars. Ferrand, *loc cit* (n 47), p 148, n. 2, categorically asserts, and others agree with him, that "Malacca" is the Sanskrit-Malay name for the myrobalan (*Phyllanthus emblica*), a dried fruit of astringent flavor.

[56] From Malay *dusu* meaning farm, village, or country house. See Dalgado, *op. cit.* (n. 53), I, 371.

tribute equal to what he lost in revenues from the decline of Singapore. The king of Siam accepted this offer and confined the area of Sikandar's jurisdiction to ninety leagues of the western coast stretching from Singapore to "Pullocambilam" (Pulaw Sembilan). The growing commercial prosperity of the city led the successors of Sikandar Shah to repudiate gradually the suzerainty of Siam, particularly after Moors from Persia and Gujarat converted them to Islam along with other rulers in the neighboring states of Sumatra and Java. Siam nonetheless continued to claim Malacca as a vassal state, and in 1500, just nine years before Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived there, the Siamese made an unsuccessful effort to take the city by sea. And, even after the Portuguese themselves got to Siam, they learned that preparations were underway for other assaults against the "city that was made for merchandise."[57]

The account of Malacca's early history in the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque is generally similar but differs in many particulars from that given by Barros. Paramesvara is identified as the pagan king of Palembang, probably a city in northwestern Java,[58] who was married to the daughter of a Majapahit ruler of eastern Java and paid a fixed tribute to his father-in-law. In the struggle which ensued when Paramesvara refused to pay his tribute, the vassal was defeated and forced to flee with his family and retainers to Singapore. Barros and Albuquerque essentially agree on the seizure of Singapore, but give quite different versions of Paramesvara's eviction. Barros attributes his defeat to the actions of the king of Siam, while Albuquerque credits the lord of Patani, a petty prince on the northeastern side of the peninsula, with dispossessing him. Two years after Paramesvara went to Malacca, Albuquerque claims that the population of the town had increased from a handful to two thousand. Seven years after his arrival in Malacca, the founder died and left the city to his son, Sikandar Shah. Shortly thereafter Sikandar married a princess of Pasei (in Sumatra) and, at her request, became a convert to Islam. After several sons had been born to his wife, Sikandar reportedly went on a three-year visit to China as a tribute-bearing vassal.[59] There is no doubt that the rulers of Malacca had close relations with China, even though this particular voyage may not have been undertaken. Sikandar, according to Albuquerque, had a Chinese wife with whom he had a son called "Rajaputc" (the white rājā).[60] From this son, according to tradition, were descended the kings of Kampar, a Malay state on the northeast coast of Sumatra, and the kings of Pahang, a Malay state on the eastern side of the peninsula.

Shortly after his return from China, Sikandar died and was succeeded by his son, "Modu faixa" (Muzaffar Shah). The new ruler ratified the treaties concluded

[57] Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), II, 286.

[58] On the confusion over the two Palembangs of Java and Sumatra see Ferrand, *loc. cit* (n. 47), pp. 412–14, n. 3

[59] Not substantiated elsewhere. See Hall, *op cit.* (n. 30), p 180.

[60] According to C C Berg, marriages between Javanese rulers and Chinese women are commonly recounted in Indonesian stories. Berg suggests that *Rajapute* may be derived from *Daraputih* rather than *rajapuari* or white rājā.

by his father with China, Siam, and Java. He also seized control over Pahang on the peninsula, over Kampar and over Indragiri on the east coast of Sumatra, forced their royal families to accept Islam, and required their kings to marry three of his nieces. He was succeeded by his son, "Marsusa" (Mansur Shah), who began at the beginning of his reign to build large houses on Malacca's hill. In the belief that his uncle, Rajapute, was fomenting a revolt, Mansur visited him at Bertam and killed the old man. When the kings of Pahang and Indragiri learned of this assassination, they rose in insurrection against Malacca Mansur attacked and defeated them, forced them to pay double tribute and to marry two of his sisters, he forced the king of Pahang to give him his daughter as wife. By this woman he had a son who died of poison. Thereafter he married a daughter of his "lassamane" (admiral)[61] by whom he had a son called "Alaodim" (Alā' uddin).[62]

On the death of Mansur, Alā' uddin became sultan, married a princess of Kampar, and enjoyed great material prosperity from the revenues collected at Malacca He then decided to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and ordered the kings of Kampar and Indragiri to accompany him. As these two Sumatran rulers were inclined to resist this demand, he induced them to come to Malacca, held them there in custody, and took over their realms. In Alā' uddin's reign Malacca became more prosperous and powerful, and its population, which reportedly numbered forty thousand, included people from all over the world. The sultan married a daughter of his "bendará" (treasurer)[63] who had been a "quelim" (judge)[64] during the previous reign and by her he had a son named "Sulayman," who was legally the heir apparent because he was descended from kings on both sides.

Just when he was finally prepared to depart for Mecca, Alā' uddin was poisoned, presumably at the instigation of the kings of Pahang and Indragiri. His death was followed by a succession battle between the advocates of his two sons: Pahang and Kampar favored Sulayman, while Muhammed, the nephew of the incumbent "bendará," received support from the powerful and wealthy commercial interests of the city. Muhammed's party won the day, and upon becoming sultan he completely severed Malacca's vassalage to Siam and Java and declared that he recognized China as his only suzerain. Among other things, Muhammed was determined to take over control of the tin-producing districts subject to Kedah, another of Siam's vassal states.[65] Upon learning of its assertion of independence, the king of Siam sent a fleet of one

[61] Adapted from the Malay, *laksamana*, meaning admiral or fleet commander See Ferrand, *loc. cit.* (n 47), p 427, n 2.

[62] An Arabic name meaning "the highness of the faith" *Ibid.*, p. 422, n. 2

[63] From Malay, *bendahāra*, meaning treasurer or minister of finance See *ibid.*, p. 427, n. 1.

[64] Identification with judge is not entirely certain See *ibid.*, p 423, n 2. Professor Berg believes that this title is from Malay *Kĕling*, often written "Kling," and refers to natives of India, especially from its eastern coast. Also see above, p 412

[65] According to Pires in his section on Siam, published by Ramusio in 1550. See Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit* (n. 46), I, 108.

hundred sails to attack Malacca. The Siamese fleet was intercepted near the island of "Pulopicão" (Pulaw Pisang in the Riau archipelago, south of Singapore)[66] by a Malaccan force in 1489 and was completely vanquished.

From this time until Albuquerque's conquest of Malacca in 1511, no further Siamese efforts were made to punish the Malay sultan. But Muhammed was personally very proud and arrogant and contributed to his own undoing. He ridiculed his father for wanting to make a pilgrimage to Mecca by asserting that Malacca itself was the true Mecca. He had his brother Sulayman assassinated along with seventeen other nobles who were his relatives. He even killed his own son and heir because he asked for expense money (the Moors claimed that he was punished for this crime by Albuquerque's seizure of the city). The properties of the dead he seized for himself, and took their wives and daughters, about fifty of them, for his own concubines. When speaking with his nobles, he always required them to stand off at a distance of five or six paces.

Justice, it is reported, was traditionally administered in independent Malacca by the sultan himself or through the office of the "bendará" (minister of finance and ofttimes chief minister).[67] Nobles condemned to the death penalty possessed the right to die by the kris at the hand of their nearest relation. Should an ordinary man die without heirs, his property passed to the crown. No marriages could be celebrated without permission from the sultan or the "bendará." If a man caught his wife committing adultery within his own house he might legally kill both parties (but he was not legally permitted to take the life of just one). If he was not able to kill them both, he had to bring charges against them (or the survivor) before a judge.[68] Whenever a person was required by law to pay damages for injuring another, half of the fine went to the injured party and the other half to the crown. Capital punishments prescribed by law varied according to the nature of the crime. Some criminals were thrust upon spits, others had their chests crushed; some were hanged or boiled in water, while still others were roasted and eaten by cannibals whom the king imported from Aru in Sumatra for this purpose. The property of those condemned to death was divided equally between the heirs and the crown, if there were no heirs the crown received everything.

In Muhammed's time there were five chief functionaries at his court. The first minister, or viceroy, was called the "pudricaraja" (*putrikarāja*).[69] The "bendará" normally controlled the treasury, and often held the portfolio of the "pudricaraja" as well, "for two separate persons in these two offices never agree well together."[70] The "lassamane" (admiral) obviously occupied an important post in government because of Malacca's reliance upon keeping the sea

[66] Ferrand, *loc cit* (n. 47), p. 423, n 7

[67] Albuquerque in Birch (ed), *op. cit* (n 10), III, 87

[68] For further clarification of this passage, which is also obscure in the original *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, see the French translation by Ferrand, *loc cit* (n 47), p. 426

[69] *Ibid*, p. 426, n. 3

[70] Albuquerque in Birch (ed), *op. cit.* (n 10), III, 87.

lanes open and defending itself against maritime invasions.[71] A military official called the "tamungo"[72] was in charge of maintaining control over and administering justice to the numerous foreigners in the city. The fifth office was staffed by four "xabandars" (harbor masters),[73] nationals of the following states. China, Java, Cambay, and Bengal The foreign merchants of their own states, as well as some from other unrepresented countries, were assigned to the jurisdiction of each of these four port authorities. In turn, they were responsible to the "tamungo" in his capacity as the superintendent of the customs and of the foreign merchant communities. When the Portuguese took over Malacca in 1511, they retained much of this administrative structure and left most problems of local government and justice in the hands of native authorities who upheld the traditional law.[74]

While Muhammed's rule was hard, Malacca prospered during his reign. At the time of Albuquerque's conquest the city and its immediate territory had a population of one hundred thousand and stretched along the coast for a distance of about four miles. Beyond the city itself, the jurisdiction of Malacca extended east to Pahang, north to Kedah, and inland to the territories subject to Siam. Thus, in a short period of ninety years (1421–1511), from its founding to its capture by the Portuguese, Malacca is pictured by the conqueror's son as having developed from a backward fishing village into a bustling commercial and administrative metropolis with a tiny empire of its own. The state, which was primitive at the beginning of the century, possessed by 1500 a well-defined hierarchy charged with administering a body of law and custom for natives and foreigners alike. While Albuquerque's chronicle of the sultans of Malacca is certainly faulty, he renders a picture of the past which could not be found in other Portuguese books printed in his day and preserved data which are even yet valuable in reconstructing Malayan history.

The printed books of the sixteenth century contain no single narrative describing the development of Malacca under Portuguese rule. Modern scholars, even when writing about the Portuguese themselves and their way of life in Malacca, are forced to piece together the story from a vast number of printed and manuscript sources of varying degrees of reliability.[75] Aside from Barros, who has surprisingly little to say on the European period of Malacca's history, sixteenth-century Europeans had available the printed reports on conditions in Malacca for the following years: Varthema (*ca.* 1506), Albuquerque and

[71] For his other duties, such as chief of the harem, see the translation from the code of Malacca in Ferrand, *loc. cit.* (n. 47), p. 427, n. 2.

[72] Probably from the Malay *temengung*, a term which is now used to designate a military rank. See *ibid.*, p. 415, n. 1, and p. 427, n. 3.

[73] *Shāh-bândar*, a Persian term used generally in maritime Asia which literally means "king of the port." See *ibid*, p 428, n 1.

[74] On Albuquerque's decision about retaining traditional government see Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n 39), II, 283, for confirmation by recent scholarship see I. A. Macgregor, *loc. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 23–24.

[75] See, for example, the excellent summary in I. A. Macgregor, *loc. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 5–47.

Empoli (1511), Barbosa (*ca* 1515), Castanheda (between 1528 and 1538), Fedrici (*ca.* 1566–69), Lemos (1574–75), Mendoza (*ca.* 1579), Linschoten (1583–88), and Fitch (1582). As can readily be observed, the greatest gaps in the printed reports are for the middle (*ca.* 1538–66) and final years (1588–1600) of the century. Fortunately, the Jesuit letters from Malacca, while as a rule not overly informative on local conditions there, are especially numerous and detailed for the middle and end years of the century.[76] So, on the basis of these materials alone, it was theoretically possible for a contemporary of Hakluyt to fit together in sketchy outline a picture of both the permanent and changing features of life in Portuguese Malacca during the sixteenth century.

On the physical features of Malacca the European sources are essentially in agreement. Its port is described as being better and safer than the harbor at Singapore. No ships within it are ever lost from storms, and the harbor is easy to reach, particularly from the west. The city is situated at the mouth of a tiny stream and the surrounding territory is unproductive, even though jungle vegetation is profuse and luxuriant. Malacca has a plentiful supply of good water and delicious fruits (grapes, chestnuts, figs, durians, and other fruits), but most of the other food has to be brought in by sea from abroad.[77] Though the land is not fertile, it yields valuable woods, gold, and tin. Wild animals are numerous.[78] Castanheda reports that the city is divided into two parts by a river which is spanned by a connecting bridge. In the southern section of the city the king and his nobles reside and here the chief mosque is also located. On the northern side of the river live the merchants. The houses in both the administrative and mercantile sections of the city are constructed of wood and stone.[79] Merchants come to Malacca from all over the world, but nobody stays there longer than necessary because its climate, though temperate, is reported to be hot, damp, and unhealthy for natives and foreigners alike. Apparently the only Portuguese who resided permanently at Malacca during the sixteenth century were the few soldiers who manned the fortress, the crown officials, and occasional priests and missionaries.[80]

The cosmopolitan population of the city includes merchants and sailors from all the lands between Arabia and China, whether Moors, Jews, or heathens. Especially numerous are the Islamic Gujaratis from Cambay, the Klings and

[76] For additional data on the middle years see J. Wicki (ed.), *Alessandro Valignano, Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542–64)* (Rome, 1944), pp. 85–93.

[77] M. L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (London, 1921), II, 178, also see Linschoten's remarks in Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 25), I, 105.

[78] Varthema in Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 84.

[79] Pedro de Azevedo (ed.), *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (Coimbra, 1924), I, 458. For a description of Malacca based on all available sources (not only those printed in Europe during the sixteenth century) see Wheatley, *op. cit.* (n. 26), pp. 311–12. Also see Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), II, 173–74.

[80] Malacca was clearly a hardship post for officials of the Portuguese crown. For additional comment see Macgregor, *loc. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 6–8. Some of the Jesuits went to Malacca to recover from asthma, but others complain about the inland winds which make everyone ill with the fever. See J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica* (Rome, 1962), VII, 33, 46, 86.

Bengalis of the east coast of India, the men of Java, the Chinese, and the "Gores" (Japanese). The Siamese, because of their political differences with the sultans of Malacca, are conspicuous by their absence.[81] When Albuquerque took the city, two powerful Javanese communities were resident in Malacca who controlled the rice trade with their homeland. The more powerful group lived on the northwestern side of the river at "Upi" (Upeh) and the other on the southeastern side at "Ilher" (Hilir).[82] The Portuguese had considerable difficulty controlling these rich mercantile groups of Javans and ultimately ejected them from the city. Many of the Javan mariners lived with their families on their ships and never went ashore except to trade. The Javans, in Barbosa's time, clearly controlled most of the shipping between Malacca and the archipelago, including the Spice Islands. Apparently, the Javans were also known in Malacca for their tendency to run amuck when sufficiently agitated.[83] The Moors and the Javans were clearly the spoilers of Malacca as far as the Portuguese were concerned. With the other foreign groups, especially the Chinese and Indians, the Portuguese, except for occasional incidents, normally had peaceful and profitable relations. The Hindu merchants were especially friendly to the Portuguese and helped them to obtain an understanding of the prevailing business practices.

To European eyes the natives of Malacca are "white," well-proportioned, and proud. The men normally wear cotton garments (sarongs) which cover them only from the waist down, but a few of the more distinguished wear short, silk coats, "after the fashion of Cairo,"[84] under which they carry daggers called krises. Their women, who are olive-colored, comely, and brunette, usually wear "fine silk garments and short shirts. . . ."[85] Nobody but the king may wear yellow colors without special permission under pain of death.[86] The faces of the natives are broad with wide noses and round eyes.[87] Both sexes are well-mannered and devotees of all forms of refined amusement, especially music, ballads, and poetry. The rich pass life pleasantly in their country homes at Bertam which are surrounded by bountiful orchards. Most of them maintain separate establishments in the city from which they conduct their business. They especially take delight in cultivating the arts of love-making and war. They take offense easily and will not permit anyone to put his hand on their

[81] Albuquerque in Birch (trans and ed.), *op cit* (n 10), III, 85. Pires, who includes discussion of the political troubles of the Malays and Siamese in his section on Siam, most of which was published by Ramusio in 1550, asserts that the Siamese had not traded in Malacca for twenty-two years (since about 1490). See Cortesão (trans and ed.), *op cit* (n. 46), I, 108.

[82] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n 39), II, 257. For their subsequent difficulties with the Portuguese see Macgregor, *loc cit* (n. 24), p 24, n 72

[83] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 77), II, 174–77. On running amuck in Malacca also see Varthema in Temple (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 5), p. lxxi.

[84] Varthema in Temple (ed.) *op cit.* (n. 5), p. 84, for comment see also p lxxi. One of the Venetians who contributed information to the *Viaggi fatti alla Tana* (1543) from his experiences in India notes that the people of Malacca are small and ruddy, wear long, black turbans, fight with murderous poisoned arrows, pay tribute in cloves to Portugal, and purchase porcelain from China.

[85] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 176

[86] Albuquerque in Birch (ed and trans.), *op. cit.* (n 10), III, 86.

[87] Varthema in Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 5), p. 84.

heads or shoulders.[88] Often malicious and untruthful, they take pride in their ability to wield the kris adroitly against their personal enemies. In larger engagements they fight in bands with bows and arrows, spears, and krises.[89] In their beliefs they are devout Moors. Their language called Malayan "is reported to be the most courteous and seemelie speech of all the Orient."[90] It is readily learned by foreigners,[91] and is the lingua franca for the entire region. And, at this point it is interesting to remember that Pigafetta had supplied a short vocabulary to Europe of Malay commercial terms which was republished and made broadly available through its inclusion in Ramusio's collection (1550).[92] While Xavier was in Malacca in 1545, he translated with great difficulty into Malay the Ten Commandments, the General Confession and other articles of the faith. The following year he wrote to the European fathers from Amboina as follows:

> The Malayan language, spoken in Malacca, is very common throughout this area. . . . It is a great handicap in these islands that they have no writings, and know only a little about writing; and the language they write is in Malay and the letters are Arabic, which the Moorish priests have taught them to write and still teach them at present. Before they became Moors they did not know how to write.[93]

While the European writers without exception comment on the international importance of Malacca, they have very little to say about conditions in the rest of the Malay Peninsula. They make clear that Pahang, as well as two Sumatran principalities, were vassals of Malacca and that the remaining states of the peninsula continued to be subject to Siamese governors. While occasional references occur to trade at other ports on the east and west coasts, nothing much is said about conditions in them. Except for Malacca, Barros asserts, the entire west coast has nothing but jungle, swamps, and a few villages of fishermen. The wild animals of the countryside, including huge and savage cattle, are so ferocious that people sleep at night in the highest trees and build huge bonfires to frighten the tigers away.[94] Even the towns themselves are sometimes invaded by the tigers which roam about everywhere.[95]

It is only by inference from the accounts of the Portuguese chroniclers concerning the capture of Malacca and the campaigns into other parts of the

[88] Albuquerque in Birch (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 10), III, 86

[89] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), II, 258–59

[90] Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 25), I, 106

[91] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), I, 458.

[92] *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1554), p. 408, extracts only a few sample terms from the total list

[93] G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki (eds.), *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta* (Rome, 1944–45), I, 333. Xavier is probably wrong in asserting that the Malays did not know how to write before learning the Arabic script. It is likely that they wrote in earlier times, and that they used a modified Indian script.

[94] Alfred Wallace, the great British naturalist of the nineteenth century, wrote of his trip to the interior behind Malacca that tigers were still found there and that he and his party kept a fire going throughout the night to frighten away tigers, elephants, and rhinoceroses (*The Malay Archipelago* [10th ed., London, 1898], p. 26). See also Wheatley, *op. cit.* (n. 26), p. 317.

[95] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), II, 258.

peninsula which followed it that bits of information emerge about the history of Malaya and the fortunes of the deposed sultan. Albuquerque's *Commentarios* naturally contains the classical account of the siege and it is the archetype for most of the later European versions of it.[96] Though Albuquerque describes the flight of Muhammed into the interior, the most detailed rendition of the emigrés' troubles printed in the sixteenth century is provided by Castanheda.[97] He records that the sultan, thinking that Albuquerque would withdraw after plundering the city, first retired with his followers and captives to his estates not far from the city. Muhammed then went further inland to the Muar River and left his son Ala' uddin behind in the camp near Malacca to await the withdrawal of the Portuguese. When Albuquerque learned that the prince was obstructing trade upriver, he sent out an expeditionary force which routed the Malays.[98] The sultan and his son, after seeking to re-establish contact with each other in the interior, finally met in Pahang. Muhammed, according to Castanheda, died in Pahang, and the prince returned to his father's stockade on the Muar River to continue putting pressure on the Portuguese. Another Portuguese force was sent out in 1512 to dislodge the prince and he finally fled to Bintan, an island in the straits south of Singapore.[99] Except for the death of the sultan, Castanheda's story jibes well with what modern scholars are able to learn from other sources.[100]

From their retreat on Bintan, the followers of the sultan preyed upon Portuguese and other ships participating in the Malacca trade. Castanheda reports that the defiant Malays were again on the peninsula in 1518 or 1519 and operating in the valley of the Muar River.[101] Then, he asserts that they were again driven out of the peninsula in 1520 and forced to return to Bintan for the next six years.[102] In 1526 the Portuguese captured Bintan and the refugees fled to Sumatra.[103] Subsequently, a remnant of resistance returned to the peninsula under Ala' uddin's leadership and established themselves in the upper reaches of the valley of the Johore River. In 1535–36, the Portuguese sent a force under Estavão da Gama up the river to root them out.[104] This enterprise was never completely successful, and so, around 1540, the sultan established a new capital at Johore Lama at the mouth of the Johore River directly across the strait from Bintan.[105]

[96] Birch (trans and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 10), III, 101–37.

[97] Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), II, 150–54.

[98] Details of the river barricade are in G. Maffei, *L'Histoire des Indes Orientales et Occidentales . . .* (Paris, 1665), pp. 281–83.

[99] For a description see Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n. 39), III, 253.

[100] Albuquerque, Góis, and Maffei also claim that the sultan died shortly after the conquest. More recent scholarship avers that he continued to harass the Portuguese and finally took refuge in Kampar (in Sumatra) where he died late in 1527 or early in 1528. See I. A. Macgregor, "Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVIII (1955), 73–75.

[101] Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 79), II, 436.

[102] *Ibid*, III, 61. [103] *Ibid.*, IV, 42. [104] *Ibid.*, pp. 340–41.

[105] On the exact location the sixteenth-century printed materials are not clear. This is also the conclusion of Macgregor, *loc cit.* (n. 100), p. 84.

Since the Portuguese chronicles published in the sixteenth century do not cover the period after 1540, little could have been known in Europe about the Johore sultanate (1540–97) except through the Jesuit letters. Though much of what they wrote was left unpublished, the Jesuits report on the sieges of Malacca of June-September, 1551,[106] and of January-February, 1568.[107] Lemos, in his description of the sieges of Malacca of 1574–75, asserts that Johore was secretly supporting the ruler of Acheh (in Sumatra) in his attacks upon the Portuguese bastion and that the Portuguese unsuccessfully attacked Johore in 1576.[108] While the Portuguese themselves published nothing on subsequent difficulties with Johore, Linschoten from his vantage point in Goa reported that in 1587 the Portuguese were again at war with Acheh and Johore, that Malacca was in danger, and that the entire eastern traffic of the Europeans was halted.[109] He also described the outfitting of the fleet of Dom Paulo de Lima and its return to Goa with news of the relief of Malacca, the razing of Johore Lama, and the reopening of the sea route to the east.[110]

The Jesuit, Fróis, paints a bleak and distressing picture of Christian life in Malacca in 1556.[111] The small site on which the Portuguese live is utterly dependent for food upon its imports: wheat and meat from India, rice from Java, and local fruits. There is no fresh water in the settlement and people have to bring it in from the surrounding bush. When foraging expeditions go out, the men arm themselves with muskets and other weapons to scare off thieves and to kill attacking wild animals: elephants, tigers, lions, wildcats, and panthers. The Portuguese in Malacca are ruled completely by sensuality and their desire for gain. The Christians are so concerned about trade and quick profits that they do business with Moorish merchants and even take them as passengers on board their vessels. *Casizes* (Muslim religious called *Lajji* in Arabic) disguised as merchants take advantage of Portuguese avarice to sail with them to many heathen lands where they constantly spread the nefarious teachings of the Prophet. These Muslim teachers are so "solicitious and industrious that they come from Mecca and Cairo and Constantinople to these remote regions to plant and propagate their poisonous sect."[112] To gain the confidence of the easily beguiled Portuguese, the Muslims contribute alms to the Christians. They have been so successful that many of them regularly embark on Portuguese

[106] For example see Francisco Perez to Fathers in Goa (Malacca, November 24, 1551) in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit* (n 80), II, 204–20. Xavier wrote to King John III from Cochin in 1552 telling about the damage suffered by Malacca during the siege and requesting special grants for the Portuguese who had so nobly defended the city. This letter was not published in the sixteenth century See Schurhammer and Wicki (eds), *op. cit.* (n 93), II, 302.

[107] See the letter to Leão Henriques, Provincial of Portugal (from Lourenço Peres?), (Malacca, December 3, 1568) in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), VII, 519.

[108] As quoted in Macgregor, *loc. cit.* (n 100), pp. 86–87.

[109] Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit* (n. 25), I, 193–94.

[110] *Ibid* , pp 198–99 For details of the Portuguese attack on Johore Lama see Macgregor, *loc cit* (n. 100), pp. 101–12.

[111] To Fathers in Portugal (Malacca, Nov 19, 1556) in Wicki (ed), *op cit.* (n. 80), III, 529–39.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

vessels for Borneo and other heathen lands. In 1555 one of these Arab sailors arrived in Malacca from Japan where he had done as much as he could while there to infect the Japanese with Muslim doctrines. This threat to Japan, the pride and joy of the Jesuits, leads Fróis to a bitter denunciation of the Moors as "the most pestiferous and hateful thing there is in these regions."[113]

The merchant accounts of the late sixteenth century dwell almost exclusively on Malacca as a trading center and upon its connections to the east. Like their Portuguese predecessors, Fedrici, Balbi, Linschoten, and Fitch were clearly conscious of Malacca's role as a crossroads where the products of East and West were traded and where the spices of the archipelago were exchanged for the textiles of India. They were also aware of the dependence of Cambay and Malacca upon each other in maintaining trade with the West. But they were most interested in informing their readers about how the Portuguese used Malacca as a sentinel to keep watch and control over the trade to the Moluccas, China, and Japan. Fedrici, who had "not passed further than Malacca towards the East,"[114] learned that licenses had to be obtained from the Portuguese for eastward voyages and that most of those granted went to the *fidalgos*. The cargos carried to China when he was there (*ca.* 1566) were largely made up of "drugs [opium?] of Cambaia" and silver.[115] The ships plying the route between Macao and Japan carried silk to Japan and returned with a load of silver. While the Chinese brought silk, porcelain, and ginseng by sea to Malacca, they also traded overland with Persia. Similar assertions are made by the other commercial spies, but none of them volunteers significant new information on affairs in Malaya itself. It is evident, both from these accounts and the published Jesuit letterbooks, that the Portuguese, despite occasional wars with Acheh, continue to be in control of the trade passing through Malacca. Of equal importance, however, is the fact that the Jesuits were letting it be known in Europe that Malacca was being bypassed by the Spanish who were going directly from the Philippines into the Moluccas, Indochina, China, and Japan.[116]

The published European writings of the sixteenth century bring out a number of the more persistent features about life in Malaya without divulging more than general data on trade. They emphasize the pre-European period of Malaya's history and picture Malacca as the center of the Malay world in the fifteenth century. There emerges clearly the great devotion of the sultans of Malacca to Islam, and the role which they assume of spreading the teachings of the Koran by the sword to neighboring states. Siam's place in the affairs of the Malay principalities, the close trading connections of Malacca and Java, and the distant but powerful influence of China are all present in the European accounts. The

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

[114] In R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations* . . (Glasgow, 1904), V, 404.

[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 405–7.

[116] For a further discussion of the religious situation in Malacca see Guzman, *op. cit.* (n. 44), I, 175–76.

Malay language, depicted as the lingua franca of the archipelago and the peninsula, helps the European authors to explain why the Malays occupy the key position in the trade and diplomacy of the region. Malacca, which lives from trade almost exclusively, is shown as being situated in an unproductive area, dependent on food imports, and surrounded by jungle, swamps, and impassable country. A few details of the peninsula's internal geography, particularly the river valleys, emerge from the descriptions of those expeditions which were undertaken against the Malays who resisted Portuguese domination.[117] The Malay people, especially those of Malacca, are seen as indulging in frivolous pastimes and are considered to be warlike in their behavior, hence they are often used as auxiliaries by the Portuguese captains. The Malays, who resist the Portuguese throughout the century, are given only uncertain support at critical times by their coreligionists and fellow Malays of Sumatra and Java. It is nonetheless implicit in the reports that the Portuguese are not at all times firmly in command of Malacca. Careful readers in Europe might even have deduced from the published accounts that the Portuguese position in Malacca could be attacked most effectively (as it eventually was) from bases on Sumatra and Java with the aid of the anti-Portuguese rulers of those islands.

3

Siam

Continental southeast Asia, with its high mountains and great rivers which run southward into the surrounding seas, has acted historically as a barrier to communication between India and China. The great land routes traversing the Eurasiatic continent generally circumvented its rugged and tortuous terrain.[118] East and west transportation within the area itself was mainly by sea. The Chinese, Muslims, and Portuguese, their maritime and mercantile interest being in the archipelago and the spice trade, had less direct contact with the people of the continent (except for those at Malacca) and knew correspondingly less about them. It was primarily as a result of the southward migrations of the early twelfth century that Thai peoples from China and Tibet began to settle this region. Thereafter, as civilization developed along the Tenasserim littoral and in the great and fertile river deltas of southeast Asia, people and ideas began to pour in from the outside world, especially from China and India.

[117] On the sparsity of geographical description see I. A. Macgregor, "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," *loc. cit.* (n. 24), pp. 5–6. Apparently there were no large Malay settlements away from the rivers.

[118] For a period in the second century A D one of the overland routes between China and the West crossed northern Burma. At a somewhat later date there was probably a road from Upper Burma into India Pires (in Cortesão [trans and ed.], *op cit.* [n. 46], I, 111) reports hearing at Malacca that the Burmese and Siamese trade up the rivers and overland with China.

Buddhism, a bequest from India, was the dominant religious and civilizing force at work in continental southeast Asia when the first Portuguese got east of Bengal. Varthema in his comments on Tenasserim and in his references to "Christians of Sarnam"[119] seems to realize that he is in touch with a belief not to be found in India proper. At the time of Albuquerque's descent upon Malacca, Portuguese emissaries were sent to Siam because it was the traditional suzerain of the Malay sultanate; a mission was also sent to Pegu because of its reputation for wealth. Burma remained only of secondary importance to the merchants working out of India, but Portuguese freebooters took service in its armies and played an active role on both sides in the numerous wars fought between Burma and Siam. A few Christian missionaries also went into these continental lands, even though their lives were often in danger. However, Siam and its continental neighbors remained entirely outside of the Portuguese imperial design and charted their own destinies during the sixteenth century.

Albuquerque, even before he arrived at Malacca, knew that its Malay sultan was involved in a permanent war with Siam. The ruler of Siam, the Portuguese realized, still claimed suzerainty over the Malay Peninsula and much of continental southeast Asia. Upon arriving at Malacca, Albuquerque soon heard stories about the power and wealth of Siam and determined to find out for himself all that he could about this celebrated state and its king's attitude towards the new conquerors of Malacca. Even before completing the conquest, Albuquerque nervously dispatched his envoy, Duarte Fernandes, to the court of Rama T'ibodi II (reigned 1491–1529)[120] in the capital city of Ayut'ia. But Albuquerque need not have worried about T'ibodi's reaction, for he was at war with neighboring Chiengmai and was consequently in no position to interfere at Malacca. Fernandes was well equipped for his mission of peace and amity because he knew Malay, having previously learned it as a prisoner in Malacca. After a friendly reception in Ayut'ia, Fernandes returned to Malacca in the company of a Siamese envoy who was carrying gifts and letters for Albuquerque and the king of Portugal. Almost at once Albuquerque sent a reconnaissance mission to Ayut'ia under Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo.[121] One of its number, Manuel Fragoso, was to study Siam's location, markets, commercial practices, the other customs of the land, the depths of its ports, and collateral matters vital to the establishment of trade. Fragoso remained in Siam for two years to prepare a written report. He took it personally to Goa in 1513 accompanied by a Siamese emissary to the viceroy.[122] This report was sent immediately to Portugal, but it has never been published. It is likely, however, that Barbosa and Barros used it.

[119] Sarnam is another word for Siam See below, p. 531, for further comment.

[120] For a description of Fernandes' reception see Albuquerque in Birch (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 10), III, 152–55.

[121] *Ibid.*, pp. 156–59.

[122] See J. J. Gonçalves, "Os Portugueses no Sião," *Boletim da sociedade de geografia de Lisboa*, LXXV (1957), 435–37, J. de Campos, "Early Portuguese Accounts of Thailand," *Journal of the Thailand Research Society* (Bangkok), XXXII (1940), 3–5.

Portugal's relations with Siam remained for a time on an informal basis, though Siamese were encouraged to return to Malacca to replace many of the Muslim merchants who left when the Portuguese seized the city. A few Portuguese freebooters also found their way to Siam to take up service in the royal army. In order to formalize relations and to enlist powerful Siam on their side, the Portuguese sent another mission to Ayut'ia in 1518. Duarte Coelho, plenipotentiary of the king of Portugal, had previously made two visits to Siam, once in the entourage of Miranda and once when the ship on which he was sailing was forced by storms to take refuge up the Menam River. He was accompanied on this third occasion by a sizable retinue and carried letters and presents sent directly from King Manuel to Rama T'ibodi II to confirm the peace treaty earlier concluded by Miranda. In addition, Coelho was able to conclude a political-military agreement with Siam which was designed to help strengthen Portugal's precarious position in southeast Asia. The treaty of 1518 granted the Portuguese the right to trade and settle in Siam and to enjoy religious freedom. Trading was officially permitted at Ayut'ia, at Lugor (its Siamese name is Nakhon Sritammarat), at Patani, and in Tenasserim at its capital city of Mergui. In return, groups of Siamese were allowed to settle in Malacca, and the Portuguese promised to provide Ayut'ia with guns and munitions needed in the war then being fought with Chiengmai.

The pact effectively opened Siam to traders, mercenaries, and settlers from Malacca. Portuguese military advisers and instructors were attached to the Thai army shortly after 1518. Trading factories sprang up at the port towns of Lugor and Patani as commerce between Ayut'ia and Malacca became brisk. Though we have no records, it is probable that Catholic priests went into Siam at this same period to minister to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese settlers there.[123] Reports on trade and local conditions funneled back to Lisbon from the Portuguese in Siam. Some of these were used by Barros in his vivid account of Siam for the period before 1540.

In Siam itself the early years of the sixteenth century were comparatively peaceful and prosperous, particularly after Chiengmai had received a stinging defeat in 1515 with the aid of the Portuguese. Rama T'ibodi II then began a military reorganization of his kingdom which helped to preserve peace and stability for the next score of years. A succession crisis in Chiengmai, however, brought about a new and large-scale Siamese intervention in 1543. This event ended the relative calm of the earlier years, involved Ayut'ia in wars with its northern neighbors, and led to troubles with Pegu. Finally, in 1569, the forces of Bayin Naung from Pegu besieged, captured, destroyed, and depopulated Ayut'ia. For the next fifteen years Siam lived restively as a vassal of Burma. The accession at Pegu of Nanda Bayin in 1581 marked the beginning of a lengthy effort on the part of Siam to break the hold of the Toungoo rulers of Burma and to regain independence. Plagued with internal problems the Burmese rulers

[123] Gonçalves, *loc. cit.* (n. 122), p. 440.

were forced to fight on several fronts simultaneously and over a long period; in the meantime Siam became increasingly less easy to control. The situation going from bad to worse for the harassed Burmese, they were gradually forced out of the Thai country. The Thais, following up their advantage, continued to beleaguer their overlords, but the city of Pegu ultimately fell into the hands of the Arakanese in 1599. At the end of the sixteenth century, Siam held all of lower Burma south of Martaban and had regained its independence.[124]

Among the European writers whose accounts of Siam were published in the sixteenth century, the most important are those of Pires, Barbosa, Barros, and Pinto. A number of illuminating sidelights can also be gleaned from the narratives of Varthema, Pigafetta, Castanheda, Albuquerque, Fedrici, Balbi, and Fitch. Varthema, Pinto, and Fitch are the only ones among these commentators who almost certainly set foot on Thai territory. Varthema was probably in Tenasserim in 1505, and Fitch reports that late in 1587 he journeyed to Chiengmai about two hundred miles northeast of the city of Pegu. Pinto was the only one of the writers who actually lived in the capital of Siam. While the Portuguese sources are substantial on the period of Ayut'ia's ascendancy (before 1545), they give only scattered bits of information relating to the decline and resurgence of Ayut'ia in the latter half of the century. The European records, as uneven and spotty as they are, nonetheless have considerable value for the reconstruction of Siamese history. Most of the contemporary Thai writings were burned in the flames which swept and consumed Ayut'ia in 1767.[125] The only native history of significance which covers the sixteenth century is the *Pongsawadan* (*Annals of Ayut'ia*, 1349–1765) compiled in the eighteenth century from earlier writings. Unfortunately, the compilers issued several differing versions and failed to preserve the sources from which they wrote. Besides this, the only other sources are of foreign provenance and of contestable value. The Chinese records are clearly the best, because the annals of Siam's closest neighbors, whenever available, tend to be biased and to disagree on dating and chronology.[126]

Barros ranks Siam, along with China and Vijayanagar, as one of the three richest and most powerful continental empires with which the Portuguese have friendly relations.[127] Its vassal states appear to be so extensive that they would be considered great states in Europe. Apparently accepting the Siamese claim to suzerainty over almost all of continental southeast Asia, Barros includes under his description of Ayut'ia's empire a good portion of what we call Indochina today. To illustrate the complicated character of Siam's boundaries

[124] Hall, *op. cit.* (n. 30), chap. xiii.

[125] Campos, *loc. cit.* (n 122), p. 2

[126] On the types of available Asian sources (mainly Siamese) see Prince Damrong, "The Story of the Records of Siamese History," *The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication* (Bangkok, 1954), I, 82–98.

[127] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 75–77

Barros reverts to the hand-map which we described earlier.[128] Starting with the Menam River (which is called "Mother of Waters"),[129] he explains that it runs through the center of the country from north to south and empties into the bay which originates at the place where the index finger and the other three join the hand. The north-south extension of the empire runs through twenty-two degrees of latitude, or, if we use sixty-nine miles for each degree, about 1,518 miles. The Mekong River to the east has a huge delta which divides the coastal states of Cambodia and Champa. In the extreme north, where all of these great rivers rise from a single lake,[130] there is a range of mountains as rugged as the Alps which is located on his hand-map at the point where the hand joins the wrist. In this mountainous hinterland live a barbaric people called the "Gueos." They border Siam only on a small part of its northern frontier, because the Laos states encircle Siam on the north and east and control the upper reaches of the Mekong River. South of the Laos states lie the coastal kingdoms of Cambodia and Champa. On the west and north Siam is bounded by the Burmese states.

The "Gueos," according to Barros,[131] are ferocious and cruel cannibals. They fight on horseback and descend periodically from their mountain strongholds to attack the Siamese and the Laotians. The "Gueos" tattoo themselves and brand their whole bodies with hot irons. Barros ventures the opinion that these may be the primitive people to whom Marco Polo refers as inhabiting the kingdom of "Cangigu" because their customs are so similar.[132] The Laos, who live along the Mekong, are technically vassals of Siam but they often revolt against their suzerain. Their territories are divided into three semi-independent kingdoms: Chiengmai, Chiangrai, and Lanchang (Luang Prabang).[133] Their only reason for accepting Siam's overlordship at certain times is to receive its protection from the depredations of the "Gueos." Were it not

[128] See above, p 505 Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed], *op. cit* [n 79], II, 156) reveals nothing about Siam's geography Apparently he knew about just a few coastal towns.

[129] Me = Mother, Nam = Water

[130] This is a reference to the legendary lake of Chiamai supposedly situated at 30 degrees north latitude in the Tibetan plateau Early maps show all of the rivers of continental southeast Asia as originating from it.

[131] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit.* (n. 39), III, 78.

[132] Though they do not mention the opinion ventured by Barros, similar speculations may be found in H. Yule and H. Cordier (eds), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* (New York, 1903), II, 117 n and 128 n Campos, *loc. cit.* (n 22), pp. 10–11, identifies these people with the Lawas and the Was of northern Siam who practiced ritual cannibalism like the Bataks of Sumatra (see below, p. 575). On these two primitive groups see W. A. R Wood, *A History of Siam* (London, 1926), p. 41 Barbosa (in Dames [ed], *op. cit* [n. 77], II, 167–69) dwells on the details of ritual cannibalism as practiced in the hinterlands of Siam. Camoens (X, 126), on the basis of this passage in Barros, wrote (Burton's translation):

> "See how in distant wilds and woods lie pent
> the self-styled Gueons, savage folk untamed.
> Man's flesh they eat: their own they paint
> and sear, branding with burning iron,—usage fere!"

On the map of Asia prepared by Sanson for Louis XIV in 1692 the "Gueyes" continue to be shown as living just to the southeast of the legendary "Lake of Chiamaj."

[133] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n 39), III, 79. Actually, this description of the semi-independent status of the Laotian states coincides with what we know from other sources.

that the king of Siam keeps sending large armies against the hordes of the north, the "Gueos" would long ago have destroyed the Laos and conquered Siam. From the testimony of Domingo de Seixas, a Portuguese employed in the Siamese army for twenty-five years, Barros reports that the forces sent into the north numbered 20,000 cavalry, 10,000 war elephants, and 250,000 infantry, as well as carabao for cargo carriers.[134]

The king of Siam rules over nine kingdoms, just two of which are peopled by the Thai themselves.[135] The one which includes Ayut'ia, the capital, borders on the territory of Malacca and is called "Muantay" (Mu'ang Thai) meaning the southern Thai kingdom. Besides the capital, the southern kingdom includes many other cities and ports. Pires says that the Siamese control three ports on the Pegu side of the Malay peninsula and a great many others on its eastern side.[136] Barbosa discusses trade at just two of these western territories, Tenasserim and Kedah[137] On the eastern side Siam controls the port cities of "Pangoçai" (Bang Plassoy), "Lugo" (Lugor or Lakon), "Patane" (Patani), "Calantao" (Kelantan), "Talingano" (Trenganu), and "Pam" (Pahang).[138] Each of these ports has a governor called an "oia" (*p'aya*) who is comparable to a duke in Europe.[139] At Lugor, there is a viceroy called "peraia" (probably *pra p'aya* meaning "lord governor"), who has charge of the entire coast from Pahang to Ayut'ia.[140] On the Pegu and Cambodia side the "aiam campetit" (p'aya of Kampengpet) acts as viceroy, is next to the king in power, has his own fighting force, and is evidently charged with maintaining the Siamese position on these unstable frontiers.[141] The northern kingdom under Ayut'ia's control is called "Chaumua" (Chau Nua, or peoples of the north), and, according to Barros, its inhabitants have a language of their own.[142] To the northern and southern kingdoms collectively foreigners have given the name "Siam" but it is not the appellation used by the Thai themselves.[143] In surveying the non-Thai states

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 78. Campos, without indicating why, says these figures are exaggerated (*loc. cit.* [n. 122], pp. 10–11)

[135] The first written reference to the Siamese as a historical people is found on the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat and is dated from the twelfth century The earliest mentions of the name Thai are dated from the late thirteenth century. See L. P. Briggs, "The Appearance and Historical Usage of the Terms Tai, Thai, Siamese, and Lao," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIX (1949), 65.

[136] Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 103, later on Pires lists a number of ports under Siamese jurisdiction, but these names were unfortunately omitted from the version which Ramusio published. Pigafetta learned a few of the names of these port cities from his Javanese pilots and he records them See James A. Robertson (ed.), *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta* (Cleveland, 1906), II, 173.

[137] Dames (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 77), II, 163–65

[138] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n 39), III, 79.

[139] Among the higher officials, the p'aya ranks third See C. H. Philips (ed.), *Handbook of Oriental History* (London, 1951), pp 106–7.

[140] Pires in Cortesão (trans and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 109.

[141] *Ibid*

[142] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit* (n. 39), III, 79. For an ethnic and linguistic map of modern Siam see Wendell Blanchard *et al.*, *Thailand, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture* (New Haven, 1957), p. 58.

[143] "Siam" appears to be derived from the Malay, *Siyām*, an appellation which the Portuguese learned at Malacca. For a detailed etymology see Briggs, *loc. cit.* (n. 135), pp. 68–69, n. 62.

ruled over by Ayut'ia, Barros presents a confusing and indefinite picture. What emerges from studying his list is the fact that the Portuguese in Ayut'ia were probably told about a number of kingdoms over which Siam claimed suzerainty but which were actually semi-independent. Those non-Thai states listed which are identifiable are Chiengmai, Chiangrai, Lanchang, Cambodia, and several states in Burma.[144]

The fullest accounts which exist of a dependent province are those relating to Tenasserim (Mergui) and they are provided by Varthema and Barbosa. Tenasserim, a peninsular area facing on the Bay of Bengal, was not among Siam's tributary states for it was ranked, according to the law of King Boroma Trailokanat (reigned 1448–88), as a second-class province under the crown's direct jurisdiction.[145] Like many such territories remote from Ayut'ia, it probably enjoyed a substantial degree of independence. Still, it is clear from Barbosa's placement of Tenasserim in his chapter on Siam that he considered it to be a division of that empire. Actually, the references to Tenasserim are all to a city rather than a province and so most editors of these early accounts conclude that their authors are actually talking about the city of Mergui.[146] The governor of the city, who is referred to as its "king," is a pagan who always has a large army at his command.[147] Aside from being well supplied with fruits and animals, Tenasserim produces brazil-wood and a resin called benzoin.[148] Varthema reports that silk is woven in Mergui and that the people of the city use quilted cloth of silk or cotton on their persons and in their homes.[149] The adventurous Italian and his companions witnessed cockfights of the kind which are still a form of popular amusement in Thailand. One of his group, being a stranger in the city, was asked to deflower the sixteen-year-old bride of a merchant; this custom of premarital defloration by strangers seems to have been followed in the region of the Bay of Bengal long after Varthema's time.[150] At death the nobles and Brahmans of the city are burned on a pyre and their ashes are preserved in special earthen urns. Fifteen days after the death of her husband, the widow commits *sati*. A young man, in making overtures to a girl, reportedly makes his plea for love while placing a burning cloth on his naked arm as proof

[144] See Campos, *loc cit.* (n. 122), pp. 11–12; Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 82–83; and John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam* (London, 1857), I, 11–12.

[145] Ulrich Guehler, "The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema and His Visit to Siam, Banghella, and Pegu A D. 1505," in the special volume of selected articles from the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok), VII (1959), 252

[146] Conti (in Major [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 31], pt. IV, p. 9) writes about "the city of Ternassari which is situated on the mouth of a river of the same name." Pires (in Cortesão [trans. and ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 46], I, 105) includes Tenasserim in Siam and identifies it as the port "nearest to the land of Pegu " Fedrici (in Purchas [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 16], X, 115) reports on Tenasserim after it had fallen to Burma's control: "This Citie of right belongeth to the Kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great Rivers side, which commeth out of the Kingdome of Sion: and where this River runneth into the Sea, there is a village called Mirgim. . . ."

[147] Varthema in Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 74–75.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. 75, and Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 164.

[149] For comment see Guehler, *loc. cit.* (n. 145), p. 253, n. 3.

[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 257–58, n. 10.

of his sincerity and devotion. Murderers in Tenasserim suffer death by impalement. The people of this part of the world write on paper,[151] not on palm leaves as they do in Calicut. As a port, Mergui plays host to many Muslim and pagan merchants from Bengal, Malacca, and Gujarat.

Barbosa also reports on trade at Kedah, another western port of Siam south of Mergui, where pepper grows in abundance. He likewise notices that Siam controls two or three other ports along the Malay coast between Mergui and Malacca. Muslim merchants who want to trade at any of these ports are forced to come unarmed.[152] It is clear from this remark and the confirmatory reports in other Portuguese sources that the Siamese authorities were determined that the Muslim merchants should not have an opportunity to take over political control of the ports under Ayut'ia's jurisdiction as they had been doing in the archipelago. Still, it appears that they were permitted to trade and settle in Siam providing that they did not become a political menace.

Except for its frontier regions, Siam is mostly flat and this is especially true for the valley of the Menam. The people of Siam devote themselves primarily to agriculture and fishing; consequently, food is abundant. Very few of the Siamese are craftsmen, and so the markets of the country are not thronged with foreign traders competing to buy merchandise. The few native products which attract business originate in Chiengmai. Silver comes from the Laos territories. Much of Siam's trade with India is carried on through Martaban and other ports of the Bay of Bengal where Gujarati and other Muslim tradesmen are freer from surveillance by the authorities. Part of Siam's difficulty in participating in international trade apparently stems from the fact that Muslims are not welcome; Pires bluntly asserts that the Thai "do not like them."[153] Hindus, and especially Chinese traders, are commonly received well, but nobody seems to make great profit from trading in central Siam. Six or seven junks from Siam carry goods to China annually.[154] The gold from Pahang and the tin from Kedah were being funneled into Malacca by the time the Portuguese arrived there, and they tried to make certain that this movement would continue. Even though Siam was not commercially attractive, Portuguese traders continued to go to the ports under Ayut'ia's control, for, in the practical words of Pires, the Europeans "bear some things on account of profit . . . because otherwise there would be no trading."[155]

The king of Siam, whose title is "Peraia" (*P'ra Chao*, or Lord of All),[156] is reputedly very powerful, wealthy, and tolerant of all foreigners except the Muslims. Though he is formal with strangers, he is free and easy with his own

[151] On the cardboard type of paper used in Siam see W. A. Graham, *Siam* (London, 1924), I, 285.
[152] Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 77), II, 164–65.
[153] Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n 46), I, 104
[154] *Ibid.*, p. 108.
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid*, I, 109, for the taboo on the use of the king's personal name and the various titles used by the common people to refer to "His Majesty" see H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies, Their History and Function* (London, 1931), pp 38–39.

subjects.[157] He rules justly, if absolutely, from his permanent capital in Ayut'ia. His harem includes more than five hundred women and he lives in sumptuous palaces surrounded by extensive orchards and gardens.[158] He frequently goes to the hunt on horseback accompanied by many greyhounds and other dogs.[159] On the death of a king, the crown usually passes to a nephew,[160] a son of the king's sister, providing that he is acceptable; if not, conclaves are held to determine which member of the royal family will succeed to the throne. Once a king is crowned, the lords follow his commands obediently and his ambassadors carry out his instructions to the letter. Like his brother monarch in Pegu, the king of Siam is partial to white elephants and will undergo the most severe trials to acquire as many of them as possible.[161]

The men of Siam have close-cropped hair and are tall, swarthy, peaceful, and temperate in eating and drinking like their neighbors in Pegu.[162] As a rule they wear a sarong from the hips down but go naked above the waist.[163] In their beliefs they resemble most of the other people of continental southeast Asia, because they all allegedly derived their religious notions from the Chinese. They are generally very much involved in religion and build many magnificent temples, some of stone and lime, and others of brick and lime.[164] To the Siamese, God, as the creator of Heaven and Earth, rewards virtue and punishes sins. Each man on this earth has two conflicting spiritual advisers, one who protects his soul and the other who tempts it. Both inside and outside their temples, the Siamese build idols in human forms and dedicate them to those among the departed who have lived worthwhile lives. They do not worship these idols, but cherish them simply because they serve to keep green the memory of the individuals whom they represent.[165]

Notable among their numerous images is one in clay which is about 225 feet long and depicts a man lying asleep on some pillows.[166] This holy image is called the "father of man," possibly Buddha. They believe that he was sent directly from Heaven and was not created of man. The original of this reclining image is said to be the vital force which put certain men into the world who were martyred for the sake of God. The largest and oldest of the Siamese images is

[157] Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 104.

[158] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), II, 157, this figure on the size of the royal harem is probably low. See Wales, *op. cit.* (n. 156), pp. 47–50

[159] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 166–67.

[160] Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 104, this seems to be utterly wrong, for most of the kings of the Ayut'ia dynasty were the sons of their predecessors. See list in Philips, *op. cit.* (n. 139), p. 135. The succession law of 1360 provided that the eldest son of the queen has precedence over all other members of the royal family. See Wales, *op. cit.* (n. 156), p. 67.

[161] Below, p. 548.

[162] Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 103–4.

[163] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 166.

[164] For a discussion of Siamese temples and their properties, images, and shrines see Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities* (Bangkok, 1939), pp. 23–38

[165] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 80

[166] See Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 83. For a discussion of this ancient artwork see Graham, *op. cit.* (n. 151), II, 156.

one cast in metal which is housed in a temple in the city of "Socotay" (Sukhothai). This bronze image stands about sixty feet high.[167] Other idols are numerous and of various sizes, some of them no taller than a man. Their temples are large and next to them one often sees pyramid-like structures (Prachedi stupas, or Buddhist relic shrines)[168] topped by huge spires which are dedicated to the gods as ornaments. Ordinarily they are built of stone or brick and decorated with gilded wooden facings and moldings. The lower levels of these buildings are colorfully painted and at the tip of the spire, where the Portuguese usually put a weathercock on their churches, the Siamese hang a flat disc that looks like a hat around the edge of which they suspend many little bells which tinkle with the slightest movement of the air.

The priests of these temples are respected and venerated, for in their way they are genuinely religious. They are so chaste that no female of any sort, even a nun, may enter their dormitories in the temple compound. Those who bring women in are punished by expulsion. They wear a habit of yellow cotton, the sacred color being yellow because of its similarity to gold. Like the habit of the Portuguese priest, these yellow robes are so long that they touch their ankles. The Siamese priests, unlike the Europeans, keep their right arm bare and across the left shoulder they drape a long strip of wide cloth which is held against the habit by a belt.[169] It is this belt which indicates the order and rank of the wearer just as a vermilion mark indicates that a native of Malabar is a Brahman. Like the priests of Pegu, the Siamese shave their heads, go about shoeless, and carry a large paper fan to shade themselves from the tropical sun. They show great temperance in eating and drinking; if a monk drinks wine he is stoned by his fellows for violating the rules. During the year they observe many fast days, especially at one particular period when the people flock to the temples to hear sermons as Christians do during Lent. Their special holidays take place both at the beginning of the new moon and when it is full; on these occasions they pray in choirs by day and at certain hours during the night.[170]

All learning and tradition are in the hands of the priests. Aside from studying their religion, they devote themselves to investigating the revolutions of the Heavens and the planets as well as to problems of natural philosophy. In their cosmography they contend that a universal flood followed the creation and that this world will last for eight thousand years, six thousand of which have already passed. The end of this world will result from fire. Seven eyes will open in the sun, each one will successively dry up everything on land and sea. In the ashes left from the burning of the land, two eggs will remain, one male and one

[167] According to Campos (*loc cit* [n. 122], p. 12), this figure is probably called Phra Attaros and is not as tall as Barros says If a taller image existed at Sukhothai, it was probably destroyed in 1563 when the Burmese sacked the city.

[168] For a description of the *Prachedi* (or *cetiya*) see Wells, *op cit.* (n. 164), p. 30, n. 1.

[169] For a similar description see *ibid.*, p. 154.

[170] A reference to the rainy season retreat during which time the people retreat into their temples. The retreat lasts for three months and begins in July a day after the full moon appears. See *ibid*, pp. 91–95, where this period of fasting is also compared to Lent.

Alcune parole che vſano le genti della terra di Breſsil.

Il lor formento che par ceci.	Mahiz
Farina	Hus
Vn hamo	Piuda
Coltello	Iacle
Pettine	Chignor
Forbici	Pirene
Sonagli	Itani maraca
Piu che buon ghatum	Ium marag

Parole del grigāte, ilqual preſero appreſſo il fiume di s. Giultano.

Capo	Her
Occhio	Other
Naſo	Or
Superciliȝ	Sechechiel
Boccha	Piam
Dente	Sor
Lingua	Schial
Mento	Sechen
Pelo	Aſchie
Gola	Ohumoi
Man	Chone
Palma	Caneghin
Dito	Cori
Orecchia	Saue
Mamella	Othen
Petto	Ochiȝ
Corpo	Gechel
Gamba	Coſſ
Piedi	Tehe
Tallon	There
Laſuola	Perchi
Cuore	Cho
Huomo	Caliſchon
Acqua	Oli
Foco	Ghialeme
Fumo	Iacche
Non	Chen
Si	Cei
Oro	Pelpeli
Azurro	Sechegli
Sole	Calipecheni
Stella	Setreu
Mare	Aro
Vento	Oui
Tempeſta	Ohone
Peſce	Hoi
Mangiar	Mecchiere
Scodella	Elo

Et pronontiaua il tutto nella gola

Parole che vſano gli habitatori del l'iſola di Tidore.

Dio	Ala
Chriſtian	Naceran
Turco	Rumo
Moro	Moſeliman
Gentil	Cafre
Loro preti	Maulana
Huomo	Horan
Huomo ſauio	Horan pādita
Padre	Bapa
Madre	Mama abui
Loro chieſa	Meſchit
Figliuol	Anach
Fratello	Sandala
Suo auo	Mini C
Suo ſocero	Mintuha
Suo genero	Minante
Moglie	Porampuam
Capelli	Lambut
Capo	Capala
Fronte	Dai
Occhio	Matha
Superciliȝ	Chilai
Palpebre	Chenia
Naſo	Idon
Bocca	Malut
Labra	Vebere
Denti	Ciggi
Gingiua	Iiſi
Lingua	Lada
Palato	Langhi
Mento	Agai
Barba	Ianghi
Maſcella	Pipi
Orecchia	Talinga
Gola	Iaher
Collo	Vidun
Spalle	Balacan
Petto	Dada
Cuor	Atti
Mamelle	Suſſu
Stomacho	Parut D
Corpo	Tundubatu
Gambe	Mina
Talon	Tumi
Piede	Batis
Suola	Empacachi
Vnghia	Cucu

NARRATIONE DI VN PORTOGHESE

Compagno di Odoardo Barboſa. qual fu ſopra la naue Vittoria del Anno M D X I X.

NEL NOME Di Iddio & di bon ſaluamento. Partimmo di Siuiglia l'Anno M D X I X. alli x. d'Agoſto con cinque naui per andar a diſcoprire l'iſole Maluche, dõde cominciamo di nauigare da S. Lucar per l'iſole di Canaria, et nauigammo per Lebeccio 960. miglia, onde ci trouammo a l'iſola di Tenerife, nella quale ſta il porto di ſanta croce in 28 gradi del polo artico

Et da l'iſola di Tenerife noi nauigammo per mezzo giorno 1680. miglia donde ci trouammo in quatro gradi del polo artico.

Da queſti quattro gradi del polo artico noi nauigammo per Lebeccio ſino che ci trouammo al capo di Santo Agoſtino, ilquale ſta in otto gradi nel polo antartico donde habbiamo fatto 1200. miglia.

Et dal capo di Santo Agoſtino noi nauigammo alla quarta di mezzo di verſo Lebeccio 864. miglia onde ci trouammo in vinti gradi del polo antartico.

Et da i vinti gradi del polo Antartico eſſendo in mare noi nauigammo 1500. miglia per lebeccio

Pigafetta's list of Malay words learned from the inhabitants of Tidore Island in the Moluccas. From Ramusio's *Delle navigationi et viaggi*

female. From these two eggs the world will be reproduced. In this new world there will be no seas of salt water, but only rivers of clear, unbrackish water. These great rivers will make the earth so fertile that it will bring forth its bounty without man's labor. The human race will then be free to abandon itself to perpetual enjoyment.

The priests hold classes for boys in the temples. At these sessions the boys learn something about the liberal arts and how to read and write. Along with the rites and ceremonies of their religion, they are taught the colloquial language (Thai) The sciences, however, are taught in an ancient language (Pali) which is to them what Latin and Greek are to Europe. They write after our fashion from left to right.[171] Though the Siamese possess many books, they are all in manuscript because, unlike the Chinese, they have not developed the art of printing.[172] They are great believers in astrology and never act without consulting an oracle for the auspicious moment. They have no sundials, but rely on water clocks. Every hour they beat so hard on a kettle drum that the whole city resounds. With their astronomy and astrology, they mix heavy doses of geomancy and sorcery which they learn from the "Quelins" (Klings) of the Coromandel coast who are great adepts in these arts and highly esteemed in Siam for their mastery of them The Siamese year has twelve months; the New Year begins with the first moon of November. As we assign to each month a sign of the zodiac, they designate the month by the name of an animal: November is the month of the rat, December the bull, January the tiger, February the hare, March the great snake (or dragon), April the little snake, May the horse, June the goat, July the monkey, August the cock, September the dog, and October the pig. Actually, Barros is badly mistaken in identifying these animal names with particular months. While he gives the correct names and in the right order, the animal names are actually used in the old Siamese system of dating to stand for the individual years of a sub-cycle of twelve years in the normal sixty-year cycle.[173]

The Siamese ruler is the most absolute on earth, because he owns all the land in a kingdom where all the wealth is in the soil. The whole of Siam, Barros avers,[174] is in effect a royal domain like the limited *reguengo* (crown land) of the Portuguese king. Every worker pays a share to the individual who possesses the right to the crown's land. The lords down to the "oya" (*p'aya*) level, as well as the officials and captains of the crown, are rewarded with gifts of land for their services. Such bequests are made mainly in return for military service, usually for a term of years, or for a lifetime, but never in perpetuity. All lords and officials must be prepared to give military service by participating themselves and by providing horses and elephants for wartime needs. Whenever a vassal contributes to the royal army, an entry is made beside his name in the

[171] See Graham, *op. cit.* (n. 151), I, 265 for further discussion

[172] For a description of these manuscript books see *ibid*, pp 285–86

[173] On the traditional system of dating see Philips (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 139), pp. 128–29.

[174] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 82.

official ledger which is kept after the fashion of a chronicle so that all services may be remembered and justly rewarded. In addition to the levies which he raises by these means, the king has permanent garrisons stationed at the frontiers. Since the country is large and has many cities, the crown has no trouble in getting a large army together on short notice. The capital alone can readily furnish fifty thousand soldiers. If necessary, the king of Siam can raise soldiers in his vassal states, but ordinarily he avoids calling upon them because their forces might be too unreliable and because foreigners might thereby learn too much about Siam's military system.

In essence, Barros' brief account of the interdependent social and military organization of Siam is in harmony with what is found in other sources.[175] From the earliest records it is known that the ruler was sole owner of the kingdom and his subjects were chattels over whom the king had absolute control. In addition to the payment of an annual corvée, the principle of universal, obligatory military service for all able-bodied men was in force throughout Siamese history. Barros is almost certainly trying to describe the reformed version of this system which was put into effect beginning in 1518 by King Rama T'ibodi II. By its terms the whole kingdom was divided into military districts and every man upon reaching eighteen years of age was automatically enrolled on the military lists. This system with modifications remained in effect until 1899.

Officials who hold land, according to Barros.[176] are required periodically to show their skill in arms at festivals which are held at intervals in Ayut'ia. One of the most celebrated of their pageants takes place on the Menam River, where over three thousand boats congregate and divide into two contingents to stage a race. Once the race is over, the two groups fight a battle reminiscent of the mock naval combats put on in ancient Rome.[177] Tournaments are also held on land between men mounted on horses and elephants, and between individuals who engage in duels with swords and lances. Persons condemned to death are permitted to take part in these trials of strength and skill, and are pardoned if they emerge victorious. When not fighting in war or in mock combat, the lords of Siam spend their time in pleasure and debauchery. They are gourmands, very devoted to the fair sex, and zealous in guarding the women of their household. Like the men of Pegu, the Siamese are said to insert bells in their sex organs to please the women.[178]

The wars in which Siam became involved around mid-century are not reported on by the Portuguese chroniclers because their accounts end in about 1540. The only European to write about them was Fernão Mendez Pinto. He was asked, shortly after he joined the Society of Jesus in 1554, to set down the

[175] See Graham, *op cit.* (n 151), I, 235–38, Wood, *op. cit* (n 132), pp 37, 99–100, and Blanchard *et al*, *op cit* (n. 142), p. 398

[176] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit* (n 39), III, 83.

[177] Possibly a reference to the *Kathina* ceremonies described in Wales, *op cit.* (n. 156), pp. 200–12.

[178] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op. cit* (n 39), III, 83–84, also see Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed), *op. cit* (n. 46), I, 104 See below, pp. 553–54, for details

recollections of his experiences in the East. In a letter written from Malacca on December 5, 1554, Pinto summarizes his memories. The following year this letter in a truncated and censored version appeared in *Copia de unas Cartas* published by the Jesuits at Coimbra Shortly thereafter it was translated into Italian and republished a number of times during the next decade.[179] The published portion deals mainly with Pegu, Siam, the Indochinese peninsula, and Japan, but the greatest detail is given on his experiences in Siam, probably in 1548–49. Though Pinto has often been called the Sinbad of Portugal because of his tall stories, enough solid data are included in this letter to make it worth analyzing. This is particularly true, not only because we have no other European materials which deal with the middle years of the century, but also because Pinto wrote this brief account just a few years following the events which he describes His famous *Peregrinations*, written in his old age in Europe and not published until 1613, is the fanciful and unreliable narrative from which he gets his unsavory reputation.[180]

What follows is extracted from those portions of his letter actually published and circulated in sixteenth-century Europe.[181] Like Varthema, Pinto refers to Siam as "Sornao" [182] as well as using the more familiar "Sion" or Siam. According to his own testimony, he was twice in Ayut'ia, which like Venice is a city of canals where gondola-like boats are common. He claims to have been told that the city has two hundred thousand boats, but is cautious enough to admit that he does not know whether this figure is correct or not. Nonetheless he goes on to report that he has seen the river packed solidly with boats for a distance of about three miles. On all the rivers roundabout the city there are floating markets where as many as five hundred to one thousand boats congregate.[183]

The king calls himself "Precaosale" (P'ra Chao Chang Phenak or "Lord of the white Elephants"),[184] which means, according to Pinto, the person second

[179] For the full text of his letter see Wicki (ed), *op cit* (n 80), III, 142–55, and for a slightly different version see A. Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a historia das missões do padroado portuguiês do oriente* (Lisbon, 1949), V, 369–72

[180] For thoroughgoing and damaging critiques of this book see G Schurhammer, "Fernão Mendez Pinto und seine'Pergrinaçam'!" *Asia Major*, II (1926), 72–103, 196–267, and W. A R Wood, "Fernão Mendez Pinto's Account of Events in Siam," in selected articles from the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok), VII (1959), 195–209 But also notice that "the Siamese records for this period are so conflicting and obscure that it is almost impossible to check his [Pinto's] details " (Hall, *op cit* [n 30], p. 210.)

[181] All references are taken from Anton Eglauer (trans), *Die Missionsgeschichte spaterer Zeiten, oder, gesammelte Briefe der katholischen Missionare aus allen Theilen der Welt . Der Briefe aus Ostindien* (Ausburg, 1794), I, 245–57, this eighteenth-century compiler translated into German the truncated version generally circulated in the sixteenth century from *Diversi avisi particolari dall'India di Portogallia ricevute di 1551 al 1558 dalli Padri della Compagnia di Giesu* (Venice, 1559)

[182] Conti in the fifteenth century talks about "Cernove," and the routier of Vasco da Gama's voyage by Alvaro Velho refers to "Xarnauz." In both these cases, and probably in Pinto's as well, the authors seem to be using the term taught to them by Muslim sailors See Campos, *loc. cit* (n. 122), p. 3, n. 6. It may well be derived from the Persian name, *Shahr-i-nao* or "new city," referring to Ayut'ia when it was founded in the fourteenth century See Wicki (ed), *op cit.* (n 80), III, 149, n 27.

[183] Eglauer (trans), *op. cit.* (n. 181), I, 248.

[184] Cf. above, p. 526.

only to God himself. His palaces may never be visited by foreigners unless they are emissaries or slaves. Still, Pinto, who was neither emissary nor slave, claims to know something about them. On the outside the royal palaces are covered with tin and on the inside with gold. The ruler sits in one of them on an elevated and splendid throne which is encircled by artistically decorated platforms or stages. The daughters of his great lords dance on one stage, their sons on another, and their wives on a third. Twice each year the king leaves his palace to show himself in the city. This is a sight worth seeing, because the king is accompanied by a huge procession of elephants and bodyguards as well as his wives and concubines. While the people of the city disport themselves, the king sits comfortably in his splendid chair perched on the back of an elephant throwing coins to the spectators.[185]

Pinto also describes a regal procession which he saw on the river at Ayut'ia, probably an event similar to the *Thot Krathin* pilgrimages still made annually by the king to the riverside *wats* (Buddhist temples) of modern Bangkok.[186] The royal barges still in use are modeled on those of Ayut'ia, and Pinto's description of them in no way exaggerates the splendor of these magnificent craft. If anything, his word portrait is somewhat too restrained and unexcited to one who has seen the modern counterparts of these sleek vessels. He contends that they are much longer than a galley; the modern barges are about 160 feet long. He describes the royal barge as having a winged creature on it which looks like a siren, probably a reference to a towering figurehead on the prow representing a mythical animal. The stern he describes as being heavily gilded, and the rudder as being decorated with ornaments of great value. Twelve barges (probably guard-boats) precede the royal craft and twelve thrones of different kinds rest on each of them. While nobody sits on these thrones, the spectators make to them the same obeisances which they offer to the king. Over two hundred smaller boats surround the royal barge and these belong to the leading captains and lords of the realm. The rank of each of these lords is distinguished by the color of his barge and the costume worn by his steersman. A large ship with many youths and musicians aboard follows the royal barge and behind it throng the numerous crafts of all descriptions belonging to the spectators.

On another occasion Pinto witnessed the ceremonial bathing of a white elephant, a creature held in great esteem because, he thinks, its kind is not found elsewhere in the world.[187] This elephant is guided in a lavish procession to the river for his bath. The streets along the route which the procession follows are washed and gaily decorated with banners. The white elephant is preceded through the city by 160 small horses native to the land and 83 other elephants in

[185] For a more recent description of the pageantry attending the king's visit to a *wat* in the vicinity of the royal palace on the occasion of the *Thot Krathin* ceremony see Graham, *op. cit.* (n. 151), II, 243–45

[186] Eglauer (trans.), *op cit.* (n 181), I, 249–50; Graham, *op cit* (n. 151), II, 245–47.

[187] Eglauer (trans.), *op. cit.* (n 181), pp. 250–51; for a summary of the literature on the subject and a description of the great reception of the white elephant in Bangkok in 1927, see Wales, *op. cit.* (n. 156), chap xxiii.

rich coverings on which sit some of the leading dignitaries of the realm, behind it ride 30 or 40 great lords on elephants. The white elephant wears a saddle of golden cloth and a chain of sterling silver. Other silver chains are fitted around its chest and neck to make a harness [188] On the bank of the river a tent is erected into which the elephant walks for its ceremonial washing. Though Pinto was not allowed to see the bathing rites, he was told that they were elaborate. The elephant is so highly revered that when he stops walking in a procession nobody else may move. Even the other elephants hesitate to approach too close to him. When he urinates, they hold a golden basin under him and with this water the greatest lords of the kingdom wash their faces.[189] While some of Pinto's facts may not have been entirely correct, he managed to convey through his vivid description of the bathing ceremony a bit of the adoration which the Siamese undoubtedly displayed for this sacred white elephant.

The king of "Brama" (Burma or Toungoo) in an effort to become lord of the white elephant himself, decided, according to Pinto, to invade Siam and take the elephant.[190] This is certainly a reference to the expedition which Tabinshwehti of Pegu was preparing in the winter of 1547–48, one phase of which was to declare war by summoning the king at Ayut'ia to turn over the white elephant to him. Since no road large enough to accommodate a large army connected Pegu with Siam, Pinto asserts that the king of "Brama" with his force of 300,000 had to hack his way through the forests in order to reach Ayut'ia.[191] Then the Burmese stormed the Siamese capital several times without taking it. In this fruitless campaign, he contends, the Burmese expended 120,000 men and the Siamese losses amounted to 200,000, of whom some were killed and some taken in captivity back to Pegu. After living three years longer, the white elephant died amidst great lamentations. Ayut'ia went into official mourning for one month, Pinto was told by merchants who were there at the time, and the elephant was then burned on a pyre of costly, scented woods. Meanwhile another white elephant was captured in the mountains and wastes of "Innasarim" (Tenasserim) and was greeted in Siam with great thanksgiving and festivity. While Pinto gives no dates for the siege of Ayut'ia, it is generally agreed to have taken place in 1549. His story of the capture of a white elephant in Tenasserim is confirmed by the Siamese annals.[192] The rest of this account seems to do no violence to the facts as we know them from other sources.

[188] Cf. photograph of the white elephant of the sixth reign in *ibid*, facing p. 275

[189] Lest this rite be thought of as merely imaginative, see Wales' (*op cit* [n 156], p 279) testimony that he possesses a photograph "of a Siamese woman suckling a young elephant, probably a white one."

[190] Eglauer (trans.), *op cit.* (n. 181), I, 251–52.

[191] For a description of Tabinshwehti's overland route from Moulmein to Ayut'ia see G E Harvey, *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10 March, 1824* . (London, 1925), p 159. In the *Peregrinations* Pinto greatly exaggerates the numbers involved, among other things he gives Tabinshwehti an army of 800,000 men. See for comment Wood, *loc. cit.* (n 180), p 206.

[192] O Frankfurter, "Events in Ayuddhya," in the compilation commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok), I, 54

The ruler of Siam interferes with nobody's religious beliefs, for he claims to be only the master of men's bodies not their souls Consequently, he forces neither the heathens nor the Moors to accept one faith or another but is tolerant of all beliefs.[193] And Siam, as Pinto saw it, was a nation full of believers in many strange gods and spirits. He tells about an esteemed idol who sits constantly before a banquet table with jaws open and is served by forty or fifty old women This figure is called the god of the enlargement of the stomach because they can think of no more honorable name for him. The people also worship the elements when a person dies who believes in the efficacy of water, they throw him naked into the river; if in fire, they cremate him, if in earth, they bury him; if in the air, they expose his body on a wooden frame near the river where the vultures and other birds of the air can eat him [194] Every year at the end of the winter, the king bathes in the river to purify the water so that his subjects can drink it. An eclipse of the moon, which Pinto witnessed in Ayut'ia, is thought by the Siamese to be caused by a snake which tries to swallow the moon.[195] To force the snake to regurgitate the moon, the people shoot at the sky, pound on the gates of their houses, and yell at it from both land and water. When the Portuguese heard these thunderous noises, they thought a revolt had broken out in the city. Such stories are perfectly credible in light of the great concern which the Siamese people still have for spirits and natural phenomena.

The Moors have seven mosques in the city of Ayut'ia which are presided over by Turkish and Arab priests. The capital has thirty thousand Moorish families, and the followers of Islam are so firmly entrenched that free propagation of the Christian gospel will certainly be opposed by them. Fróis in 1556 writes a lament in which he claims that Muslim converts, when they assemble in Ayut'ia to hear the *casizes* speak, "keep their mouths open, fanning their mouths with their hands, saying that the air of those words entering their body will sanctify their hearts." [196] The king of Siam is so powerful that he will not formally receive an emissary from a foreign king who does not present him with appropriate presents as recognition of his greatness. Once an envoy has met this requirement, the king deferentially gives him a small golden cup and other presents. Though he is genuinely a great lord and suzerain over many lesser princes, the king of Siam is himself a vassal of China and each year sends a tribute-bearing mission to Canton. So you can see, Pinto informs his fellows in Portugal, what important gates Father Francis Xavier tried to open in his effort to penetrate China and to introduce Christianity there [197] While Pinto, in his letter of 1554, may have occasionally drawn on imagination when

[193] Eglauer (trans), *op. cit* (n 181), I, 253.

[194] On animism among the modern Siamese see Wales, *op cit* (n 156), pp. 301–2.

[195] Professor C. C Berg observes that this is a version of the Rāhu story (explaining eclipses) still current in Sumatra, Java, and Bali

[196] To Portuguese Fathers (Malacca, November 19, 1556), in Wicki (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 80), III, 538.

[197] Eglauer (trans), *op cit* (n 181), I, 253–54 Shortly before his death, Xavier had conceived the idea of sailing to Siam to join the annual mission for China and in that way gain entrance to the country See Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit* (n. 93), II, 499

memory failed, there is nothing here which compares with the gross exaggerations and numerous fabrications contained in his *Peregrinations*.

The wars of the later years of the sixteenth century between Siam and Pegu are referred to occasionally in the narratives of the commercial agents, Fedrici, Balbi, and Fitch Bayin Naung, the ruler of Pegu, assembled a huge army of 1,400,000 men and besieged the city of Ayut'ia for twenty-one months before taking it in 1567 [198] So reports Fedrici who was in Pegu six months after the king's departure on this campaign and remained there long enough to see Bayin Naung return in triumph to his capital. In this war the loss of life on both sides he tells us is high The army of Pegu required 500,000 new recruits as replacements for those killed before the walls of Ayut'ia. The capital of Siam never would have surrendered, in Fedrici's view, if its defenders had not been betrayed by one of their number who left a gate open through which the besiegers entered by night. The ruler of Ayut'ia, realizing that he had been betrayed, reportedly poisoned himself, his wives, and his children.[199] Those people from the city who were not killed, or who had not fled to safer places, were carried back to Pegu along with all the loot that the elephants of Bayin Naung could manage to transport.

As a consequence of the Burmese victory, the city of Ayut'ia was badly depopulated and reduced in status to a small and defenseless frontier town in vassalage to the mighty rulers of Pegu. In the reign of King Maha T'ammaraja (1569–90), Siam's neighbors to the east, especially Cambodia, sought to take advantage of Ayut'ia's plight by attacking it and by refusing to honor its traditional suzerainty. The undeniable threat from the east provided the Siamese with a splendid opportunity again to erect the fortifications of Ayut'ia without arousing the suspicions of the ruler of Pegu. The task of gradually rebuilding the state was left primarily in the hands of Prince Naresuen, who was allowed to return to Ayut'ia in 1571 from captivity in Burma. Over the next decade this prince readied the armies of Siam for the day when an opportunity would come to break the hold of Pegu. The death of Bayin Naung in 1581 and the succession struggle at Pegu preceding the assumption of power by Nanda Bayin (reigned 1581–99) gave Naresuen precisely the opening he had been hoping for.

Gasparo Balbi, who kept a notably accurate diary of his activities in the East, reports that Nanda Bayin returned to Pegu on July 14, 1583, from his campaign against Ava only to learn that in his absence a Siamese contingent had arrived in Pegu under Naresuen to support their overlord but had returned home rather than going on to Ava. The king of Siam thereafter contended that Naresuen had been ignobly turned away by a slave of Nanda Bayin. After

[198] Translated in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 16), X, 110–11 This date is incorrect by two years. Both the Siamese and Burmese annals put it in 1569. See Harvey, *op. cit* (n 191), p 169, and Wood, *op cit* (n. 132), p. 123–24.

[199] King Mahin, according to other reports, died while being taken as a captive to Burma Wood, *op. cit.* (n. 132), pp. 124–25.

being so insulted, he felt that he could no longer recognize the suzerainty of Pegu.[200] An expeditionary force under the "great Brama" (the *Yuvaraja*, or crown prince) then undertook a new and costly campaign against Siam late in 1583. Though Ayut'ia was besieged, its new defenses thwarted the Burmese invaders. The only concession which King Maha T'ammaraja was willing to give was the vow that he would acknowledge Nanda Bayin's suzerainty if he would personally come to the front to accept homage. The Siamese king, who absolutely refused to pay homage to an inferior representative of Burma, was told that he would eventually have to acknowledge his vassalage before Nanda Bayin's lowest slave.[201]

When Ralph Fitch was in Pegu (*ca.* 1586), the war with Siam was still in progress and he reports that Nanda Bayin himself led an expeditionary force of three hundred thousand men and five thousand elephants against Ayut'ia.[202] The following year, Fitch made a side journey to "Jamahey" (Chiengmai) in the country of the "Langeiannes" (Lan-nas) who are called "Jangomes" (Yun?).[203] On a twenty-five-day trip to the northeast of Pegu, Fitch reports passing through "many fruitful and pleasant Countries" studded with poor houses constructed of canes and covered with straw. The city of Chiengmai, long contested by both Burma and Siam and fairly independent of both, is described as a pleasant and large town with wide streets and stone houses. Its men are "very well set and strong" and its women are much fairer than those of Pegu. They have no wheat, but seem to subsist mainly on rice and fruits. Copper and benzoin are found here in abundance, and Chiengmai is a great trading center for musk, gold, silver, and the products of China. Indeed, many Chinese merchants are to be seen in the marts of Chiengmai. The rites and customs of Chiengmai, such as public cremations, seem to be similar to those practiced in Burma and Siam.[204]

While merchants based on Pegu seem to have had relatively few difficulties moving about, the Christian missionaries who tried to penetrate into Siam through Ayut'ia had many bitter experiences. Pinto's prognostications about hardships for those carrying the gospel into Siam are borne out by the experiences of the Christian missionaries who actually tried to work there. The earliest missionaries to attempt the penetration of Siam were the Dominicans who had founded their first cloisters in India during 1548–49 and had then sent Gaspar da Cruz on a reconnaissance mission to southeast Asia.[205] It was Friar Fernando de S. Maria, General-Vicar of Goa, who sent two Dominicans to Siam in 1567 while he was making a visitation in Malacca. After a voyage of one month from

[200] Naresuen actually took advantage of Nanda Bayin's absence to attack Moulmein and Martaban and to carry off some of their inhabitants. See Hall, *op. cit.* (n. 30), p. 219.

[201] Balbi in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 162–63.

[202] Fitch in *ibid.*, p. 819.

[203] Chiengmai was also called the Yun kingdom of Lan-na. See Briggs, *loc. cit.* (n. 135), p. 73.

[204] Fitch in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 194–96.

[205] Benno Biermann, O. P., "Die Missionen der portugiesischen Dominikaner im Hinterindien," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, XXI (1931), 306–7.

Malacca, Friars Jeronimo da Cruz and Sebastião da Canto arrived in Ayut'ia. The Portuguese merchants, who escorted them there and at whose behest they had probably been sent, had prepared the ground for them in the Siamese capital. They were received by the Siamese with the greatest kindness and given a fitting house in the best quarter of the city. While the Buddhist monks and laity came along with the Portuguese to hear their sermons, the Muslims allegedly plotted to take their lives. In a fracas between some Portuguese and Muslim traders, Jeronimo was killed by the thrust of a spear and Sebastião wounded by a stone which hit him. The leading Siamese nobles apologized to Sebastião for the incident, and the king, Maha Chakrap'at, punished the guilty by having them trampled to death by elephants. The king graciously received Sebastião in audience and asked him not to leave the country without permission. Sebastião later returned to Malacca to recruit two additional missionaries with the king's permission.

It seemed at this point that the Christian enterprise, enjoying royal favor in Siam, was off to a good start. But all three of the Dominicans who worked there were killed when the Burmese captured Ayut'ia in 1569. Subsequently, other Dominicans were sent to Siam but they were all caught up in the whirlwind of the wars then going on and were fortunate when they escaped with their lives.[206] After the Portuguese Dominicans turned their efforts to more peaceful areas, Spanish Franciscans from the Philippines made an effort of their own in 1583–84. While they received a warm reception in Ayut'ia both from the Portuguese and the Siamese, the outbreak of war between Burma and Siam in 1584 rendered their efforts fruitless. Other Spanish missionaries from the Philippines, both Franciscans and Dominicans, were caught up in the wars between Cambodia and Siam around 1594 and were generally lucky if they survived the experience.[207] At Manila, meanwhile, both the civil and religious authorities were urging Philip II to take advantage of the war-torn conditions in Siam and Indochina to outfit a military expedition for the purpose of gaining a foothold on the Asiatic continent in one or another of these places. Siam, it was estimated by one overly optimistic hotblood, could be conquered and held by one thousand men.[208] In Europe, the Spanish Jesuit, Guzman, described Siam as a trouble spot where little could be hoped for from peaceful missionary activity.[209] In the sixteenth century the Christian mission had little but grief to record for the sporadic efforts made by its emissaries to Siam.

From the European sources it was possible even in the sixteenth century to obtain a sense of the importance of Siam in southeast Asia and the changing character of its role in the affairs of the region. The Portuguese writers are all

[206] *Ibid.*, pp. 319–21.

[207] L. Lemmens, O. F. M., *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen* (Munster, 1929), p. 109. Also see below, pp. 568–69.

[208] Gregorio F. Zaide, *The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times* (Manila, 1949), pp. 280–81.

[209] *Op. cit.* (n. 44), I, 173–75.

agreed on the great strength and wide influence of the Ayut'ia monarchy in the first half of the century. They also bring out the complicated character of Siam's vassal relationships and the sketchiness of its political boundaries. There can be no question, however, about the authority which Siam maintained before the defeat of 1569 over the ports between Malacca and Martaban on both sides of the Malay Peninsula. It also may be inferred from these sources that most of Siam's trade with the nations to the west was carried on in the ports facing on the Bay of Bengal rather than in Ayut'ia itself. Such an orientation of trade was probably the natural result of Malacca's earlier refusal to respect the suzerainty of Ayut'ia and the consequent departure from Malacca of the Siamese traders.

Merchants from all the surrounding countries certainly called at Ayut'ia itself. The Muslim traders, however, clearly had to respect the wishes of the Siamese authorities and to live there on Siam's terms. These were not harsh conditions, according to the Portuguese, for the kings of Ayut'ia were tolerant of all different faiths even though they jealously guarded their political authority. In fact, the entire administrative, social, economic, and military life of the state, as it was understood by the Europeans, clearly centered in the person and authority of the king. They even bring out that land grants were never made in perpetuity and that service to the crown was the sole basis for all awards of land.

The Europeans also emphasize strongly the surface aspects of Buddhism with its countless temples, monks, and statues. The festivals, especially those involving boat processions on the Menam River, catch their fancy in particular. Barros takes more than a passing interest in Buddhist learning, education, and popular cosmology, even though he is sometimes misinformed or confused on details. The firsthand observers, such as Pinto and Fitch, freely cite figures on the size of armies, military losses, and population. Most of these figures appear in round numbers and are clearly intended to convey little more than the author's general impression of the numbers involved. But, perhaps in an effort to impress his religious superiors in the Jesuit order, Pinto becomes more precise and mentions, for example, that eighty-three (no more or fewer) elephants marched in a procession. Such calculated exactitude on minor and unimportant figures weakens rather than strengthens confidence in his honesty. But, even with this qualification, it is impossible to dismiss Pinto completely. His letter from Malacca is an important primary source for those trying to reconstruct a period of Siamese history which is notably deficient in all kinds of extant written records. On the wars between Pegu and Siam in the latter half of the century the writings of Pinto and the commercial interlopers provide helpful data to supplement and amplify the native accounts. While the European writers were often guilty of accepting legend and rumor as fact, they are generally no more gullible than the native annalists.

4

Burma

Very little is known about Burma's history before a great Buddhist state was founded at Pagan in 1044 A D.[210] Burmese inscriptions and chronicles, which only began to be compiled systematically in the eighteenth century, depend upon earlier writings of uncertain authority and preserve numerous stories from the oral tradition.[211] Much of the country's earlier history has consequently had to be reconstructed from Chinese travel accounts and annals, Siamese chronicles, Arabic histories, and European materials. The maps in Ptolemy's *Geographia* (probably from the thirteenth century) show Burma's coastline in a sketch which is roughly correct. The Arabian geographers, whose information likewise came mainly from traders, were not much better informed than the cartographers who prepared the Ptolemaic maps.[212] Marco Polo, who is responsible for so many "firsts," was the first writer to make Europe aware of Burma's existence by his graphic description of the Mongol invasion of 1277, the initial step in bringing about the collapse of the Pagan empire a decade later.

With the eclipse of Pagan, Burma split into numerous principalities which were generally under the control of Shan princelings It was only in the fifteenth century that three of these states gradually became focal points of political power: Ava in the Irrawaddy Valley, Toungoo on the upper Sittang River, and Pegu in the delta of the Sittang River. It was this situation which those Europeans met who visited Burma in the fifteenth century. Conti stopped at Tenasserim, Arakan, Ava, and Pegu, and he comments on a few of his experiences in these places.[213] Santo Stefano, who stayed in Pegu for eighteen months in 1496–97, describes its ruler, Binnyaran II (reigned 1492–1526) as a rich idolater who was then engaged in war with Ava.[214] Most of the sixteenth-century writers likewise begin their discussions of Burma with reference to conditions in Pegu and the southern part of the country.

Portugal's relations with Pegu were generally friendly until the last years of the sixteenth century. At Malacca, in 1511 the merchants from Pegu had been the first to surrender to Albuquerque. He permitted them to leave for home freely and to take their possessions with them.[215] In response to Albuquerque's emissary to Pegu, Binnyaran II sent an envoy to the conqueror at Cochin in 1514. Five years later the Portuguese signed a commercial treaty with Pegu and set up a factory at Martaban The name "Pegu" first appeared on a European

[210] For a summary of what is known see Hall, *op cit* (n 30), pp 119–24

[211] An evaluation of these chronicles as sources is given by U Tet Htoot, "The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles," in Hall (ed.), *op. cit* (n 8), pp. 50–54.

[212] Hall *op cit* (n. 18), p. 10.

[213] Major (ed), *op cit* (n. 31), Pt. IV, pp 10–11

[214] *Ibid.*, p. 6 For a few critical comments on these accounts see John C Furnivall, "Europeans in Burma of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (*Rangoon*), XXIX (1939), 236–49.

[215] F C Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (London, 1894), I, 238.

world chart in the Lopo Homem-Reinels atlas compiled in 1519.[216] In 1539, a Portuguese trading fleet from India helped Pegu to no avail in its losing war against Toungoo. With the capture of Pegu by the Burmans, the Mon kingdom came to an end and henceforward the new Toungoo dynasty aimed to unite the three kingdoms under its rule. While the Portuguese still visited Pegu and talk about it as such, they are really alluding after 1540 to a relatively united Burmese state under the Toungoos The war between Burma and Siam which commenced in 1548 found Portuguese *condottieri* fighting on both sides Many of these military adventurers were settled in lower Burma and Arakan and they continued throughout the century to live and work there. Around 1560 the Portuguese were permitted to build a fortress at Syriam, a port of Pegu. One of the Portuguese settlers in lower Burma, Felipe de Brito, soon acquired grandiose ambitions and tried unsuccessfully near the end of the century with help from the Portuguese in Goa and the kings of Arakan to transform the fort at Syriam into the base for a Portuguese colony. Almost a full century of good relations with Burma was brought to an end by this act, and hostilities followed. A consequence of the previous era of good relations was the acquisition of substantial information in Europe on events in Burma and continental southeast Asia.

Though Burma was not a leading international entrepôt, the sixteenth-century accounts of it are much more detailed and informative than those on the great islands of the archipelago. Besides a few missionary letters, ten substantial accounts were published in Europe between 1510 and 1599—by Varthema, Pires, Barbosa, Castanheda, Barros, Fedrici, Maffei, Balbi, Fitch, and Linschoten. Of these authors the only ones who wrote from personal experience were Varthema (possibly), Castanheda (possibly), Fedrici, Balbi, and Fitch. Even though none of the Portuguese writers (Castanheda possibly excepted) appears to have been on the scene, they are surprisingly well informed on local affairs and social customs. The fullest and best descriptions are given by Pires, Castanheda, Barros, and Fedrici. But most of the other writers have additional information to contribute of the kind which vitally enriches our knowledge. Those who wrote from their experiences with Peguans in India or Malacca (Pires, Barbosa, and Castanheda) would probably all agree with Linschoten, who argues that what he writes is true "for I doe not onely knowe it by the dayly trafficking of the Portingalles out of India thether, but also by the Peguans themselves, whereof many dwell in India, some of them being Christians. . . ."[217]

In the period before 1540 the kingdom of Pegu, which the natives themselves call "Bagou,"[218] is described as being bounded on the west by the sea and

[216] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit* (n. 2), I, 56–57

[217] Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op. cit* (n 25), I, 100

[218] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit* (n 39), III, 128. The Burmese is *Bagó*, the Portuguese "Pegu" is derived from the Malay, *Paigu* See H Yule and A. C Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson. Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases* . . . (London, 1886), p. 525

Arakan and on the east by the kingdoms of "Brema" (Burma or Toungoo) and "Davá" (Ava).[219] Arakan lies between Bengal and Pegu, faces toward the Bay of Bengal, and conducts most of its trade through the port of Myohuang.[220] War is often fought between Arakan and Pegu, but Pegu cannot readily defeat and occupy Arakan because of the high, wooded mountains (Arakan Yoma) which divide the two places.[221] The territory of Pegu commences at a point near Cape Negrais which is about 120 leagues (480 miles) southward down the coast from Chittagōng, the great port of call for the Portuguese which was constantly being vied over by the rulers of Bengal and Arakan.[222] The coastline of Pegu stretches through only four degrees of latitude (or 276 miles at 69 miles per degree), but it is much longer than this would suggest since it has many twists, turns, and deep indentations.[223] The littoral of Pegu is flat and marshy and the deltas at the mouths of its principal rivers are dotted with islands. The city of Pegu, from which the kingdom derives its name, is located in the valley of the "Cosmi" (a branch of the Irrawaddy River), a full day's journey upriver from the sea.[224] It is served by three major ports in the delta of the river: "Copymy" or "Cosmin" (Bassein),[225] "Dozõ" (Dagon, the early name of Rangoon), and Martaban.[226] In addition to these ports, Castanheda[227] lists the other towns known to him as "Dixara" (Henzada?),[228] "Dala" (Dalla), and "Sirião" (Syriam). Fedrici, who sailed from Chittagōng to Tenasserim and then up the coast to Pegu, indicates that in his day Tavoy was the southernmost port within Pegu's jurisdiction.[229] Balbi lists the names of an additional number of smaller towns and villages which he passed through as he made his way in 1583 across the delta through the Myaungmya creeks from "Cosmin" (Bassein) to Pegu.[230]

The hot, moist climate of lower Burma and the abundance of water in the delta supplied by the periodic floods of the great rivers help to make Pegu a highly productive kingdom. In foodstuffs, such as rice, "it is more plenteous

[219] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op. cit* (n. 79), III, 15, also see the political divisions of sixteenth-century Burma given by Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 77), II, 148–61

[220] Pires in Cortesão (trans and ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 95–96 Barbosa (Dames [ed], *op cit.* [n 77], II, 150), on the contrary, claims that Arakan has no port.

[221] Cf. the statement in Harvey, *op cit* (n. 191), p 137, which reads. "Shut off from Burma by a hill range, Arakan has a separate history, but it is the same in kind."

[222] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n. 79), III, 15.

[223] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n 39), III, 128–29. Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed.], *op cit* [n. 79], III, 15) gives its coastline as 50 leagues (200 miles)

[224] Barbosa (Dames [ed], *op. cit.* [n. 77], II, 153) places Pegu inland about seven leagues (28 miles) from the sea on the branch "of another river, very great, which flows through this Kingdom. . . "

[225] Probably a corruption of the old Pali name, *Kusima*, by which the city now called Bassein (in Burmese, *Pathein*) was once known. See Philips (ed), *op. cit* (n. 139), p. 109

[226] Cortesão (ed. and trans), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 97–98, n 1. Pires (*ibid.*, p. 99) calls Martaban a dangerous port, because of its rushing tides

[227] Azevedo (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 79), III, 16.

[228] On the west bank at the bar of the Irrawaddy River to the north of Dalla.

[229] Translated in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 16), X, 117.

[230] *Ibid.*, pp. 152–53.

than Siam and [has] almost as much as Java."[231] Cattle, sheep, hogs, birds, and fish, both the fresh and salt water varieties, thrive in the delta. In the forests and mountains of the interior roam many elephants and horses as well as wild cattle, pigs, and sheep. Gold and precious stones, especially rubies, are plentiful in the city of Pegu. Most of its gold supply is not from local deposits In the mountains east of Arakan, at a place called "Capelan" in the vicinity of Ava, rubies, sapphires, and spinels are mined[232] The principal product of the country is lac, a resin which is produced by a tiny ant that lives there[233] Many junks are constructed in the port of Rangoon because of the availability of wood.[234] The chief exports of Pegu are rice and lac, though it seems also to have had a reputation for preparing and selling loaf sugar.[235] Cane sugar is grown in many places, but is mostly consumed domestically where it is used in cane form as food for humans and elephants and as outer coverings for temples and *pagodes* of earthen construction to protect them from the rains.[236] Musk from the civet cat is sent into Pegu from Ava. Martaban is renowned in trading circles for its glazed earthenware jars in which fruits, spices, water, and liquors are preserved and transported.[237]

On the political divisions of what we call Burma today, the European writers reflect in their narratives the changing conditions of the sixteenth century. Naturally the earlier authors know much more about Arakan and Pegu than the interior states. Barbosa, however, begins his account with a brief description of "Berma" (Toungoo) even though he admits that he really knows very little about it since "there is no means of sailing thither."[238] He reports on "the city and kingdom of Ava" in eastern Burma, particularly with reference to its precious stones and musk. Martaban he also treats separately but without

[231] Pires in Cortesão (trans and ed), *op. cit* (n 46), I, 97.

[232] References to these mountains occur repeatedly beginning with Varthema It is hard to know precisely what is meant by these vague indications, for the real location of ruby production today is about seventy miles northeast of Mandalay See Yule and Burnell, *op cit* (n 218), pp 121–22 The mines are actually large, open pits from which the "ruby-earth" is taken and the stones washed out Spinels and sapphires are found along with the rubies These stones and musk were apparently monopolized by the king of Ava for sale to foreigners until the king lost the mines to Pegu (Barbosa in Dames [ed], *op cit* [n 77], II, 159–60)

[233] For references to lac in a host of Portuguese authors see Dalgado, *op cit* (n 53), I, 501 -2 Lac is actually the coloring matter exuded from the female of a scale insect (*Coccus lacca*) and is found as a resinous incrustation on the twigs and young branches of various kinds of trees See Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n 218), pp. 380–81 Lac is the principal ingredient in sealing wax, the base of some varnishes, and a valuable dye The sixteenth-century writers are not always clear or in agreement on the details of lac production

[234] Pires in Cortesão (trans and ed), *op cit.* (n 46), I, 98.

[235] Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op. cit* (n 77), II, 153, " . for the sugar cane is cultivated to the north of Ava . and a very coarse article extracted from it, and made into flat cakes." See John Jardine (ed), *The Burmese Empire a Hundred Years Ago as Described by Father Sangermano* (Westminster, 1893), p. 192

[236] See Fedrici in Purchas (ed), *op cit.* (n 16), X, 133

[237] Martaban jars were used on Portuguese ships to carry water, oil, and wine Evidently the jars were also imported for domestic use in Portugal See Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op cit* (n 25), I, 101

[238] Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op cit* (n. 77), II, 149

indicating whether or not it is politically a part of his Pegu.[239] Barros brings out clearly that the divided condition of Burma underwent changes shortly after the Portuguese began to trade at Martaban in 1519 and after both Pires and Barbosa wrote their accounts. He tells about the wars between the "Bramás" (Burmans) of "Tanga" (Toungoo) and the incumbent ruling house of Pegu. He explains that even with Portuguese assistance the Mon forces were finally not able to repel the "Bramás" and that the city and dynasty fell in the face of their onslaughts. In Barros' narrative, the king of Toungoo, Tabinshwehti (reigned 1531–50), is classified as being originally a vassal of the Wareru king. In 1539, the vassal revolted against his overlord, occupied the city of Pegu, killed off its leading officials, and made it his own capital. This ambitious usurper then extended his conquests to "Prom" (Prome), "Melitai" (unidentified), "Chalão" (Chalang?), "Bacão" (Bassein), "Mirandu" (unidentified), and "Avá" (Ava). After all these victories, the rebel ruler sought to extend his conquests into Siam. But events turned against him, particularly as he lost many men in his early campaigns while traversing the mountainous, wooded terrain between his kingdom and Siam. He returned to Pegu defeated in his efforts to take Ayut'ia, but still in control of all Burma except Arakan.[240] It is for this reason that the later European writers, such as Linschoten,[241] refer only to Arakan and Pegu in their discussions of Burma. In fact, it was during the mid-century wars between Pegu and Siam that Arakan began to be much more closely associated with the Portuguese, as its rulers derived great revenues from the traders at Chittagõng, and began to act more independently. Still, when the Europeans write about Burma, they refer primarily to conditions in Pegu and lower Burma.

Cesare Fedrici, the trading prospector from Venice, visited Pegu in 1569 and set down for posterity his impressions of the royal city after its conquest by the Toungoos. He describes it as being two cities, one old and one new. In the old city the marts stand where both foreign and native merchants do their trading and where they have a central warehouse made of brick.[242] The new city, which was just being completed in 1569, is described as the administrative center of the kingdom; the royal palace and the residences of the nobles are built therein. While the old city is spread out over a great area, the new metropolis is depicted as a city planner's dream:

> It is a great Citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about, and with Ditches that compasse the Walls about with water, in which Ditches are many Crocodiles. It hath no Drawbridges, yet it hath twenty Gates, five for every square on the Walls, there

[239] *Ibid.*, pp 157–59; Pires divides his account into just three parts Arakan, Pegu, and Burma

[240] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op. cit* (n 39), III, 129. He nowhere mentions the name of Tabinshwehti, whom he considers a rebel On wars against Ayut'ia cf above, p 533

[241] Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit* (n 25), I, 97

[242] An eighteenth-century author, Sangermano, describing the cane and wood houses of the Burmese, remarks that it was then unlawful for the natives to use bricks "Such few brick buildings as do exist," he asserts, "are used more as magazines than as dwelling-houses " See Jardine (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 235), p. 162.

are many places made for Centinels to watch, made of Wood and covered or gilt with Gold, the Streets thereof are the fairest that I have seene, they are as straight as a line from one Gate to another, . . . and they are as broad as ten or twenty men may ride abreast in them. and these streets that be thwart are faire and large, these streets, both on the one side and the other, are planted at the doores of the Houses with Nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadow, the House be made of wood, and covered with a kind of tiles in forme of Cups, very necessary for their use: the King's Palace is in the middle of the Citie, made in forme of a walled Castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the Lodgings within are made of wood all over gilded, with fine pinacles and very costly worke, covered with plates of gold.[243]

While Balbi's account follows this description in general, he places the royal palace and the residences of the nobles in the old city. Fitch, who obviously relies on Fedrici's description of Pegu, likewise puts the court establishments in the new city.[244] The travelers' descriptions of Pegu have particular importance, because it was systematically destroyed in 1600 by the Arakanese and the Siamese. The Jesuits have left some vivid word pictures of the misery which swept the delta in the wake of these invasions.[245] Again destroyed in the eighteenth century, modern Pegu still retains traces of the old walls and moats, and the remains of the great pagodas and images, which graced the city during its golden age.[246]

The travelers of the late sixteenth century likewise comment on the leading features of some of the other delta towns. "Cosmin" (Bassein) still appears to be the port of Pegu[247] most generally entered by those coming from Bengal. It takes ten days to sail through the waters of the delta from the bar at Cape Negrais to Pegu and three days from the bar to "Cosmin" (Bassein).[248] On both sides of the waterways the banks are lined "with many great Villages which they call Cities."[249] On these inland creeks many entire families live and earn their livings on boats. The territory around "Cosmin," according to Balbi, is heavily wooded and frequented by hordes of wild animals; the people of the town itself are not safe at night from attacks by tigers.[250] For fear of the tigers their houses are built on stilts and are entered from the ground by long ladders. Still the town is attractive and the surrounding countryside produces an abundant supply of fruit.[251] At Dalla there are large stables and training grounds for the royal elephants, since they catch many of the huge creatures in this part of the delta.[252] "Dagon" (Rangoon), the main port of Pegu, is compared to

[243] Translation from Purchas (ed.), *op cit* (n. 16), X, 120–21.
[244] *Ibid*., p 157.
[245] Letters of Pimenta and Boves as reprinted in *ibid*., pp 211, 216.
[246] See John Murray (pub.), *A Handbook for Travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon* (London, 1949), pp. 691–92
[247] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 129–30.
[248] *Ibid*., p 185.
[249] *Ibid*., p 130.
[250] *Ibid*., p 152.
[251] Fitch in *ibid*., p. 185
[252] Balbi in *ibid*., p. 153, Fitch in *ibid*., p. 186.

Venice in some detail by Balbi;[253] its great staircases, tiger statues, temples and monasteries, open squares, huge bell, crowded marketplaces and a pagoda almost as high as the campanile of St. Mark all remind the lonely Venetian of similar sights in his native city. At Syriam, a smaller port where the tidal waves (*Maccareo*) make the harbor dangerous, ships are to be seen from Mecca, Malacca, and Sumatra. Here, Balbi reports,[254] stand ruined walls and bulwarks which were destroyed in 1567 when Pegu invaded the city and subjected it to vassalage. The point of debarkation for the boats which ply the network of creeks from Bassein eastward is apparently at "Meccao" (unidentified).[255] Here the merchants load their wares into carts and wagons and get themselves into "delings" (hammocks)[256] for the overland trek to Pegu.

Pires and Fedrici both give excellent accounts of trading conditions in Pegu, though one is describing the situation while the country was still under its Mon rulers and the other relates the practices followed under the Toungoo dynasty. In the early sixteenth century each of the three major ports is administered by a "toledam" (governor), the chief of these being the governor of "Dagon" (Rangoon).[257] Import duties amount to 12 per cent, but if any extraordinary difficulty arises a present to the "toledam" evidently helps to clear it up.[258] The currency of Pegu is coins of copper, tin, and lead as well as small white cowries.[259] Gold has the same value in Pegu as it has in Malacca, and a great deal of silver is shipped from Pegu to Bengal because it is worth somewhat more there. Each year one ship from Gujarat sails to the ports of Martaban and Rangoon to exchange opium and cloth for the lac, precious stones, and silver available in Pegu. It should be remembered that when Pires wrote, the Portuguese had not yet established regular trading relations with Pegu, and so he must have received most of his information from the merchants doing business at Malacca.

Fedrici[260] advises his readers that the best commodities to sell in Pegu are the colorful textiles and yarns of St. Thomas (or Mylapore), the finer cloths of Bengal, opium from Cambay, and pepper from Sumatra. The larger vessels in his time apparently dock at "Cosmin" (Bassein) and the smaller ones at Martaban. Once the cargo is unloaded, the royal officials take responsibility for conveying it to the custom house in Pegu. The merchants receive permits from

[253] *Ibid*, pp. 153–54. Strangely enough, neither Fedrici nor Fitch has anything to say about "Dagon"

[254] *Ibid.*, pp 155–56.

[255] Sometimes written "Macao" or "Maccao", see Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n. 218), p. 402. On the 1692 map of Asia by Sanson, cartographer to King Louis XIV, a city named "Macaon" is shown on the coast on the southeast side of the Irrawaddy basin

[256] Derivation of word not known, it is possibly Persian See *ibid.*, pp. 234–35.

[257] Pires in Cortesão (trans and ed.), *op cit* (n. 46), I, 97–98.

[258] *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[259] Actually Pires (*ibid*, p. 100) says that cowries were accepted only at Martaban and Arakan and that about 15,000 equaled one *viss* (the standard weight) in value. Contrast this to the flat statement by D G. E. Hall that cowrie shells "were never in use in Burma" (in Philips [ed], *op. cit.* [n. 139], p 115).

[260] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 127–28.

the port authorities to proceed by themselves to Pegu. The customs inspection is very rigorous, and the officials watch especially for those who try to smuggle diamonds, pearls, and fine textiles into the country. Once he and his wares have cleared the customs, the foreign trader ordinarily rents a house on a six months' lease to which he takes his merchandise. Sales are made through eight royal brokers called "tareghe"[261] who receive a commission of 2 per cent for their services. The broker assigned to a given merchant possesses exclusive rights of sale and gets his percentage whether or not he personally makes the sale. All goods are sold at the market price and the broker guarantees payment to the merchant if he, rather than the merchant, actually makes the sale. Private transactions are apparently possible, on a sale made directly by the merchant the broker still gets his fee and he is relieved of responsibility for guaranteeing payment. It is rare that merchandise is not paid for because the creditor has the right to imprison the debtor. Should payment still not be forthcoming, the creditor then has the right to sell the wives, children, and slaves of the individual in default.

The only monies officially accepted in Pegu are copper and lead coins called "ganza."[262] The king does not mint them and every person has the right to make his own. Consequently, the foreign merchant is warned to be cautious about those which have too much lead in them to be acceptable. The wary merchant will see to it that the coins are weighed at each transaction by a public assayer to determine their worth in terms of "byze" (*viss*). The assayer guarantees the value of the money which he has weighed by placing it into a sack to which he attaches his seal. For this service the merchant has to pay a regular monthly fee. While the heaviness of the money makes large transactions awkward, there is no question about its acceptability as payment for valuable purchases of gold, silver, rubies, lac, and rice.[263] Gold and silver may not be used as mediums of exchange.

Those who go to Pegu with the specific intention of buying jewels should plan to stay a full year in order to buy most advantageously during the off-seasons for trade. A plentiful supply of rubies and other jewels is marketed through brokers who administer the royal monopoly of the precious stones. The foreign merchant, even those who have no professional knowledge of gems, need not hesitate to approach one of these jewel brokers. They are so determined to protect their reputations and the lucrative jewel trade of Pegu that they will go out of their way to treat prospective buyers fairly. The buyer

[261] Probably derived from the Telugu word, *taraga* (broker). See Yule and Burnell, *op cit* (n. 218), p. 685. Cf the *Cohong* at Canton The brokerage practices described here remained in force long after the British occupation of Burma in the nineteenth century. See Hall, *op. cit* (n 18), p 18.

[262] Malay, *Gangsa* meaning "bell-metal." See Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n. 218), p 278 Pires (in Cortesão [trans. and ed], *op. cit* [n 46], I 99) remarks that the "Ganza" of Martaban are the most widely circulated coins.

[263] Fedrici in Purchas (ed), *op cit.* (n. 16), X, 131–33; cf the statement in Harvey, *op cit* (n 191), p 122 "There was no coinage, but goods were sometimes weighed against *ganza*, an alloy of lead and brass which passed as currency either in odd lumps or in bars of specified weight stamped by merchants of repute but usually false."

may take the rubies on approval for several days and have them appraised by disinterested parties. Still, when it comes to concluding a bargain, it is better for the buyer "to have knowledge in jewels, by reason that it may ease the price."[264] In settling on a price, the broker and the merchant do their bargaining by touching hands under a cloth. The object in this method of bargaining is to keep the onlookers from knowing what is being asked and bid, and what price is finally agreed upon.

The kings of Pegu, whether Wareru or Toungoo, excite the interest and admiration of the European travelers. Varthema, who visited there around 1505, concludes that Binnyaran II, the Wareru king, though rich, powerful, and generous, does not enjoy "as great a reputation as the King of Calicut."[265] In Varthema's eyes he looks and acts like an oriental potentate for he wears rubies on his toes, gold bracelets on his arms and legs, and has a startling propensity for giving lavish gifts A war was in progress between Pegu and Ava when Varthema was there, but Binnyaran still took time to give an audience to the Italian merchant, and to accept his strange gift of branches of coral. Pires reports that the king is always in residence in the city of Pegu and that he possesses large numbers of elephants. The king's chief adviser is called the "cobrai," who is "the captain and governor of the kingdom."[266] Subordinate to the "cobrai" are, in order of prestige, the "toledams" (governors) of Rangoon, Martaban, and "Cosmin." Barbosa testifies that Binnyaran is known as "the King of the White Elephant."[267] Castanheda observes that when the king and his sons travel about the city they are carried in splendid litters and followed by a vast multitude on foot. When the king and his court attend a boat festival, they watch the gay processions and races from a building in the middle of the river where the judging is done and the prizes awarded. Binnyaran is devoted to the hunt, especially for elephants, and reputedly is seldom at war with his neighbors. The chief lord of Pegu, presumably Pires' "cobrai," acts as godfather to the crown prince, and the chief lord's wife performs as his nurse. The purpose of this arrangement is to keep the chief lord from trying to usurp the throne when the prince becomes king. While the king is constantly surrounded by nobles, he is particularly inclined to trust eunuchs from Bengal, who, consequently, often rise to high positions of power and influence.[268]

Barros, as discussed earlier,[269] describes the overthrow of the Wareru dynasty of Pegu by the political machinations and military activities of Tabinshwehti, the ruler of Toungoo, and the establishment in 1539 of Tabinshwehti's capital at Pegu. It must therefore be remembered that the Europeans who write about the "kings of Pegu" on the basis of visits or reports made in the latter half of

[264] Fedrici in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 135

[265] Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), pp. 81–3

[266] Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 101

[267] Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 154–55

[268] Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 19–20 On eunuchs in Bengal see above, p. 416 Castanheda also observes that foreigners are not permitted to ride in litters without royal permission

[269] Cf. above, p. 543.

the century are actually referring to rulers of the Toungoo dynasty. Fedrici visited Pegu on three different occasions between 1566 and 1578 in the time of Bayin Naung (reigned 1551–81), brother-in-law and successor of Tabinshwehti. Aside from describing the placement of the king's palace in the new city,[270] Fedrici reports that within the royal enclosure four rare white elephants are kept. The foreign merchants are apparently required to pay a fee to help maintain the elephants, and, whether they cared to or not, the king commands that they view the elephants in their stalls at a designated visiting time. The king holds these white elephants in such high esteem that he would risk his whole kingdom to acquire any which might be held by another monarch.[271] Bayin Naung allegedly possesses four thousand mature elephants who are trained for battle. Not far from the city itself he has a hunting palace which is located in a great forest. Fedrici then describes at some length how the huntsmen use female elephants to lure the wild bull elephants into the palace enclosure. Once the captive elephants are tamed, they are trained to fight and to carry "on their backes a Castle of wood" with four armed soldiers in it.[272]

Bayin Naung has no naval establishment but his land force and wealth are so great that he "farre exceds the power of the great Turks. . . ."[273] He is reported to have twenty-six crowned kings as his vassals,[274] and an army of 1,500,000 men at his command.[275] It is possible for this huge army to live off the land because the soldiers will eat anything from which they are able to get nutrition. The army is divided into corps of elephant and horse cavalry, as well as infantry units of riflemen and pikemen. Except for rifles and ordnance, the armor and weapons are inferior. The riflemen are good marksmen, because they are required to practice shooting every day. Nor does the king want for wealth. He has numerous warehouses full of gold and silver and this treasure is constantly being augmented. He also possesses a monopoly of the rubies and other precious stones.[276] Near to the royal palace is a large court enclosing four gilded houses each of which contains numerous statues of fabulous value. When the wealthy potentate travels in procession through the city, he rides in a high, gilded coach covered by a canopy and pulled by sixteen horses. He has one principal wife and three hundred concubines by whom he reportedly has ninety children.[277]

[270] Cf. above, p. 543.

[271] Without doubt a reference to the war which Bayin Naung fought against Ayut'ia in 1563–64, allegedly over white elephants See Harvey, *op. cit* (n 191), pp. 167–68. This was essentially a ceremonial gesture, like the solemn throwing down of the gauntlet in Europe, rather than the reason for war See Hall, *op cit* (n 30), p. 214.

[272] Fedrici in Purchas (ed), *op cit.* (n. 16), X, 121–24. [273] *Ibid.*, p 125.

[274] Actually he governed only Pegu and the Talaing country himself. Vassal kings ruled at Toungoo, Prome, Ava, and Chiengmai The "twenty-six crowned heads" probably refer to the *sawbwas*, or the Shan chieftains Guzman (*op. cit* [n 44], I, 171–73) comments on Bayin Naung's conquests and lists twelve kingdoms which fell victim to him.

[275] This is a conceivable number because all Burmese as slaves of the ruler were liable to military service whenever needed. See Jardine (ed), *op cit* (n. 235), p. 97

[276] For confirmation see Sangermano in Jardine (ed.), *op cit.* (n 235), p. 91.

[277] Fedrici in Purchas (ed), *op. cit* (n 16), X, 125–26.

In a great hall Bayin Naung holds court every day in the presence of his lords to hear the supplications of his subjects.[278] The king sits on a high seat, his lords at a lower level, and the supplicants on the ground forty paces from the king. All supplicants, no matter what their rank or status, are equally entitled to a royal audience. It is required, however, that they appear in court with their petitions written out on a palm leaf. They are also expected to bring a present, the value of which should correspond to the importance of the matter in question. The royal secretaries take the written petitions before the king and read them to him each in turn. If the king favors a petition, the supplicant is asked to turn his present over to the secretary. If the king disallows a petition, the supplicant is commanded to leave the royal presence and take his gift with him.[279]

Balbi and Fitch were both in Pegu in the middle of the 1580's during Nanda Bayin's reign (1581–99). Though both copied from Fedrici some of their general comments about conditions in Pegu, they have statements to make about its ruler which are independent and different. Nonetheless, Fitch's dependence upon Fedrici ensnares him into giving a misleading account of the Pegu which he actually visited. For, the reign of Nanda Bayin, in contrast to that of his father, was not one of glory and splendor but rather of defeat and decline. Balbi's account agrees far more with the other sources on this reign. Of particular interest is the Venetian's audience with Nanda Bayin in 1583. Balbi, with his "nagirano" (interpreter), entered the courtyard to the sound of trumpets, knelt, bowed, and kissed the earth three times in front of the king and his "semini" (lords)[280] and displayed some valuable emeralds which he had brought to Pegu for the king's inspection. Evidently pleased with the emeralds, the king asked Balbi's name, nationality, how long ago he had left his native country, and where he had gotten the emeralds. Upon learning that both Balbi and the emeralds had come from Venice, he asked about its location and king. When told that Venice was a republic and had no king, the Burmese ruler was so astounded and amused that he laughed until he became speechless. After recovering himself, Nanda Bayin inquired about the strength and military capabilities of Venice. Balbi assured him that Philip II, the most powerful ruler in Christendom, was an ally of Venice, and that his native city feared nobody and sought friendship with all. In addition to issuing an order to his "Terreca" (treasury) to pay for the emeralds, the king gave him some presents and commanded that the "decacini" (customs) should not make Balbi pay duty.[281]

From Balbi's account it can be gathered that the military might of Nanda Bayin seems less impressive than his father's. In contrast to the four thousand

[278] This is a reference to the tribunal called the *Hlut-daw*, the high court and council of the Burmese monarchy. See Jardine (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 81n.

[279] *Ibid.*, pp. 126–27.

[280] From *smim*, the Talaing word for lord. Harvey, *op. cit.* (n. 191), p. 178.

[281] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 157–59.

elephants reportedly owned by his father, Nanda Bayin is said to have just eight hundred battle elephants. Though he has much artillery available, he lacks gunners who can handle it properly. Furthermore, in 1583, he was having deep trouble with the ruler of Ava who refused at the time of his coronation to pay homage or recognize his suzerainty Trade relations between Ava and Pegu were also halted as tension between the two states mounted. Suspecting that some of his own lords were conspiring with the king of Ava against him, Nanda Bayin issued an *ola* (a palm-leaf mandate) commanding that the alleged plotters and their families should be burned in a great public execution. Balbi describes with horror this mass execution of four thousand men, women, and children. Then the king quickly got together an army of three hundred thousand persons and threw up an encampment outside of the city. After surviving an attack of the smallpox, Nanda Bayin moved against Ava. When their forces met, the two rulers engaged in personal combat and the king of Pegu after a bitter struggle finally killed his opponent.[282] Upon the death of its king, the army of Ava was defeated, the city razed, and its inhabitants forced to flee in all directions. Hardly had Nanda Bayin returned to Pegu when the king of Ayut'ia raised the standard of revolt by letting him know that he would no longer be a vassal.[283] Even in Pegu itself, fires suspiciously broke out which destroyed many houses. While the king sought out his enemies ruthlessly, the crown prince prevailed upon him to moderate his wrath. From his vivid depiction of these troubles, it can readily be seen that all was far from serene in Burma when Balbi was there (1583–86).[284]

To Arakan,[285] the only Burmese state to resist Pegu effectively throughout the century, scattered references appear frequently in the European sources. Conti disembarked at Arakan in the early fifteenth century and made his way overland to Ava. João de Silveira is the first Portuguese known to have gone into Arakan, and he arrived there in 1518. Subsequently, other Portuguese halted periodically along its coast to conduct trade, but not much business was carried on there since Chittagōng and Pegu were much greater marts. Portuguese often attacked the coastal towns of Arakan in reprisal to the raids which Arakanese pirates periodically made upon their ships going to the Ganges delta. European freebooters likewise descended upon its isolated, scattered, and lightly defended ports to pillage them. In the latter half of the sixteenth century the Arakanese and the Portuguese at Chittagōng established a working alliance which enabled both of them to defy the Mughuls of Bengal and the Toungoos of Pegu. This co-operation enabled Arakan to tighten its control over Chittagōng, which it had claimed as a vassal state since 1459, and to expand southeastward

[282] Apparently he was not actually killed on the spot, but died shortly thereafter while trying to rally his followers See Harvey, *op. cit* (n. 191), p. 180.

[283] Cf above, pp 535–36.

[284] Purchas (ed), *op. cit* (n. 16), X, 159–64 For a few additional remarks see the letter of Friar Peter of Lisbon (December 28, 1589) written from Cochin to Lisbon about his experiences in Pegu during 1586–87 (Hakluyt, *op cit* [n 114], VI, 385–87).

[285] Portuguese variation, probably through Malay, of *Rakhaing*, the name used by the Arakanese.

against Pegu. It was the king of Arakan, Minyasagyi (reigned 1593–1612), who co-operated with Felipe de Brito in occupying, burning, and depopulating Pegu in 1599–1600.[286]

Barbosa has some interesting information about Arakan during the reign of Minyaza (1501–23), one of the kings of the Myohaung dynasty.[287] He reports that there are twelve cities of consequence in the kingdom, each of which is ruled over by a governor. Every year twelve newly born girls, "daughters of the noblest and fairest women that can be found," are selected by the governors of each of the twelve cities to be brought up at the royal expense in a local palace maintained by the king. These girls are reared in luxury and taught to dance and sing. Each year twelve of those who have become twelve years of age are sent to the king at Myohaung. Here each is clothed in a white robe inscribed with her name. On the day of the girls' interview with the king they sit in the sun from early in the morning to noon until they get so warm that their white robes are wet with perspiration. They are then brought into a hall where the king is seated with the leading lords of the realm. Their wet robes are removed and given to the king who smells them each in turn. A robe which has an unsatisfactory scent is handed over to a lord of the realm along with the maiden whose name is written on it. The king keeps for himself those robes and girls whose scent meets with his approval. Thus, each year the king selects by smell those from a group of twelve maidens who will be added to his harem.[288] This king is, of course, wealthy and a devotee of pleasure.

Far more prosaic are the accounts given in Castanheda and Barros about the visits of João de Silveira to Arakan in 1517–18.[289] On his way to Chittagōng from Ceylon, Silveira made a brief stopover in the estuary of Arakan, thirty-five leagues (140 miles) south of Chittagōng. At this time Arakan was in vassalage to Bengal and so the governor ("lascar") of Chittagōng was a Bengali rather than a dependent of the king of Arakan. Because his reception in Chittagōng was far from friendly, Silveira blockaded the port. But finally discouraged, he returned to the delta of the "river of Arakan" and conducted negotiations there. The king, whose capital was at Myohaung about fifteen leagues (60 miles) upriver[290] from the estuary, sent an emissary to Silveira with friendly greetings, a ruby ring, and an invitation to visit the capital. Though the royal messenger tried to reassure Silveira that he would be received amicably, his experience at

[286] Harvey, *op cit.* (n 191), pp. 137–41, 183

[287] Dames (ed.), *op cit* (n 77), II, 151–52

[288] That palace women were selected by smell does not appear in the other sources It may well be one of those apocryphal stories told by sailors about little known places The repetition of the mystical number "twelve" also seems to strengthen the case for its being a tall tale. For analogous examples see John W Spellman, "The Symbolic Significance of the Number Twelve in Ancient India," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXII (1962), 79–88

[289] Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n 79), II, 445–47, Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 71–72.

[290] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit*, p. 71; actually the modern town of Myohaung is fifty miles up the Kaladan and Lemro rivers, and it is serviced by the port of Akyab. The fact that the capital was so far upriver probably accounts for Barbosa's assertion that Arakan had no port.

Chittagōng apparently made him suspicious of treachery. After proceeding upriver a few miles, the Portuguese captain decided to abandon the project and turned his ships around and set sail for Ceylon. For a long time thereafter, the Portuguese officially expressed the feeling that the Arakanese are false and perfidious, and that they should have little to do with them.

Fedrici,[291] who writes about Arakan from what he heard in Chittagōng, reports that in 1569 an Arakanese messenger was sent to the Portuguese captain in Chittagōng proffering friendship and inviting him to visit the capital of King Minsetya (reigned 1564–71). It is in this period that the Portuguese begin to combine forces with the seagoing Arakanese against Pegu and Bengal. Fedrici affirms that the ruler of Pegu is determined to subject Arakan to vassalage, but that he has no naval force with which to do it. The Arakanese, who are able to equip for war as many as two hundred vessels, clearly can defend themselves against an attack by sea. A land attack by Pegu is made precarious by the rugged terrain of the Arakan Yoma and by the sluices and moats protecting the city of Myohaung. Fitch, who traveled in eastern Bengal reports that the "Mogen" (Mugs)[292] of "Recon" (Arakan) are constantly at war with "Tippara" (Tippera) and that Chittagōng is frequently under the control of Arakan.[293] At this period (1580's) it is most likely true, as it was not when the Portuguese first arrived there, that Chittagōng was governed by a brother or clansman of the king of Arakan.[294]

The people of Burma are generally characterized as being tawny, stocky, and good-looking. The women are lighter in color than the men and possess beautiful figures. In shape, manners, and features both sexes resemble the Chinese; in color they are lighter than the Bengalis and darker than the Chinese. Among their qualities most frequently referred to are industriousness, honesty, peacefulness, and timidity in war. Those Peguans whom Pires saw in Malacca wear white cloths around their loins. The men gather the hair on the tops of their heads and tie it into place with a white piece of cloth. Their teeth are black from chewing betel. The women of Pegu wear their hair following the Chinese fashion in a roll on the top of the head held together with golden pins. Linschoten includes pictures of Peguans in his work.[295]

Many of the European authors (Castanheda is a notable exception) comment censoriously on Peguan customs. Although they are judged to be civilized in most ways, a number of the Europeans recoil in horror from their willingness

[291] Purchas (ed.), *op cit.* (n 16), X, 138

[292] A name commonly used by foreigners to refer to the natives of Arakan, particularly those who live on the borders of Bengal and in Chittagōng. See Yule and Burnell, *op cit.* (n 218), pp. 455–56.

[293] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 16), X, 183.

[294] Harvey, *op. cit.* (n 191), p. 141.

[295] Based largely on the descriptions by Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 79], III, 16), Pires (in Cortesão [trans and ed], *op. cit* [n. 46], I, 102–03), and Linschoten (in Burnell and Tiele [eds.], *op. cit* [n. 25], I, 101). For a characterization written almost three hundred years later by Sangermano see Jardine (ed), *op cit.* (n. 191), p. 157 Sangermano's description of physical features and dress agrees generally with the above, but his estimate of Burmese character is far lower.

to eat anything, including scorpions, serpents, and grass.[296] The men of Pegu, according to their wealth and social position, are reported by many of the sixteenth-century writers to insert little round bells into their sexual organ in the flesh of the foreskin. These bells, which are described as being the size of acorns or small plums, are made of gold, silver, or lead and the more expensive golden ones are said to have delightful "treble, contralto, and tenor tones." The men of Pegu, Pires reports, are very popular with the ladies of Malacca, "the reason for this must be their sweet harmony."[297] The bells are reportedly the invention of an early Burmese queen who wanted to enlarge the male sexual organ for the greater gratification of women and to break the Burmese men of their addiction to sodomy.[298] Barros, who cautiously admits that he is writing on the basis of what he has heard about local lore, links the introduction of these strange sexual practices in an unclear manner to a traditional story still current in the East, which alleges that the people of Pegu are descended from the marriage of a woman with a dog. This purportedly dates back to a time when a Chinese junk was shipwrecked on the coast and the sole survivors were a Chinese woman and a dog.[299] Skeptical of this story himself, Barros gives an alternative explanation which is equally fanciful, though based on European traditions, to the effect that the Burmese are the descendants of expatriates from the Judea of King Solomon who fled eastward in search of the mythical kingdom of Ophir.[300] The only part of the native tradition which accords with modern

[296] See especially Fedrici in Purchas, *op. cit* (n 16), X, 125, Sangermano also writes (Jardine [ed], *op. cit.* [n 235], p. 159) "Every herb and the leaves of every tree, provided they are not positively venemous, are used in these [common curry] dishes, and the very richest kind is that which contains the flesh of some animal that has died "

[297] Cortesão (trans. and ed), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 103.

[298] This report, so far as I can determine, first appears in Conti (Major, *op cit.* [n 31], Pt IV, p 11); Barbosa (in Dames [ed], *op. cit.* [n 77], II, 154) and Pires (in Cortesão [trans and ed], *op. cit.* [n. 46], I, 102) likewise write at some length about it. Pigafetta (in Robertson [ed], *op cit.* [n 136], II, 169) dwells on it at even greater length but refers it to Java. Oviedo (D José Amador de los Rios [ed], *Historia general y natural de las Indias, islas y tierra-firme de mar oceano por . Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo de Valdes* [Madrid, 1852] Bk XX, chap. xxxv, p 105) writing on the basis of information given him by Urdaneta, refers it to Celebes. Barros (Cidade and Múrias [eds], *op cit.* [n 39], III, 130) probably on the basis of Barbosa's and Pires' reports, likewise mentions it Linschoten (Burnell and Tiele [eds], *op cit.* [n 25], I, 99–100) tells the same story and reports that he brought one of the bells home as a souvenir for his collector-friend, Dr Paludanus Fitch, who traveled both in Burma and Siam, reports that this practice prevails among the men in both places (Purchas [ed], *op. cit.* [n 16], X, 196–97) Camoens and Garcia de Resende, the Portuguese poets, allude to this custom in their famous works Until about 1700 the European writers continue to comment on the prevalence of this custom in southeast Asia. Thereafter nothing is said about it, and no trace of the practice seems to remain today There seems to be hardly any doubt that it once existed, but has now died out. Also see H Yule, *A Narrative of the Mission . . to the Court of Ava in 1855* (London, 1858), p. 208 n.

[299] Camoens in the *Lusiads* (X, 122) writes in Burton's translation.

> "Arracan-realm behold, behold the seat
> of Pegu peoples by a monster-brood,
> monsters that gendered meeting most unmeet
> of whelp and woman in the lonely wood."

Professor C C. Berg tells of having heard the same story himself in the twentieth century.

[300] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit.* (n 39), III, 130

scholarly theory is the remote association of the early Burmese people with China.

The women of Burma reputedly go about in almost complete nudity to entice the men and to keep them away from homosexuals.[301] Some of the Burmese sew together the sexual organ of their female children and it remains that way until they are married.[302] Men of the upper classes often invite a friend or even a stranger to initiate their new wives into sexual activity. Merchants and other strangers who come to Pegu are given great hospitality. According to local custom, any visitor is said to have the right to choose one from a number of possible women to share his residence for the entire period of his stay in Pegu. He must, however, make a contract with her parents to pay for her, and must not see other women during the contract period. Once he leaves, the girl returns to her home and no stigma is attached to her name. She may thereafter marry without trouble into the best families in the land. Should the same merchant return and ask for her again, she is obliged to return to him and her husband is required to acquiesce. Since no shame is involved in this relationship for any of the parties concerned, she may without difficulty return to her husband after the merchant has departed.[303]

Even the urbane Barros (not to mention Maffei) is a bit shocked by the stories which come to his ears about the customs of Pegu. But he is willing to incorporate these "nefarious abuses" into the *Décadas* as an example of what can happen in the absence of Christian belief. In his words, these people have "always been heathens and therefore under the influence of the devil."[304] At the same time, the Portuguese official within Barros cannot help showing satisfaction that Pegu and the rest of continental southeast Asia have been so little infected by the virus of Islam. He is conscious that in religion (including temples, priests, and idols thereunder) the Peguan and the Siamese practices resemble each other.

In December, 1554, Pinto wrote from Malacca to the fathers of Portugal that the city of Pegu is the Rome of its area.[305] At the center of the city there is a huge temple (*varella*) covered with gold to which people make pilgrimages.[306] These heathens worship idols of various sizes, descriptions, and composition. Some are made of precious metals and "ganza"; some are of marvelous height and stand erect, while others are elaborately decorated but not so tall. Certain idols are designed to represent the supreme deity, while others are statues of saints. In every habitation of the kingdom there are local idols and pagodas, and then there are those which are as famous in Asia as the pyramids of Egypt are in Europe. At Martaban there is a fabulous reclining idol which lies in the

[301] Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op cit* (n 25), I, 100.

[302] Both Fedrici and Linschoten report this (*ibid.*, p 100, n 1) and apparently there is no doubt that this and similar practices were followed in a number of Eastern countries.

[303] *Ibid*, pp. 98–99.

[304] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit.* (n 39), III, 130, also Maffei, *op cit* (n 98), p 288.

[305] Fernão Mendes Pinto to Fathers of Portugal (Malacca, December 5, 1554) in Wicki (ed.), *op cit.* (n 80), III, 140–55

[306] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit.* (n. 79), III, 17

midst of forty-eight stone pillows and is called the "god of sleep."[307] At Pegu there is a gilded idol with a huge paunch who is the god of pregnant women and he is called "Quiai Colompon" (*Quiai* is the Mon word meaning "holy") which means, according to Pinto, the god of 104 gods. Near a town of which Castanheda does not know the name, there stands an important temple on a river bank close to the sea. This unnamed temple is served by fish who, it is said, never leave its vicinity. These fish are so tame, though they are of the size and appearance of sharks, that they will surface and open their mouths to be fed by any person who splashes his hand in the water and calls out a certain name.[308] Mariners who round Cape Negrais all look for a gilded pagoda which shines in the sun and can be seen for a long distance.[309] In "Degu" (Rangoon) a pagoda stands which is so tall that it can be seen from a large part of the kingdom and people from all over the land make pilgrimages to it on regular feast days.[310] Without question this is a reference to the majestic Shwe Dagon Pagoda about which Fitch admiringly writes: "It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world."[311] The travelers also estimate that Pegu would have plenty of gold for commerce, if so much of it were not used in gilding its innumerable pagodas, temples, and idols.

In the vicinity of the pagodas are places of worship dedicated to idols and set aside for prayer. Nearby monasteries, usually built as pious works by the original founders, are constructed of gilded wood. Other buildings serve as repositories for religious statues, one of them housing more than 120,000 images.[312] Some religious houses are reserved for women who spend their time in praying for the deceased donors of the monastic establishments. Priests, called "rolis,"[313] live cloistered lives in large monasteries which house three or four hundred men. Many of the religious establishments have large and small bells, some of the bells being larger than those at Santiago de Compostela in Galicia.[314] Some of the monasteries live on incomes left to them by their

[307] Letter from Malacca (1554) in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 147–48. Pinto gives detail on a number of gods and holy places.

[308] Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 20.

[309] Balbi in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 150, this is the beautiful Hmawdin Pagoda which still stands as a landmark.

[310] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 17.

[311] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 193, for a description of it see Murray (pub.), *op. cit.* (n. 246), pp. 648–87. It has remained unchanged in size, height, and shape since 1564.

[312] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 18. Pinto (in Wicki [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 80], III, 148) mentions a shrine of 110,000 images.

[313] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), p. 17. Often written "raulim" by other Portuguese authors. It is derived from the Pali and Burmese term, *rahan*, meaning "holy men." See Dalgado, *op. cit.* (n. 53), II, 251. The earliest reference to the "raulim" in a Jesuit letter is in one which was sent to Coimbra from Cochin in 1548 or 1549. The author received his information from a Portuguese who had twice visited Pegu. See Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), I, 260. At this date there were also four students from Pegu in the College at Goa from whom the Jesuit writer also obtained information.

[314] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 17, Balbi (in Purchas [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 16], X, 155) tells of a mammoth bell at Rangoon which had an inscription on it that nobody, not even the Peguans, could decipher. Such a bell with a Talaing inscription on it was possibly cast at the end of the thirteenth century. See Anon., "Talaing Inscription in a Bell Cast by Anauppet-lun Mrin," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XVIII (1928), 21.

founders; others are poor and their monks are forced to live from alms. The monks shave their heads and trim their beards by plucking hairs out of them. The *tallipoies* (mendicant priests)[315] are said by Fitch to be of lower rank than the "rolis."[316] Their dress consists of a brown cloth next to the body and an outer garment of yellow, both of which hang down one shoulder and are bound about them with a broad girdle. Around their necks suspended on a string they carry a piece of leather which they use to sit on. They wear no shoes or head covering, but carry a sombrero to protect themselves from the sun and rain.[317]

To prepare for the priesthood, youths attend school until they are twenty years of age or more. Once their education is complete, they are taken before a "roli" who examines them many times and determines if they are serious about renouncing their friends, the company of women, and are ready to assume the garb of a "tallipoie." The "roli" being satisfied, the novice broadcasts his intention of renouncing the world by donning rich apparel and riding through the streets on a horse accompanied by pipers and drummers.[318] A few days later, he puts on the yellow garment of the "tallipoie" and is carried through the streets in a litter procession to a tiny abode along the highway outside the city. There he takes up his begging vessel to go out and find his food. He is not permitted to ask for anything, but must live entirely upon what the people voluntarily hand out to him. Each time the new moon rises the people send rice and other provisions to the *kiack* (holy place) where the *tallipoies* assemble to have a feast.[319] They fast for thirty days each year.[320] The only public services which they hold are sermons at which they preach against all abuses. Many people throng to hear them. Before entering the temple, the people wash their feet. Once inside, they raise their hands up to their heads as a salute first to the priest or priests and then to the sun. Thereafter they sit down with the others. The priest or priests are seated on their leather pads. These priests also assist in the ceremonies attending illness, marriage, and death.

The priests of Burma also participate in political ceremonies. Though Barros seems to be the first to mention the following episode, the fullest description of it is in Maffei's work.[321] When, in 1519, Antonio Corrêa concluded at

[315] A word of obscure origin, but it seems to be a Burmese appellation for the priests of Talaing (the Mon people of lower Burma) See Dalgado, *op. cit.* (n 53), II, 341–43.

[316] Purchas (ed), *op cit* (n. 16), X, 193.

[317] By sombrero, Fitch (*ibid.*) is probably referring to the palm-leaf fan which the priests are obliged to carry when out-of-doors. For a more detailed and comprehensible description by Sangermano see Jardine (ed.), *op cit* (n 235), p. 114.

[318] Fitch in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit* (n 16), X, 193 , almost the same description is given by Sangermano in Jardine (ed.), *op cit* (n 235), p. 121.

[319] Fitch in Purchas (ed), *op cit.* (n 16), X, 194. Actually they have festivals at the time of the full moon and fifteen days thereafter. See Jardine (ed), *op cit.* (n. 191), p. 118. Pinto (in Silva Rego [ed.], *op cit* [n 179], V, 368) mentions a festival called "talanos" which is held for the seriously ill. *Kiack* is the Talaing word which means the Buddha's place of residence. See R H , "Talaing Place-Names in Burmese," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XX (1930), 23.

[320] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit.* (n 79), III, 18 , Sangermano makes it a fast of three months (Jardine [ed], *op. cit* [n. 235], p. 118)

[321] *Op. cit.* (n. 98), I, 280–81.

Martaban a commercial treaty with Pegu, the final ceremony was held in a large temple and attended by the dignitaries and priests of both Portugal and Pegu. The viceroy of Martaban, called the satrap or "samibelgan"[322] by Maffei, was accompanied to the meeting by one of the high "rolis" and a vast assemblage of the townspeople. As a prelude to the ceremonies of oath-taking, the "samibelgan" read aloud in his own language the terms of the treaty which were written on a golden plaque in both Portuguese and "Peguan." Thereafter one of the Portuguese did likewise. Then the "roli" intoned some texts from their writings, and burned some pieces of saffron-colored paper (a color which they consider holy) along with some odoriferous leaves. He then took the hands of the "samibelgan," placed them on the ashes, and asked the viceroy questions which led him to swear that his king would live up to the conditions of the treaty with Portugal. This part of the ceremony was conducted with great solemnity as the crowd observed a respectful silence.

Corrêa and the other Portuguese in attendance had quite a different attitude, the majority of them believing, when it came their turn, that a Christian could not validly swear to uphold obligations made to pagans. As part of what the Portuguese thought of as a farce, the chaplain of Corrêa's vessel, attired in his surplice, brought to the ceremony, instead of the Bible ordinarily used for swearing an oath, a beautifully bound book of songs and moral platitudes. Corrêa in mockery opened the book at random and his hand accidentally fell on these words from the Holy Scriptures: "Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas." This chance encounter with the word of God forced him to regard the ceremony with respect and to recall that Heaven requires that oaths made to infidels and pagans shall be religiously kept. And so Corrêa, feeling bound to act in good faith, swore his oath on the book as if it were the Bible itself. While Maffei certainly is using this story to point out to his European audience the wondrous workings of the Christian God, it is particularly interesting as an example of how the Portuguese sometimes thought about their obligations to pagan peoples and of how the church itself officially viewed such undertakings.

The first European to gain any insight into the doctrines of the Buddhists of Burma was the Franciscan friar, Pierre Bonifer, a Frenchman and a doctor of the University of Paris.[323] While in India, Bonifer had probably been told, even as the Jesuits had earlier heard in Coimbra, that "if a father . . . were to go there [to Pegu] then all the people would become Christians."[324] Along with

[322] An approximation of the Burmese title equivalent to viceroy. *shin-bai-yin-hkan-min*. See Dalgado, *op cit.* (n. 53), II, 278. Barros (in Cidade and Múrias [eds.], *op cit* [n 39], III, 131) gives this title in a somewhat clearer transliteration "samibelagão." Cf the title for governor ("toledam") given by Pires (above, p 547).

[323] For a brief account of his mission see A. Meersman, O F M., "The Franciscans in the Ancient Burmese Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, 1557–1818," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XXXI (1938), 358, greater detail on both the mission and Buddhist doctrine as he understood it may be found in Maffei, *op. cit.* (n. 98), II, 286–89

[324] From a letter dated Cochin (late 1547 or early 1548), probably written by Brother Adão Francisco, which relays some elementary detail on Burmese Buddhism based on what Brother Adão was told by a man in India who had twice visited Pegu. See Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), I, 260.

his companion, Friar Pedro Paschasius, Bonifer sailed from Mylapore to Pegu, probably in the fall of 1565.[325] Bonifer remained at Bassein for a time studying the Mon language, reading native books on the Buddhist faith, and tending to the religious needs of the Portuguese colony. Unfortunately for his evangelizing hopes, Bonifer arrived in Pegu when King Bayin Naung was encouraging a fervent Buddhist revival. This king's vigor in battle was matched only by his great enthusiasm to be a model Buddhist ruler and he did all within his power to be so regarded throughout the Buddhist world. He built pagodas wherever his campaigns took him, distributed widely many copies of Pali texts, fed monks, and encouraged the collection and study of the *dammathat* (code of civil law).[326] He sent presents to the celebrated Tooth of Buddha shrine in Ceylon, and, when the tooth was confiscated by the Portuguese, he dispatched emissaries to Goa in 1560 in the vain hope of ransoming it.[327] He forbade the Muslims and Shan people within his dominions to kill sacrificial animals. And Father Bonifer, who disputed with some of the Buddhist priests of Pegu, was railed at as an impostor and a trouble-maker. Finally, on the advice of his Portuguese friends who had heard threats made against him, Bonifer left Bassein in fear of his life.

On the basis of the letters which Bonifer wrote to Europe, Maffei in 1588 was able to publish a summary of what he understood the beliefs of these Buddhists to be and to give a list of some of their religious terms. The best educated of the Burmese priests are said by the Jesuit scholar to hold the idea that there have been an infinite number of worlds which succeed one another throughout eternity.[328] Each of these worlds possesses its own set of gods from the vast pantheon which the Burmese postulate. They believe that this present world must have had five gods, four of whom have long since departed and the fifth of whom died almost three thousand years ago.[329] This means that at present they are without a god; within an indefinite number of years, they believe, another god will appear whose death will be followed by a universal conflagration from which a new world will emerge with its own new and particular

[325] While Maffei and Meersman (above, n. 323) place him in Pegu from 1557 to 1560, the basic extant letter on which we rely for information on his mission is dated from "Cosmin" (Bassein) on February 18, 1556 Fróis (in Wicki [ed.], *op cit* [n 80], III, 364) writes from Malacca on December 15, 1555, that he left "just now from Santo Thome " He must have been there for a period before writing his letter, because it shows a degree of knowledge about Buddhism and the Mon language which probably would not have been acquired too readily in India For the text of his letter, see *ibid.*, 817–20. Bonifer includes the first list of Buddhist terms in the Mon language to reach Europe, as far as is now known.

[326] Hall, *op cit.* (n 30), p 216. The kings of Burma were traditionally looked upon as patrons and guardians of its Buddhist faith. Politically, the kings ordinarily cultivated good relations with the monks for they were "the real spokesmen of the people and the monasteries were the popular assemblies . ." See Niharranyan Ray, *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma* (Calcutta, 1946), p 212.

[327] See above, p 344.

[328] For confirmation see Sangermano in Jardine (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 235), p 9

[329] According to information obtained by Sangermano (*ibid*, p 102) in 1763 from a celebrated Burmese priest and tutor of the king, just four gods have appeared in the present world and have achieved a state of Nirvana, the last of whom was Godama who died 2,306 years before 1763.

gods.[330] They believe that their gods have been created by certain men who exist in different guises and who possess earthly and ethereal qualities. They assign dead souls to three different locales: the place of torment is called *Naxac* (Hell),[331] the center of delight which resembles the paradise of the Muslims is called "Scuum" (Heaven),[332] and another place named *Nizan* (*Nirvana*),[333] the meaning of which is deprivation, death, and destruction of both the body and the soul. In the first two places the souls are detained until they are called into some new world and this process continues until they finally end up in *Nizan*, a state of complete annihilation. "These are," writes Maffei, "the elements of the Peguan doctrines about which they possess many large and complete books."[334] Though his outline of Burmese belief is clearly not based upon serious study of these books, Maffei is able, from Bonifer's letter, to give vaguely some of the basic tenets of traditional Burmese cosmography and religion.

The people of Pegu, thanks to their priests, are well educated and candidates for conversion. They have among them a learned elite who study another language (Pali) which is for them what Latin is for the scholars of Europe.[335] The language of Pegu (Talaing) differs from those spoken by the neighboring Siamese, "Bramás" (Burmese), and Arakanese. In Pegu it is held that the Siamese language is derived from Talaing.[336] Pegu possesses an ancient literature and its scribes write both on paper with ink and on palm leaf with stylus.[337] All supplications to the king are presented in writing and read to him by one of his secretaries. Traditional law exists, even though justice is usually meted out by fiat of the monarch. Murder is ordinarily punished by having the perpetrator of the crime pay a sum to the aggrieved family, the size of which is determined by the victim's rank or status.[338] On one occasion in 1567, when Fedrici was in Martaban, the Portuguese there murdered five royal messengers who were on their way to the battlefront with personal supplies for the king. Under these extraordinary circumstances the king ordered that the Portuguese should be

[330] On their beliefs about the destruction and reproduction of the world see *ibid.*, chap. v.

[331] *Naxac* is the Mon word for hell, cf the Sanskrit word, *Naraka*, which means an infernal place. See Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 818, n. 5.

[332] "Scuum" is read as "Sevo" by Wicki in *ibid.* It is equivalent to the Mon word for heaven, *Swaw*, and the Sanskrit word, *Svarga*.

[333] *Nirvâna* in Mon = *Nizan*, and in Sanskrit = *Nibbân*.

[334] Maffei, *op. cit.* (n. 98), II, 288. Evidently, Bonifer brought a collection of books from Pegu back to Goa. See Fróis' letter to Portugal from Goa (December 6, 1560), in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), IV, 778. Peguan youths in the college at Goa might conceivably have read and translated these books for the Jesuits.

[335] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 18.

[336] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 130, for confirmation see Sangermano in Jardine (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 42.

[337] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 18, says paper and ink, Fedrici in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 127, talks of supplications written on palm leaves with a stylus. Actually both were used. Their paper was made of macerated bamboo and colored black, it is called *praibach*. See Sangermano in Jardine (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 235), p. 180.

[338] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 18, also Fedrici in Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 118.

imprisoned until his return. But the Portuguese captain refused to deliver the accused men to the authorities, and took advantage of the absence of the men of the city to parade his troops through the streets every day. "I thought it a strange thing," writes Fedrici, "to see the Portugals use such insolency in another mans Citie."[339]

The European writers on Burma may be divided into two groups: Varthema and the Portuguese who deal with Burma before the final establishment of the Toungoo dynasty at Pegu in 1539, and the non-Portuguese (Maffei, Fedrici, Balbi, Linschoten, and Fitch) who comment on conditions under the Toungoo rulers. Barros is a particularly valuable source on the fall of the Wareru rulers and the foundations of a united state under the Toungoos. While the earlier commentators are not very specific about the activities of the Mon kings, those who write about the Toungoo rulers give rich detail on their wars and building programs. Pires and Fitch are particularly useful on the conditions for trade and business in south Burma. All of the authors, except Castanheda, are shocked by the low level of sexual morality prevailing in Burma. Without exception they are almost all overcome by the number and splendor of Burma's pagodas, temples, and statues—a concern for architecture which is reminiscent of the European wonderment about the buildings and sculptures of India. Castanheda, Fitch, and Maffei exhibit considerable knowledge about the importance of the Buddhist monks in Burma, and try to understand something about their training, alms-gathering, and rites. Like modern observers, these early commentators are struck by the vast expenditures of the Burmese Buddhists on ceremonials, food for the monks, and the building of monuments.[340] Maffei is the only writer to attempt to discourse on their doctrinal beliefs and to give sample religious terms in the Mon language. All of the Europeans write from experiences or reports based on information gathered in the delta area of the Irrawaddy or along the coast of Arakan. None of them seems to have penetrated to the interior, and what they have to say about cities such as Ava is based entirely upon what they heard elsewhere. One of the most valuable features of these writings for historians of Burma is the large number of place names, commercial terms, and administrative titles which they contain.

5

Indochina

Throughout recorded history, Indochina, as its name indicates, was the place where the Hindu and Chinese cultures met, clashed and sometimes fused. Long before Marco Polo visited the peninsula in 1288, Champa, the predominant

[339] Purchas (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 16), X, 119.

[340] Cf. Manning Nash, "Burmese Buddhism in Everyday Life," *American Anthropologist*, LXV (1963), 285–95.

"Hinduized" state of the south, was being challenged by the expansion of the "Sinicized" Annamese state of the north. The Venetian traveler left a few comments about Champa, and, possibly, a good deal more about the Cochinchina area where the Annamese were then dominant.[341] When Odoric of Pordenone traveled in these regions, Champa was undergoing a temporary respite from the onslaughts of its northern neighbors. The friar roamed southern Indochina during the reign of Chê A-nan (1318–42), the founder of the twelfth dynasty in Cham history. He reports that the country was then prosperous, enjoyed rich fishing grounds off its coast, and that the ruler himself had no fewer than two hundred children by his various wives. Neither Polo nor Odoric mentions Cambodia, the great Hinduized state of the Khmers with its capital at Angkor, which was already beginning to decline and which was then being invaded by Hinayana Buddhism from neighboring Siam.

Between the time of Odoric's report and the arrival of the Portuguese in the East, nothing more was heard in Europe about the struggles going on in this remote peninsula where several contending states were meeting, clashing, retreating, advancing, and dying. In 1431 the rulers of Cambodia, under relentless attack from Siam, deserted the city of Angkor and retreated to a capital further to the east which would not be so exposed to attack from Ayut'ia. In 1471 all of Champa south to Cape Varella was annexed by the Annamese, and what remained was a tiny, truncated state which continued to bear the same name.[342] The decline of Champa and Cambodia was paralleled in time by the southward movement of the Annamese from Tongking towards the Mekong delta and by the rise of Ayut'ia, to the west of Cambodia, as a great and menacing seat of power. The three Laotian states on the upper Mekong River continued to lead semi-independent existences while nominally and sometimes actually in vassalage to Siam or Burma. In this confused state of affairs, it is hardly to be wondered at that the first Portuguese to comment on Indochina were not always entirely clear or in agreement on such elementary matters as the exact placement or relative strength of the shifting component parts of the peninsula.

News of Indochina began to trickle back into Portugal shortly after the conquest of Malacca. Albuquerque's emissaries to Ayut'ia returned with information on Cambodia, nominally a vassal of Siam In 1513 King Manuel, in a letter to Pope Leo X which was published in Rome, let the rest of Europe know that Cambodia was one of the most powerful and strategically located states of the distant East.[343] Pires, who gathered his information in Malacca, gives substantial

[341] For a summary of the argument that Polo's "Greater Java" was really Cochin-China see A. J. H Charignon, "La grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine," *Bulletin de la Societé des études indochinoises* (Saigon), New Series, Vol IV (1929), No 4, pp 345–47. As used in the sixteenth-century and earlier accounts, Cochin-China corresponds to the territory now called Tonkin and northern Annam The probability is that this name is derived from an Arabic designation. See L Aurousseau, "Sur le nom de Cochinchine," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi), XXIV (1924), 551–79.

[342] E Aymonier, "The History of Tchampa (The Cyamba of Marco Polo, Now Annam or Cochin China)," *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, New Series, VI (1893), 375–76

[343] Grosher, *op cit.* (n 23), p. 142

data on Cambodia, Champa, and Cochin-China, but his work was not published until its appearance in 1550 in Ramusio's first volume. The remainder of the Portuguese secular writers (Barbosa, Pinto, Castanheda, and Barros) attempt nothing but general descriptions of Indochina. The most detailed and accurate accounts published in the sixteenth century come from missionary informants. Gaspar da Cruz, the pioneer Dominican missionary in southeast Asia, spent about a year in Cambodia during 1555–56 in a fruitless effort to establish a mission there. In hope of finding a more cordial reception, he went to Canton in 1556 and spent a few months on the coast of South China. He returned to Portugal and shortly thereafter published his *Tractado* . . . (1569)[344] in which he discusses his experiences in Cambodia. The Spanish Augustinian, Mendoza,[345] includes an account of the Indochinese states near the end of his famous book on China in a section summarising the Far Eastern experiences of Friar Martin Ignatius de Loyola.

The materials in Pires, Cruz, and Mendoza are the best European sources published in the sixteenth century, and they can be supplemented by odd fragments of data in the Portuguese chroniclers and the Jesuit letterbooks and histories. In the beginning years of the seventeenth century, as a result of the Spanish effort to obtain a foothold in Cambodia (1593–1603),[346] several more informative books and documents appeared in Spain in quick succession. However, they will not be considered here since they were not published in the sixteenth century.[347] The European sources, while admittedly meager, are nevertheless important because the native annals on the period before 1600 are sparse, non-existent, unreliable, or written so long after the event as to be suspect. Here, as in many other parts of southeast Asia, the early history has to be reconstructed in large part from foreign sources.[348]

The earliest geographical descriptions of the Indochinese peninsula, particularly in its relationships to neighboring territories, appear in Barros and in Pinto's letter of 1554 from Malacca. The Portuguese chronicler, who places this region, in his eighth division of the East, at the southeasternmost projection of

[344] C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953), p. lix. For further discussion see below, pp. 747–48.

[345] For details see below, pp. 644–46.

[346] For details see Lawrence P. Briggs, "Spanish Intervention in Cambodia," *T'oung pao*, XXXIX (1950), 132–60

[347] An unpublished description of Cambodia and Angkor by Diogo do Couto was discovered by C. R. Boxer in 1954. Apparently the continuator of Barros hoped to insert it into the text of the sixth *Década*, but was prevented from doing so by overly zealous censorship. Prepared in its present form around 1611, it has finally been published and edited by Grosher in *op cit* (n 23), pp 68–74 The first printed references to the ruins of Angkor were included in Ribadeneyra, *op cit* (n. 23), pp. 173, 187 He reports that some who have seen the magnificent ruins believe that they were constructed by Alexander the Great or the Romans, a conventional explanation advanced by Europeans of this period to account for a number of Oriental architectural masterpieces

[348] The Cambodian documentation for the sixteenth century has either been destroyed or has completely disappeared (Grosher, *op. cit* [n 23], p 164), on the Annamese sources see P. J Honey, "Modern Vietnamese Historiography," in Hall (ed), *op cit.* (n. 8), p 94 Also see Antoine Cabaton, "Quelques documents espagnols et portugais sur l'Indochine aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Journal asiatique*, Series X, Vol. XII (1908), pp. 255–60.

the continent, concentrates his attention upon the basin and delta of the Mekong River. After naming Cambodia, Champa, and Cochin-China as the three greatest states of the peninsula, Barros observes that least is known about Cochin-China because its coast is very stormy and rough and its people not much involved in maritime activities.[349] Xavier, on his way to Japan in 1549, observes that Cochin-China borders on China, and tells about the storms and turbulent seas which almost brought disaster to his ship off its rugged coast.[350] Camoëns dramatizes the difficulties of navigating around Indochina in the story which he tells of his shipwreck at the Mekong delta in 1560 and of how he saved the manuscript of the *Lusiads*. Pinto, who writes from what he heard in Ayut'ia in about 1548–49, reports that Portuguese who had earlier visited in Cambodia learned that the king and all his people would quickly become Christians if only missionaries could be sent. He equates Champa in size with Portugal and notices that at the mouth of the bay of Cochin-China stands the fortified island of Hainan, the "first" outpost of China and subject to the jurisdiction of the governors of Canton.[351]

The maps of the peninsula prepared during the sixteenth century do not go beyond these generalities in their representation of Indochina. The first rough sketch of its coastline appears on the planisphere of 1527 prepared by Diogo Ribeiro. The map in the 1554 edition of Ramusio's first volume[352] appears, from its depiction of the Mekong delta, to be based on Barros, or perhaps both the cartographer and the chronicler used a common source unknown to us. No marked improvement of the cartography of the peninsula again takes place until the publication of Ortelius' atlas in 1595. The sixteenth-century maps give relatively little detail on particular places within the Indochinese states.[353]

From his vantage point in Malacca, Pires was able to obtain from his merchant informants a rough idea of each of the peninsula's leading states as they looked around 1515. Cambodia, which he locates on the seacoast between Siam and Champa, is a country with a deep hinterland through which run many navigable rivers. It is rich in foodstuffs and produces substantial quantities of good rice, meat, and fish as well as "wines of its own kind."[354] Though it has little gold to export, Cambodia sells abroad its lac, ivory, dried fish, and rice. It imports Bengali textiles, spices, mercury, liquid storax, and red beads.[355] The ruler of Cambodia is a valiant heathen who fights with his neighbors and bows his head to none of them. His people are warlike and possess many horses and trained elephants. Their ships, which mainly trade at Lugor in Siam, often form into

[349] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), I, 363–64

[350] Letter of November 5, 1549, from Kagoshima in Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 93), II, 180–81.

[351] Eglauer (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 181), I, 254

[352] Following fol. 34.

[353] For further discussion see Groslier, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 146–50.

[354] Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 112. For emendations of Cortesão's translation based on a comparison with the Ramusio version see Groslier, *op. cit.* (n. 23), pp. 143–44.

[355] For confirmation of this list of imports see the material from the Chinese sources as analyzed in P. Pelliot, *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-kouan* (Paris, 1951), p. 27.

pirate squadrons to prey upon friend and foe alike. At the death of a king the lords burn themselves as do the king's wives and other widowed women. The likelihood that cremation was practiced in Cambodia is very slight. Pires must have heard about it in relation to Champa where cremation certainly was the custom and where Odoric of Pordenone had already observed it in the fourteenth century.[356]

To the east of Cambodia, particularly towards the interior, lies the country of Champa.[357] In Pires' estimate, it is a land power with no large ports, no great river marts, and no Muslim merchants.[358] Its economy is based on agriculture rather than trade, and it is rich in all kinds of foodstuffs. The chief product sold abroad is highest quality calambac (aloe-wood)[359] of which Champa has whole forests. Most of its trade is with Siam rather than Malacca. Its exports consist primarily of calambac, dried salt fish, rice, local textiles, some pepper, and gold.[360] The commodities imported are generally the same as those in demand in Cambodia, especially Indian textiles and spices. Gold, silver, and Chinese "cash" (low value coins made of an alloy of copper and lead with a square hole in the center) are the ordinary mediums of exchange. Champa's ruler is a rich heathen prince who rules over many subjects and is often at war with the king of Cochin-China.

Between Champa and China, Pires locates the wealthy and powerful Annamese kingdom of Cochin-China. Its territory extends deep into the interior and is traversed by large navigable rivers. But most of the population resides along its coastal fringe rather than up its river valleys. It is an entirely heathen country, hostile to the Moors, and closely attached by trade and political ties to China. The king of Cochin-China is related to the Ming rulers by marriage and is in vassalage to Peking. He keeps a permanent ambassador at the Chinese court, and, even though generally bellicose, he never is at war with China.[361] Like that of its smaller and poorer neighbor, Champa, the power of Cochin-China is geared to the land and not to the sea. Its numerous ships and war junks are primarily used to carry and protect the merchandise bought and sold at Canton. Cochin-China imports sulfur and saltpeter, constituents of the gunpowder used in Cochin-China to manufacture fireworks and munitions. The other items imported are

[356] Grosher, *op. cit.* (n. 23), p. 144.

[357] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op cit* (n 77), II, 208, incorrectly makes it an island

[358] Cortesão (trans and ed.), *op cit.* (n. 46), I, 112–14.

[359] Barbosa (in Dames [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 77], II, 209–10) confirms Pires' statement that the best of the aromatic aloe-wood originates in Champa Also see Orta's comments in C. Markham (trans), *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India* (London, 1913), p 263

[360] Pires (Cortesão [trans. and ed], *op. cit.* [n. 46], I, 113) makes a puzzling statement which seems to mean that crude gold comes into Champa from the mines of Menangkabow in Sumatra and that it is sold in some other form to buyers in Cochin-China.

[361] The Yung-lo emperor of China had begun sending maritime expeditions southward early in the fifteenth century with the object of incorporating China's southern neighbors into the Ming system of tribute and trade. The second Le dynasty of Annam forced the Ming government of China to withdraw its armies from the peninsula in 1428 After the setback, Peking was content to recognize the Le rulers as the actual governors of northern Indochina and to require nothing from them except formal vassalage See Hall, *op cit.* (n. 30), p. 174.

precious stones, small quantities of opium and pepper, and liquid storax. For sale abroad Cochin-China itself produces pottery and porcelain, superb taffeta, high quality silk, and a limited quantity of seed pearls. Only on rare occasions do the merchants of Cochin-China come to Malacca, on these occasions they exchange gold, silver, and the products of China for sulfur and other items.[362]

Father Gaspar da Cruz, who was possibly acting on the information which Pinto reported back to Europe about Cambodia's readiness for conversion and its king's request for missionaries,[363] left Malacca in 1555 with high hopes of establishing a mission there. While the Dominican proved to be a good observer of the natural features of Indochina, he rapidly became disillusioned about Christianizing the country. Though he necessarily had to communicate through a "third party," or interpreter, he was himself a serious student of the religions then dominant within Cambodia. While his account of religion in Cambodia (published in his *Tractado* . . . [1569]) is brief, it brings out clearly his ability to discern and correctly evaluate the strength of the hated faiths which stood in the way of his own efforts to spread the gospel. When he finally left Cambodia in despair, he admits that he had made but one convert; ironically, this man was dead before Cruz's departure.[364] His discouraging experience probably helps to explain why it was so long before other Christian missionaries tried their hand at evangelizing in Cambodia.

In discussing the geographical boundaries of China, Cruz incorporates into his delineation a number of valuable observations on the states of Indochina. His comments on Cochin-China are essentially in harmony with those made by the informants of Pires forty years earlier, but he emphasizes even more strongly the close ties between the Annamese and the Chinese. In dress, policy, government, and language the two peoples exhibit striking similarities. The Annamese write in characters as they do in China, but "while they can understand each other in writing, they cannot understand each other's speech."[365] Cochin-China is heavily populated, fertile, and self-sufficient. Even though no trading is done abroad, its people enjoy a high standard of living. About Champa, Cruz has practically nothing to say.

It is surprising, however, how much Cruz reports about Laos and the Laotians.[366] He is prompted to digress from his major task of describing China's boundaries when recalling that the Laotian kingdom (Luang Prabang) was overrun by the Burmese in 1556, while he was in Lovek, the capital of Cambodia.[367] Merchants from Laos, he reports, came down the Mekong annually to trade at Lovek, even though the return journey upstream usually

[362] Pires in Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 114–15.

[363] Above, p. 563 and Cruz's own statement in Boxer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 344), p. 59 Cf. also Fróis to Portuguese Fathers (Malacca, December 15, 1555) in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 364.

[364] Boxer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 344), p 63.

[365] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[366] *Ibid* , pp 76–78. He refers to them also as "Siões mãos" or Siamese Mons.

[367] On Bayin Naung's northern campaign of 1556 see Harvey, *op. cit.* (n. 191), pp. 165–66.

took them about three months. With the Burmese occupation of their territory, the Laotian contingent already in Cambodia in 1556 made no effort to leave at the regular time and so Cruz had the opportunity to observe them and inquire about their homeland. He found out that high mountains separate Laos from China and that border raids in both directions are common. The Chinese maintain a permanent border garrison in Kwangsi province which tries without success to halt the Laotian raids. In normal times the Laotian merchants travel to Ayut'ia, Pegu, and Cambodia with musk and gold to exchange for cotton textiles and other everyday items.[368] The Laotians are not very brown in color, the men dress in cotton loincloths, and the women are covered from the breasts to the knee They are idolaters like the Burmese, Siamese, and Cambodians, and their priests "wear yellow clothes girt about as the rest of the people, with certain folds and seams in which they hold their superstitious charms."[369]

It is the Mekong which links Laos with Cambodia. This large, deep river, reported to originate in China, passes through great stretches of uncultivated, unpeopled, and densely forested mountains. Cruz himself took a journey on the river and tells of seeing in the hinterland of Cambodia great numbers of wild elephants, buffaloes, deer (*meru*), and rhinoceroses. He describes the rhinoceroses in some detail and reports eating "its great lump of flesh that falls from the nape"[370] and hangs down on its chest. Along with rhinoceros meat he sampled the wild citrus fruits and grapes growing in the riverine wilderness. The Mekong, in its passage through the peopled and cultivated parts of Cambodia, "causeth a wonder . . . worthy of reciting."[371] He locates with exactitude the four arms of the river at "Chudermuch" (Phnom Pénh)[372] and correctly reports that the Cambodians refer to the main course of the river as the "Sistor" (Srei Sistor), and to the river which runs by the capital as the "Arm of Lovek," or what is now called the Tonle Sap. He clearly explains the phenomenon of the annual reversal in the flow of the Tonle Sap and the great floods which this produces in Lovek and nearby places.[373] But, when he tries to account for "the cause of this miracle," he comes forth with an utterly fantastic explanation according to which the influx of the spring tides in the delta is supposed to push back the rivers.[374]

Aware from his arrival that evangelizing in Cambodia was hopeless, the Dominican with the help of his interpreter questioned the priests about the religions already dominant in the capital. He learned in this manner that the

[368] Barros (above, p 526) remarks that silver comes to Ayut'ia from the Laotians.

[369] Cruz in Boxer (ed.), *op cit* (n 344), p 77

[370] *Ibid*., p 78.

[371] *Ibid.*

[372] From Khmer, *Chademuk* or *Chordemuko*, which means "four arms," and was the old name for Phnom Pénh *Ibid*., p 78, n 1

[373] The annual floods of the Mekong begin in May and reach their peak in October. *Ibid.*, p. 79, n 1.

[374] Grosher, *op. cit.* (n 23), p 151.

ruler, Ang Chan I (d. 1566),[375] and his principal advisers and favorites are all Brahmans. This being true, he concludes that the task of Christianizing them is next to impossible because Brahmans "... are the most difficult people to convert. ..."[376] From the court priests, Cruz learned that they believe in one god called "Probar Missur" (Préas Baram Eysaur),[377] who created the heavens and the earth. This god was granted permission to bring about creation by "Pralocussar" (Préas Lok Eysaur)[378] who in turn received his authority from "Praissur" (Préas Eysaur).[379] In addition to these three gods the Cambodian Brahmans also worship "Praput prasar Metri" (Préas Put Préas Séar Metrei),[380] a Buddhist deity. The existence of this particular Buddhist cult in sixteenth-century Cambodia is strange, inasmuch as it is usually associated with the Mahayana form of the faith, the influence of which is generally supposed to have been supplanted by this time through the spread of Hinayanist Buddhism into Indochina.[381] It is nonetheless clear from Cruz's account that Brahmanistic and Buddhistic beliefs existed side by side as late as 1556 in the court religion of Cambodia and that Ang Chan was deeply devoted to their tenets and resented the Dominican's attacks upon them.

Cruz also found the priests and monks of popular Buddhism to be formidable enemies. Through his disputations with them, he learned some of their doctrines. The Cambodian Buddhists believe in the existence of twenty-seven heavens,[382] divided into three sets, to certain of which every living being, including the flea and the louse, is admitted because each has a soul. To the lowest of these heavens go ordinary beings who are not priests, and they find therein meat, drink, and fair women. Above the first set of heavens are a series of superior heavens to which they assign priestly hermits who spend eternity in the enjoyment of refreshing breezes. The most elevated set is the one whose gods have "round bodies like balls,"[383] and those who are admitted to this final glory are blessed by being given similar godlike figures! As a whole his description of the Buddhist paradises conforms relatively well with the facts, even if some of

[375] The chronology for the Cambodian kings of this period is still undetermined.

[376] Cruz in Boxer (ed.), *op cit.* (n 344), p. 60 Cf also the difficulties posed by the Brahmans in India (above, pp 253, 441–42) Cruz brings out clearly here and in what follows that the traditional Hindu rites of the Khmers were still being followed at the court of Ang Chan See Groslier, *op cit* (n. 23), p. 157.

[377] This is one of the titles of Shiva (Boxer [ed], *op. cit.* [n 344], p 60, n. 2). Groslier (*op cit.* [n 23], p 158) proposes a different possibility in reading this name In an effort to show that Cruz was trying to relay a rough conception of the *Tri-mūrti*, he suggests that the Dominican is here referring to *Parameçvara*, a name which often is used to denote Brahma.

[378] Title of a Bodisatta in Cambodia (Boxer [ed], *op. cit* [n 344], p. 60, n. 3) Groslier (*op. cit* [n. 23], p. 158) agrees with this identification and also points out that traditionally it is used as another name for both Shiva and Vishnu

[379] Another Cambodian title for Shiva (Boxer [ed], *op. cit* [n 23], p 60, n 4)

[380] Title of the future Buddha (*ibid.*, p. 60, n. 5) Groslier (*op. cit* [n 23], p 158, n. 2), who bases his reading on a number of later inscriptions, prefers *Sreī Ar* to *Séar*

[381] Groslier, *op cit* (n. 23), p. 158.

[382] Just twenty-six in the schematic plan normally accepted Possibly Cruz confused the "heavens" with their twenty-seven celestial mansions. See Boxer (ed), *op. cit* (n. 344), p 61, n 1.

[383] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

his explanations are vague and incomplete.[384] Just as the Buddhists believe in a multiplicity of heavens, so do they postulate a series of thirteen hells to which souls are condemned according to the degree of their sinfulness.[385] Cruz also lists the ranks of the Buddhist ecclesiastical hierarchy: the "Massancraches" (Maha Sangréach)[386] are the supreme priests and they sit above the king; the "Nacsendeches" (Neak Sámdach),[387] who are comparable to bishops, are the equals of the king, the "Mitres" (Methéa?)[388] are on the level of the ordinary priest and have a status inferior to the king's; the two lowest ranks are called the "Chapuzes" (Chao ku ses)[389] and the "Sazes" (Sâkhı ses).[390] Priests of all ranks are numerous and highly venerated. Cruz estimates that one-third of the male population belongs to the Buddhist clergy.[391]

Except for the clergy, the people of Cambodia are the slaves of the king. Ang Chan I is depicted as being the absolute master of his realm. He came to power after putting down a great rebellion against his brother and predecessor.[392] Cruz insists that the ruler is well informed on every movement made by his subjects. Everyone alike has free access to the king and one vies with the other to keep him in touch with what is happening within the kingdom. Nothing escapes him and nothing can be done without his approval. He is the sole proprietor of the land, and when a householder dies the property which is left reverts to the crown; the man's family, after hiding whatever it can, must begin anew.[393] In a country where the king is so undeniably absolute and so unswervingly hostile to the Christian mission, Cruz passionately concludes that conversions simply cannot be hoped for, especially if it is recalled how deeply the majority of the people respect and revere the Buddhist priests.

Mendoza's remarks (made in 1585)[394] on Cambodia and its neighbors need to be read in the light of the efforts already in motion (1583–1600) by the Franciscan missionaries and the Iberian adventurers to acquire a permanent foothold in Indochina. The Augustinian historian clearly possessed up-to-date

[384] See the analysis in Groslier, *op cit* (n 23), p 159 He notes that the Cambodians believe in three categories of heavens the first group of six is reserved for mortals still unfree from desire; the second group of sixteen is for priests who have not yet cut all their ties with earthly desires, the third group of four is for those who have vanquished all desire

[385] These *norok* are more properly purgatories. Boxer (ed), *op cit.* (n. 344), p. 62, n. 1; Groslier, *op cit* (n. 23), p. 159, n. 1.

[386] Title of the high priest of Cambodia. Boxer (ed), *op. cit* (n 344), p. 62, n 2.

[387] *Ibid.*, p. 62, n. 3.

[388] *Ibid* , p. 62, n. 4. Groslier (*op. cit* [n 23], p 159, n 4) believes that this derivation is questionable.

[389] Buddhist novices (Groslier, *op cit* [n. 23], p 159, n 4) The derivation from *chipor*, a monk's robe, included in Boxer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 344), p 62, n. 5, seems somewhat less likely. The suggestion for this derivation was given to Groslier by Georges Coedès.

[390] Also Buddhist novices (Groslier, *op. cit.* [n. 23], p. 159, n. 4).

[391] Boxer (ed.), *op cit* (n 344), p 61

[392] A vague reference to the way in which Ang Chan gained the throne from a usurper who had ousted his brother in 1512. See *ibid* , p. 63, n 1.

[393] Essentially this general description of the king's position harmonizes with what is known from other sources. On the special problem of inheritance practices see Groslier, *op cit* (n. 23), p. 155.

[394] George T Staunton (ed), *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China* . . . ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol XV [London, 1854]), II, 311–15.

information on the arrival of Diogo Veloso in Lovek and the renewal of missionary enterprise there around 1583. Evidently he derived it in the main from a letter which Friar Sylvestre d'Azevedo, the Portuguese Franciscan, sent to Malacca. This document with its request for more missionaries and greater support for the Christian enterprise in Cambodia was addressed to Friar Martin Ignatius de Loyola, the Spanish Franciscan.[395] Loyola had circumnavigated the world and had then written down his experiences when he returned to Europe in 1584. Mendoza learned from Loyola's account about the various parts of the Portuguese East, though he treats them in sketchy fashion. His accounts of Cochin-China and Champa, for example, show no advance over the earlier descriptions, most of his information merely confirming in generalities what Pires and Cruz had already spelled out with greater precision. The major difference is that Mendoza, who was writing at the height of Europe's enthusiasm for the Far Eastern missions, is convinced that the people of Cochin-China and Champa are ripe for conversion. His account was therefore probably designed as an appeal to Philip II and Pope Gregory XIII to dispatch more missionaries to Indochina for its quick conversion—possibly as a prelude to military invasion of, or certainly as a prelude to the missionary penetration of China proper.

Mendoza reports that Friar Sylvestre d'Azevedo is learning Cambodian and preaching in that language. He also lets the world know that Azevedo has been vainly appealing to Malacca for more missionaries. It is because of his frustration over Malacca's reluctant attitude to support him that Azevedo writes directly to Loyola asking for his intervention in Spain on behalf of the mission in Cambodia. The emissaries who brought the letter to Loyola in Malacca informed the Franciscan orally that Azevedo is second only in importance to King Sâtha (reigned 1576–96) himself and that the ruler refers to him as "pae" (father).[396] This "new Joseph in Egypt" is permitted to sit in the king's presence and has obtained permission from the crown for missionaries to proselytize in his kingdom. It is also reported that Sâtha has permitted them to erect crosses throughout his kingdom. As confirmation of the king's devotion to the cross, Loyola was shown two large wooden crosses embellished with silver and gold which had been made in Cambodia and sent by the king himself to Malacca.[397] In Mendoza's complacent view, Cambodia is a great, heavily populated and fertile country which is simply waiting to become Christian.[398] Naive as

[395] On Veloso's and Azevedo's careers see above, pp. 309–12

[396] Cambodian *pâ* = father See Grosher, *op cit.* (n. 23), p. 31

[397] At an earlier time the king, according to reports, wrote a letter to Malacca requesting aid and with it sent the two crosses as a token of his good will towards Christianity. One of the crosses was put up in front of the Dominican convent at Malacca and the other in front of the church at Cochin. See *ibid.*, p. 31, n. 4

[398] In passing, Mendoza (Staunton [ed], *op. cit* [n 394], II, 311–12) mentions the elephants and rhinoceroses of the country and notes that Philip II was given a present of a rhinoceros which was then (*ca.* 1585) on public display in Madrid Those who saw it were impressed with its thick, tough hide Some of the more curious speculate about its being the unicorn, but Mendoza is not in agreement because those who have seen the "true unicorn" deny that it is the rhinoceros

Mendoza undoubtedly was about Indochina, his optimism can best be understood by recalling that he wrote at a time when a wave of mission enthusiasm swept Europe, when the Japanese envoys were there,[399] and when close cooperation between Spain and Portugal for the conquest and conversion of the overseas world seemed more than an idle daydream.

What sixteenth-century Europe actually knew about Indochina was based upon the oral and written reports of daring merchants, itinerant soldiers, and devout missionaries. The data which Pires compiled for trading purposes around 1515 reflected the essential self-sufficiency of each of the Indochinese states, their direct trading connections with Siam to the west and China to the east, and their independence of the mart of Malacca. From Pinto and Cruz, we know that Portuguese merchants had been trading in Cambodia for some years before 1555 and that they had probably become involved in the commerce of Ayut'ia and Lovek as they sought to buy more cheaply the prized musk of Laos and the excellent aloe-wood of Champa by getting closer to the source. Ordinarily, they did not proceed to the eastern side of the peninsula because of the extremely difficult terrain, the bad sailing conditions, and the dearth of valuable trading items. Most of what Indochina had to offer to international commerce was evidently available in the Cambodian cities at satisfactory prices. Because they halted in their travels at Cambodia, we have available much more data on Cambodia than on either Champa or Cochin-China. Because of Lovek's connection on the upper Mekong with Laos, we know through the European merchants and missionaries a relatively large amount about the Laotian kingdom and its people.

The Europeans believed that the key to the entire peninsula lay in the control of the Mekong delta. Even when the Portuguese chroniclers have nothing else to say about Indochina, they comment on the relationship of the Cambodian cities to the international centers of trade at Malacca or Canton. Cochin-China, closely tied to Peking and under its benevolent suzerainty, they see as essentially a continental state; like China itself, it is not inclined to welcome maritime traders. Champa had the reputation of being a declining state forced to fight land wars for self-preservation and given to pirating ships which dared to sail within sight of the peninsula's southeastern shore. The control of Cambodia was considered an essential first step to commercial, religious, and military expansion in Indochina. The co-operation, late in the century, of merchant-adventurer and missionary (epitomized by Veloso and Azevedo) was based on a growing conviction among the men in the field that a continental foothold was essential to the commercial and religious penetration of China. Neither the Portuguese of Malacca nor the administrators of Philip II were willing to give official backing to the private enterprises of the Europeans in Cambodia. Under these adverse conditions, their projects were bound to be ephemeral and ultimately collapse.

[399] See below, pp 691–701.

Still, if it had not been for the grandiose aspirations of private individuals, our sources for the history of the sixteenth century in Indochina would be sadly impoverished. From the merchants we know something about the exports and imports of each state, the major centers of trade, and the direction of its flow. From all comers we have fragments of information on political personalities, institutions, and intrastate relationships, which are very helpful, for example, in determining the chronology of the Cambodian kings. From the missionaries we have specific data on the prevailing religious beliefs, institutions, and hierarchies which may provide valuable documentation for more generalized studies on Hinduism and Buddhism in southeast Asia. While not all of the extant material was published in Europe before 1600, most of it was in print by 1585, the date when Mendoza's work first appeared. What is more, by the late years of the century Cambodia began to be more than a name in Iberia as demands flowed into Madrid requesting money, arms, and missionaries for the Manila-centered interventionist movement. It was also becoming patently clear in the capital about the time of Philip II's death (1598) that the Iberian pioneers in Asia, if not halted, might involve the country in distant and expensive adventures which it could ill afford and from which it stood to gain little. Still, the hotbloods in the colonies kept alive into the next century the conquistadorial spirit and continued to lobby in Madrid for a united Iberian expansionist movement into continental eastern Asia.

6

Sumatra, Borneo, and Java

Albuquerque's capture of Malacca in 1511 inaugurated a period of rapid Portuguese expansion into the southern and eastern parts of the insular world. Exploration ships were quickly sent out from the Portuguese base to establish direct relations with the Spice Islands. Trade and diplomatic missions like those sent to the continental states of Siam and Burma were likewise dispatched in short order to Pedir and Pasei in Sumatra. The Sumatran kings of Kampar and Indragiri, traditional vassals of Malacca, quickly sent emissaries to Albuquerque offering their submission to Portugal. The refugee sultan of Malacca himself helped to spread word of the Portuguese conquest to distant China by sending an emissary there to request support from his suzerain. Gujarati and Javanese traders, who had opposed Albuquerque, let it be known in other parts that the new power in southest Asia was a religious, commercial, and political threat to entrenched interests. Individual Portuguese, like Duarte Coelho[400] who participated in the capture of Malacca, soon sought out trade, adventure and military employment throughout the whole Portuguese empire from India to

[400] For a brief summary of his swashbuckling career see Macgregor, *loc cit* (n. 24), pp. 36–37

China. Of the various nearby islands, Sumatra, because of its strategic location across the strait, the vassalage of its Malay states to Malacca, and its Malay cultural base, very quickly began to interest the Portuguese.

The history of Sumatra is closely related to the histories of both Java and Borneo. Today these three great islands (except for north Borneo), in addition to smaller island groups, form the base of the new state of Indonesia. The geography, flora and fauna, ethnography, and languages of these islands are marked by diversity, but their peoples possess common attributes of community organization, customary law, animistic beliefs, and history which, it is hoped, will provide a solid foundation on which to build unity and statehood.[401] The Indonesian islands throughout their histories have had in common a series of foreign contacts and invasions which has left them with similar accretions from outside civilizations. Even in the pre-Christian era, merchants and priests from south India and emissaries from Han China appear to have touched upon southern Sumatra, western Java, and eastern Borneo. But while foreign annals contain odd bits of data about intercourse with the peoples of Indonesia, the oldest native inscriptions which have so far come to light (in eastern Borneo) are dated from the fifth century A D., and they confirm the fact that Hindu culture and religion were already influential in the archipelago.

From this time until about A.D. 700, the Chinese annals and the writings of Buddhist pilgrims identify and comment upon the principalities and towns in the islands and upon the spread of Buddhism in them. The Buddhist temples and sculptures of Java indicate that in the eighth and ninth centuries two great centers of Hindu-Indonesian culture already existed, one at Palembang in south Sumatra and another in central Java. In the tenth century the renowned Buddhist kingdom of Shrivijay flourished on Sumatra, and, according to the evidence of inscriptions, the center of power in Java shifted to the east at about this same time. In the beginning of the eleventh century the kingdom in east Java was swept by turbulence, while, according to Chinese records, the Sumatran kingdom prospered and continued to dominate the international trade passing through the straits. Subsequently, the Sumatran state under pressure from south Indian rulers began to decline while a temporary revival of political authority occurred in east Java. In the twelfth century, Muslim traders, particularly from India, began to appear in increasing numbers as they sought to obtain spices at the source. By the end of the thirteenth century the Buddhist state of Majapahit had become the center of political power in Java. Javanese accounts record the ensuing efforts of the Majapahit rulers to establish imperial sway over the rest of Indonesia and to stand off the growing power of Islam.

The gradual waning of Majapahit power after 1389 allowed the religion of Islam to spread more rapidly than before into the areas of Indonesia to which merchants came. It is at this point also that the Malay Peninsula and Malacca

[401] For a summary statement see Bernard H M. Vlekke, *Nusantura, a History of Indonesia* (rev. ed.; Chicago, 1960), pp 13–15, for a similar statement on social affinities in terms of historiography see C Hooykaas, "A Critical Stage in the Study of Indonesia's Past," in Hall (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 317.

gradually became the new focus of economic and political activity in southeast Asia. In the fifteenth century, with the support of the early Ming rulers of China, Malacca rose to preponderance, and its rulers, their fortunes being tied to commerce, soon became devotees of Islam which they helped to introduce by the sword into other places on the peninsula and northern Sumatra Elsewhere in insular southeast Asia conversion to the teachings of the Prophet slowly came to be a prerequisite for political and commercial success in the fifteenth century. By 1500 four coastal towns in northern Java were ruled by followers of Islam as were the most important islands in the Moluccas. The Portuguese arrived in southeast Asia when the region was just beginning to be transformed by the impact of quickened commercial relations and a new and aggressive religion.[402] Indeed, it was probably the arrival of the Portuguese in the area which stimulated the Muslims to extend rapidly their political and military activities east of Malacca in order to protect their commercial outposts against the attacks expected from the Europeans.

When Marco Polo visited Perlak on the northern tip of Sumatra in 1292, he noticed that Muslim merchants were already there and that the little port had accepted Islam as its faith. It was probably from this place that the teachings of the Prophet first began to spread to the rest of Sumatra and to the other port cities of southeast Asia increasingly being frequented by Gujarati merchants.[403] The fifteenth-century Europeans who went to the East were likewise impressed by the power and prestige which the followers of Islam enjoyed in the marts of Asia, and Conti found it necessary to embrace Islam himself in order to travel freely about. Santo Stefano first mentioned Sumatra in his book published in 1497,[404] but it was not until Varthema's *Itinerary* appeared (1510) that Europe began to receive a few details of this great island. Before mid-century only slight additions were made to the slowly emerging picture of Sumatra—by the narratives of Crignon about the French voyage of 1529 and by the anonymous Venetian who contributed information to the *Viaggi fatti alla Tana* (1543) on the basis of his experiences in India a decade before.

The Ramusio volumes which began to appear in 1550 included these earlier published accounts, and made available for the first time the materials in Barbosa and in the letters of Empoli. In the great Portuguese histories the best account of Sumatra appears in Barros; but Castanheda, whose description is similar to Barbosa's, also has independent contributions to make. Only a few incidental references appear in the *Commentarios* of Albuquerque, but Lemos gives valuable firsthand information on affairs in Acheh (Sumatra) around 1579. Maffei, in his references to Sumatra, repeats much of what had already been said by the Portuguese chroniclers, though he adds a few additional details on the difficulties between Pasei and the Portuguese. While Fedrici, Balbi, and Fitch report

[402] This summary of pre-European history is based on Vlekke, *op. cit.* (n. 401), chaps. i–iii

[403] *Ibid*, pp. 66–67.

[404] The sole item of interest is his remark to the effect that the chief of the port which he visited was a Moor, "but speaking a different language [probably Malay]" See Major (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 31), Pt. VI, p 7.

what they heard in Malacca about Sumatra, it is Linschoten who gives the fullest information published in the late sixteenth century. Further details are also added by the early Dutch voyagers to Sumatra, and by Guzman's account of the difficulties which stood in the way of missionizing on the island. Of all those who report on Sumatra, the only firsthand accounts published in the sixteenth century are those of Varthema (there possibly *ca.* 1506), Empoli (1515), Crignon (1529), Castanheda (possibly, 1528–38), Lemos (1579), and the reports on the early Dutch voyages (1597–99).

Most of the sixteenth-century writers agree that Sumatra was known in the West to the cartographers of antiquity, but they differ on the names under which it is to be identified. Barros contends that it was a part of the "Quersoneso" (Chersonese), while Castanheda helps to perpetuate the idea that it was really "Taprobana."[405] Though Barros believes it to be the southern part of the Ptolemaic peninsula of gold (Golden Chersonese), he clearly understands that Sumatra is an island separated by a narrow strait from the "land of Malacca." He also speculates that originally Sumatra was part of the continent, an idea which Camoëns also took up.[406]

Sumatra, avers Barros, is 220 leagues (880 miles) in length and from 60 to 70 leagues (240 to 280 miles) in width, Barbosa and Castanheda give it a circumference of 700 leagues (2,800 miles).[407] Its southern and northern extremities which command the entrances to the Straits of Malacca are further from the continent than its central portion which lies directly across the strait from the tip of the peninsula. Because of the island's peculiar geographical configuration, shipwrecks are common along the west coast. The equator passes through the island which extends to six degrees south latitude. The southern part which is encompassed by several smaller islands is divided by a very narrow strait (the Sunda Strait) from the great island of Java. This end of Sumatra is not so heavily peopled as is the northern section where most of the traders congregate.

Along the eastern coast of the island huge marshes and numerous river deltas generally dominate the landscape. The interior is mountainous and in the heavily forested mountains stands a lake from which many of the rivers originate.[408] Since it is on the equator, Sumatra has a hot, humid climate which

[405] For Barros' description of Sumatra see Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 231–37; for Castanheda's see Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), I, 456–57. Varthema (in Temple [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 5], p. 84) and Linschoten (in Burnell and Tiele [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 25], I, 107), chronologically on either side of Castanheda, likewise identify it with Taprobane. Barros, who clearly identified Taprobane with Ceylon (above, p. 342) and the Golden Chersonese with the Malay peninsula (above, p. 506), categorically places Sumatra as the southern part of the "Aurea Quersoneso" (Cidade and Múrias [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 39], II, 250) and he is followed in this by Maffei, *op. cit.* (n. 98), I, 167.

[406] For recent arguments to the same effect see Vlekke, *op. cit.* (n. 401), pp. 8–9. Also see Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 25), I, 108.

[407] Sumatra's length is actually 1,100 miles, its extreme breadth is 250 miles, and its area is 164,198 square miles. The circuit of the island is about 2,300 miles. See A. Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 165, n. 1.

[408] On the lakes of Sumatra as sources of its rivers see William Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (2d ed., London, 1784), p. 9.

helps to produce a luxuriant vegetation. Tropical diseases run rampant and foreigners are particularly susceptible to them. The island produces gold, iron, tin, brimstone (sulfur), copper, and naphtha, a rock oil which flows from a fountain in the kingdom of Pasei.[409] In the center of this kingdom there rises a volcanic mountain like Etna in Sicily which constantly burns. It is called "Balahião" by the natives of Pasei.[410] While sulfur is produced by the volcanoes, gold is mined and dug from the river bottoms of the interior in the kingdom of Menangkabow.[411] Trees and plants which are numerous and of many varieties produce the fruits that are used for food and ornamentation. They are also the sources of white sandalwood, benzoin (an incense), aloe-wood and camphor like that produced in Borneo and better than that from China. The spices which grow in Sumatra are common pepper, long pepper, ginger, and cinnamon. Large quantities of silk are produced for export to India. Insects and wild animals are so numerous that they cannot be named Fish abound in the rivers and in some places, such as in the river of "Siaça" (in the kingdom of Siak),[412] the natives take only the roe for food. As a rule the Sumatrans live on a diet of millet, rice, seeds, and wild fruits.

The population is made up mainly of native heathens and foreign Muslims who originally came to the island for trade. In about 1370 (i e., 150 years before the governorship of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira [1518–21])[413] Moors from Persia, Arabia, Gujarat, Hindustan, and Bengal began to trade and settle the coastal regions and gradually to extend their political control over them. The natives, unable to resist the encroachments of the Muslim traders, retreated into the mountains of the interior. Throughout the island, stand many well-populated but simple cities largely composed of thatched houses.[414] Across the strait from Malacca towards the interior live the most warlike people in the world, they are called "Batas" (Bataks) and they eat human flesh, particularly the flesh of prisoners taken in battle.[415] The "Sotumas,"[416] who live further south, are more civilized. Though both the natives and the Muslims have their own languages, they nearly all speak the Malay tongue of Malacca and follow certain Malay customs.[417]

All the natives are small, well-proportioned and brown-skinned with dark, flowing hair. That they do not resemble the Javanese, their nearest neighbors,

[409] See *ibid*, p 23, who describes this as an "earth oil used chiefly against the destructive ravages of the white ants . "

[410] On central Sumatra there are still five active volcanos See Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34), p. 415

[411] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), I, 456 For confirmation see Marsden, *op cit.* (n 408), pp 133–34

[412] Crawfurd (*op cit* [n 34], p. 379) calls it the finest river in Sumatra.

[413] Somewhat too late. We know from Marco Polo that they were in Perlak in 1292. See above, p. 573.

[414] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n 79), I, 456

[415] For confirmation of their cannibalism, see Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34), p 42, and for a horrifying description see Marsden, *op. cit.* (n. 408), pp. 298–300.

[416] Unidentified

[417] See Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op. cit* (n 39), III, 233 , and Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n. 79), I, 456 Cf Marsden, *op. cit.* (n. 408), pp 159–66.

gives rise to the generalization that great, natural variations may occur within very short distances.[418] This difference is all the more remarkable in that the people of Sumatra are referred to under the general name of "Jaus."[419] Even in Sumatra people admit that the Javans were once masters of the island, and that in earlier times the Chinese had control of the trade between the island and India. Such striking differences in facial features appears to substantiate for Barros his belief that the Javans are not native to the country in which they live but are originally a people who came there from China. This assumption is reinforced, he believes, by the fact that the Javans resemble the Chinese in appearance, politeness, and mechanical ingenuity. Until the coming of the Portuguese, the Sumatrans, like the Javans, fought with arrows and other primitive weapons. They were quick to learn, however, how to manufacture firearms, brass and iron cannons, and new types of war vessels.

Thirty kingdoms, according to Barros, existed along the coasts of Sumatra when the Portuguese first arrived in India.[420] Some of these numerous "kingdoms" were little more than cities. Their number was sharply reduced in time as the larger and more powerful states expanded and annexed their neighbors. In the interior, which is thought to be very extensive, many lords and princes reign about whom the Portuguese have no information. Pedir,[421] which was a famous city-state even before the founding of Malacca, is reputed to be a center of the pepper trade as great as Malabar.[422] In earlier times ships from all over the area congregated at Pedir because it dominated the traffic in the strait. But with the founding of Malacca, and especially after the arrival of the Portuguese in the East, Pedir began to decline and its place was gradually taken by Pasei. The neighboring state of Acheh was then but a minor state; in the late sixteenth century it became the greatest of them all. Barros tells us that in their positions relative to each other, the status of these Sumatran states is constantly changing, a condition which gives the Portuguese ample opportunity to play one off against the other.[423]

Varthema, who possibly visited Pedir around 1505, describes it as a well-organized mercantile center; on one street alone he found five hundred money changers. In its harbor, he reports, are built huge junks "which carry three masts, and have a prow before and behind, with two rudders before and two

[418] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 233.

[419] The Muslim traders applied the term "Jawi" to all the natives of the archipelago, especially the Malays. See Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 419.

[420] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 233–34. Many of these names correspond closely to the nineteen "kingdoms" and eleven "lands" set down by Pires. This similarity in the two lists led Cortesão ([ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 46], I, 135–36, n. 1) to suggest that "Barros used Pires' work, directly or at second-hand." Most of the writers list no more than seven states, and content themselves with remarking that Sumatra contains many other kingdoms as well.

[421] The name of a Malay state in eastern Sumatra no longer in existence. Its territory apparently extended from Diamond Point to Acheh. For further details see Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 330–31, and Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 46), I, 139–40.

[422] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), I, 456.

[423] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 234.

behind."[424] Aside from pepper, Pedir produces silk, benzoin, aloe-wood, and fireworks. The people of the city sleep in good beds and are extremely agile swimmers. Pedir's houses are low, walled domiciles constructed of stone and many of them are covered with the shells of great sea turtles. Varthema was also impressed with the art objects, probably from elsewhere, which he saw for sale in the markets of Pedir.[425]

The king of Pedir, according to Barros, married two of his nieces to his slaves, the lords of Daia and Acheh, shortly after the Portuguese conquered Malacca.[426] This event gives the chronicler an opportunity to digress on the institution of slavery as it exists in the East. He claims that free persons are put into slavery through being captured in war, as punishment for civil offenses, sale by others, and sale by the slave himself. Parents often sell their children for very low prices, Barros himself admitting that he had in his own house at the time when he wrote a Gujarati slave who had been sold by his mother for a pittance. Even persons of noble lineage ofttimes sell themselves into bondage in order to raise money for their own use. Slaves of noble background are in constant demand by the great lords who pay steep prices for them, treat them honorably, and use them as military retainers. Noble slaves are sometimes married to women of the owner's family, invested with large estates, and named heirs of the owner's properties. Barros was clearly intrigued with what were for Europeans novel variations on the institution of slavery; he seems to have understood that bondage in the Oriental sense is not necessarily permanent, that redemption is always possible, and that the slave is far more than a mere chattel, for he has the right to marry free persons and to own and bequeath property.[427]

On his way to Malacca in 1511, Albuquerque brought his fleet into the port of Pedir. There the conqueror met Portuguese merchants who informed him about the harsh conditions in the Malay port for Christians bent on trade. He then sailed eastward from Pedir to Pasei, "the principal port of the island of Sumatra,"[428] to demand that its ruler hand over a Moorish renegade from Malacca who had tried to murder certain Portuguese. The king of Pasei, named "Geinal,"[429] in his reply vowed that the Moor had left his territory but that he would try to find the culprit. In the belief that he was being deceived,

[424] Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 86

[425] *Ibid.*, Varthema has often been charged with repeating tales told to him by others rather than having actually described what he saw (providing that he was ever east of India at all). From our viewpoint, his characterization is nonetheless important, even if false, for his book was widely circulated. See above, p. 165. The only native type of exquisite art which he might have seen is the fine filigree work of the coastal goldsmiths. See Marsden, *op. cit.* (n. 408), pp. 141–42.

[426] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 409.

[427] Cf. Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 404–5. And for confirmation of this practice at Pedir in the eighteenth century see Marsden, *op. cit.* (n. 408), p. 333. See Bruno Lasker, *Human Bondage in Southeast Asia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1950), pp. 26–36.

[428] Birch (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 10), III, 59.

[429] See Barros (in Cidade and Múrias [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 39], III, 235) for this name; Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 79], II, 131) calls him "Coltazina" or Sultan Zina. Professor C. C. Berg suggests that his name was possibly Qain-al Abidin.

Albuquerque broke off communications and sailed out of the port of Pasei. While marauding in the straits against ships engaged in the Malacca trade, Albuquerque subsequently attacked and captured a Javan junk which had "Geinal" aboard. The captive king told Albuquerque that he was on his way to Java to seek help against a rebellious nobleman who had unseated him. The Portuguese conqueror, in his desire to establish cordial relations with people of influence in the spice trade, treated "Geinal" kindly and promised that he would help to restore him to power after conquering Malacca. The king agreed that upon being reinstated he would acknowledge the suzerainty of Portugal and pay tribute.[430] It was in this manner that the Portuguese tried to replace the Moors as king-makers in Sumatra.

Once Malacca had been captured, Portuguese influence on the east coast of Sumatra mounted correspondingly.[431] But, since their fortunes in southeast Asia rose and fell, the Portuguese were unable at any time to coerce the princes of Sumatra into permanent submission. Over the course of the century, Acheh gradually rose as a major center of resistance to Portuguese efforts to concentrate the spice trade at Malacca. The rulers of Acheh, in alliance at times with other insular princes, repeatedly besieged Malacca itself. When Linschoten wrote he was able to say that the Portuguese do not reside in Sumatra, do very little business there, and are constantly threatening, but not acting, to conquer the recalcitrant islanders.[432] He might have added that the Christian missionaries were likewise unable to penetrate Sumatra effectively.

The Portuguese chroniclers, who become interested in Pasei through the story of Albuquerque's agreement to help restore "Geinal," recount that succession in this state is by assassination.[433] Divine ordinance, according to Barros, is believed to be the source of the custom whereby the people depose one ruler and establish in his place another of their choice. Each new ruler is told the day, the hour, or the week of his death. At the appointed time the people of the city pour out into the streets and raise a great cry. In their delirium they attack and kill the king and his advisers. On one occasion three different kings were crowned in a single day. Similar stories are told about succession practices in Bengal, and it appears that this mode of ceremonial killing was inaugurated in Pasei by the Bengali groups so influential there.[434] About the other major states of the island, the Portuguese say little not directly related to their commercial and military roles. An exception is the remark of Albuquerque to the effect that the Hindus of Menangkabow are especially proficient in the manufacture of

[430] *Ibid*, pp 64–65

[431] "Geinal" soon broke off connections with the Portuguese, though he finally recovered his kingdom In 1521 he was killed by the Portuguese in alliance with the ruler of Aru and a rival prince replaced him Thereafter Pasei seems to have lost its importance as a trading center, even though the Portuguese established a fortress and a factory there in 1522

[432] Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op cit* (n 25), I, 108–9 Also see the work of Lemos, written around 1580, which is a plea for the Portuguese to take advantage of disruptions in Acheh and conquer it.

[433] Cf Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op. cit* (n 77), II, 189

[434] See Pires in Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 143, cf. above, p 415

arms[435] and greatly revere "a certain golden headdress which, as they relate, Alexander [the Great] left there with them when he conquered that country."[436]

When Albuquerque dispatched three reconnaissance ships under the command of António de Abreu to the Moluccas in 1511, they followed the route most commonly used by the spice ships trading between the islands and Malacca. Normally, after passing through the straits, the trading vessels followed the western coast of Borneo southward, crossed the Java sea, and then sailed along Java's northern coast to the southern strand of Celebes and from there on to the Spice Islands themselves. As a consequence, Borneo, especially its northern and eastern coasts, were not ordinarily touched upon by the fleets sailing to and from the Moluccas. Occasional fleets tried sailing around Borneo as an alternative route, but it did not become common practice until the end of the century. De Abreu, who followed the regular route, had the first opportunity given a Portuguese to get by direct experience some sense of the number and size of the islands in the archipelago. There were reports aplenty at Malacca of the eastern islands from the Asian and Muslim traders there, but the Portuguese now had a chance to see for themselves how vast and complex the archipelago really was. And they lost very little time after 1511 in finding out about the ports and peoples involved in the eastern end of the spice trade. Just a decade after the Portuguese arrived in the Moluccas, the tiny fleet which Spain had sent out under Magellan appeared on the scene. The Portuguese, possibly because of the policy of secrecy, have very little to say about either Borneo or Java, and the missionary accounts are also very slight on these two islands. The Spanish, whose knowledge of the archipelago was much more limited than that of the Portuguese, were on the contrary much freer in relaying to the rest of the Christian world whatever they knew.

Borneo was not visited by a Portuguese expedition until 1526. While Varthema may have touched upon the southwest coast of Borneo in about 1506, his desultory description of it published in 1510 includes little beyond mere mentions of the clothing worn by the inhabitants, their pagan beliefs, and the export of camphor.[437] Much the best of the early sources are the accounts by Maximilian of Transylvania and Pigafetta of the visit made in 1521, by the survivors of Magellan's expedition, to the kingdom of Brunei in northern Borneo. This was five years before Dom Jorge de Menzes, the Portuguese governor of the Moluccas, touched there on his way to Ternate. Thereafter the Portuguese began to take a more serious interest in Borneo. In 1548, two years before

[435] Cf Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op cit* (n 25), I, 110, also Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34) p 274

[436] Birch (ed), *op cit* (n 10), III, 162, this is possibly a vague reference to the belief that the kings of Menangkabow were descended from Iskander, the Alexander the Great of Asian mythology Menangkabow was not converted to Islam until the middle of the sixteenth century Stories of the exploits of Alexander were carried into southeast Asia at an early date by Muslim merchants For a history of the Alexander romance in Malay literature see P J van Leeuwen, *De Maleische Alexanderroman* (Utrecht, 1937)

[437] Temple (ed), *op cit.* (n 5), pp 89–90

Ramusio published the accounts of Borneo by Barbosa, Pires, Maximilian, and Pigafetta, Oviedo issued Book XX of his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* in which he gives one of the lengthiest descriptions of Borneo to see print in the sixteenth century. Oviedo bases his description on Maximilian and Pigafetta, and on reports which he apparently received from persons like Urdaneta who had participated in the Loaisa expedition of 1526 [438] Gómara, the Spanish contemporary of Castanheda and Barros, first published his popular *Historia general de las Indias* at Saragossa in 1552. Like Oviedo's earlier work, Gómara's *Historia* includes a substantial section on Brunei's king and the customs of his people.[439]

Though Portuguese merchants traded regularly in Borneo beginning in 1530, very few of their reports seem to have gotten into print during the sixteenth century Castanheda, like the Spanish historians, first refers to Borneo in his discussion of the Magellan enterprise,[440] and subsequent allusions to it are made in connection with his recital of the Portuguese projects in the Moluccas.[441] Barros fails to add materially to the information presented by the earlier authors, at least in those volumes of the *Décadas* printed during the sixteenth century. The Jesuit letterbooks and historians are likewise almost completely silent about Borneo. Even Linschoten, who specialized in finding out about areas where the Portuguese were least active, has almost nothing specific to add. Oliver van Noort, the Dutch navigator, landed at Brunei in 1598, but regular trade between the Hollanders and the islanders did not commence until 1606. Thus, neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch sources are of great value for the study of Borneo in the sixteenth century. The Spanish materials, both before and after the establishment of the Spanish at Manila, are better than any others available in Europe before 1600.

The European sources, meager as they are, have importance for the history of Borneo because there are almost no native annals or monuments of so early a date which tell of the island's past. The Javan, Muslim, and Chinese sources provide bits of data on pre-sixteenth century history, but it has been seriously alleged that "the true history" of the northern kingdom of Brunei begins with Pigafetta's account of the visit there of the companions of Magellan.[442] But Pigafetta was not even the first European to comment on Borneo. Odoric of Pordenone, in the fourteenth century, visited parts of coastal Borneo and relayed a few items of interest about them to Europe; he tells us, for instance, that a flour called sago flour is there manufactured from the pith of the sago palm, and it makes, he asserts, "the best *pasta* in the world." Varthema, Barbosa, Pires, and Maximilian all wrote their accounts of Borneo before Pigafetta set down his, though the works of Varthema and Maximilian were the

[438] Above, p 117.

[439] Swecker, *op cit* (n 11), p 20

[440] Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n. 79), III, 163–64

[441] The only substantial description comes in connection with the visit there in 1530 of Gonçalo Pereira on his way from Malacca to Ternate (*ibid*, IV, 227).

[442] Crawfurd, *op. cit* (n 34), p 70

only ones of the three to precede Pigafetta into print. Thus, it seems, highly dubious, even on the basis of the European sources alone, that Brunei's "true history" begins with Pigafetta. It is, however, accurate to say that modern students of Brunei's early history derive more data from the European sources than from any other foreign or native corpus of materials.

Most of the sixteenth-century cartographical representations of Borneo, and particularly of its east coast, are somewhat fanciful and vague.[443] Pires, usually so well informed, is the only one of the writers to make the mistake of talking about Borneo as a group of islands. The others are agreed in treating it as a single, large island situated roughly in the open sea northwest of the Moluccas and astride the equator. In general, they all have a tendency, however, to place it too far north and closer to China than it really is, possibly because both China and Borneo were sources of camphor. But Oviedo is somewhat more precise. He locates Borneo and the neighboring island of Halmahera (Gilolo) in the general vicinity of the Moluccas.[444] Most of the specific materials in the European accounts relate to Brunei, but Castanheda lists five great seaports that he says were known to the Portuguese.[445] In his transcriptions they are called "Moduro" (Marudu?),[446] "Ceravá" (Sarawak?),[447] "Laue" (Lawai),[448] "Tanjapura" (Tanjungpura),[449] and "Borneo" (Brunei) "from which the island derives its name." The most active of these ports as international trading centers are Brunei, Lawai, and Tanjungpura, but rich merchants reside in all of them and carry on a brisk trade with China, the "Laqueas"(Liu-ch'ius), Siam, Malacca, Sumatra, and other neighboring islands.[450]

While Borneo is declared to be a rich island, the Portuguese made no attempt in the sixteenth century to invade and conquer it. Unlike Malacca, it is a place which is "well furnished with victuals,"[451] including thereunder meat, fish, rice, sago, and a wine called "tampoi" (Malay, *tâmpang*) which Castanheda esteems

[443] *Ibid.* The first extant map to show Borneo with its complete coastline and in a relatively correct form is an anonymous chart of *ca* 1535 owned now by Boies Penrose See Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit.* (n 2), I, 123–24 It was not, however, until the production of Berthelot's map of 1635 that Europe had a fairly accurate cartographical representation of Borneo See Cortesão (ed.), *op cit* (n 46), I, 132, n. 1 For a modern map of Borneo which includes the place names which appeared on sixteenth-century maps see figure II in J O. M Broek, *Place Names in 16th and 17th Century Borneo* (Minneapolis, n d) This valuable little treatise, in mimeographed form, was prepared under the auspices of the Department of Geography, University of Minnesota. Unfortunately, the author seems not to be aware of Castanheda's list of town names

[444] De los Rios (ed), *op cit* (n 298), II, 16–18. For a summary of Oviedo's discussion of Borneo see Swecker, *op cit* (n. 11), pp 192–93.

[445] Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), IV, 227

[446] Marudu is the name of a large bay on the north coast See Broek, *op cit.* (n. 443), Fig II A town named Marudi is situated on the modern map to the southwest of Brunei

[447] Sarawak is on the west coast See *ibid.*

[448] Not on modern maps, but charts of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries place it on the southwestern coast under this name, and with slight variations (e g , "Laoe") in spelling. See Cortesão (ed), *op cit.* (n 46), I, 224, n. 1. It may very well be that Lawai was a great port in the delta of the Kapuas River For details on this identification see Broek, *op cit* (n 443), pp. 12–15

[449] On the problem of locating this region or town see *ibid*, pp 15–20

[450] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n. 79), IV, 227.

[451] Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op cit* (n. 77), II, 206.

more highly than "any of the other counterfeit wines"[452] of the East. The "true camphor" produced in Borneo is valued like gold in India and brings a much higher price than the camphor of China. It is the best of the edible camphors and is used in India as a medicine and as an additive to betel. The Persians try to pawn off imitations of Borneo camphor on their customers because of its great value.[453] Borneo is also renowned for its diamonds which are found along the west coast in the vicinity of Tanjungpura and are finer stones than those of India.[454] In their annual voyages to Malacca, the merchants of Borneo also bring with them gold of low assay value, wax, honey, and aromatic woods[455] They pay no formal duties at Malacca, but are required to give the port officials a fixed present.[456] In their purchases the Borneo merchants concentrate on Cambay and Bengal textiles, copper, mercury, cinnabar, Indian drugs, and beads of all descriptions. Apparently, the merchants were able, in turn, to trade the brightly colored cloths, beads, and trinkets to the primitive Dayaks in return for their stores of gold.[457]

The coastal peoples of Borneo are deemed to be peaceful, honest, good-looking, and civilized Most of the merchants are Muslims who dress in Malay style and use the Malay language. The early writers stress that the majority of the people are heathen, and Barbosa, possibly on the basis of reports from Malacca,[458] asserts that the king is also a heathen[459] Pires, who wrote at about the same time, contends that most of the people are heathen and that the king of Brunei had but recently become a Moor.[460] Pigafetta, who was received by the ruler of Brunei in 1521, describes him as a corpulent Moor of forty who goes under the name of Rājā "Siripada" (Sripadh).[461] Modern scholars, primarily on Pires' authority, agree that Islam was accepted by the ruler of Brunei in about 1500. They also believe that Borneo became one of the main centers of Muslim commercial and religious activity after Malacca fell to the Portuguese.[462]

The town of Brunei, the administrative capital of north Borneo, is best

[452] Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 77), IV, 227, "tampoi," which was widely exported to other places, is a very sweet liquor made from the fruit called *tâmpang* (Dalgado, *op. cit* [n 53], II, 348) Pigafetta and his companions were served arrack when they visited Brunei

[453] For references to camphor and its uses see Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op. cit* (n 77), II, 207, Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), IV, 227; and Orta's lengthy colloquy in Markham (trans), *op cit* (n 359), pp 86–98 For other early references to the camphor of Borneo see Yule and Burnell, *op cit* (n 218), pp 116–17 Professor Berg points out that camphor was probably not used as an additive to betel The confusion arises, he believes, over the fact that the Javanese word *kapura* means either lime or camphor Lime is still used in making a quid of betel.

[454] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), IV, 227

[455] Pires in Cortesão (ed), *op. cit.* (n 46), I, 132

[456] *Ibid.* [457] *Ibid*, p 133

[458] For example, António de Brito, the first governor of Malacca, reported to Lisbon that the king of Brunei was a heathen. Modern scholars believe, however, that the coastal towns had accepted Islam before the arrival of the Portuguese in the East (Hall, *op. cit* [n 30], p. 184)

[459] Dames (ed), *op cit* (n 77), II, 207.

[460] Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 132.

[461] Robertson (ed), *op cit.* (n 136), II, 35. *Sripadh* means "His Majesty"

[462] Hall, *op cit.* (n. 30), and see map on p 178 depicting the spread of Islam, and p 199

described by Pigafetta on the basis of his two-day stay there. He places the city some distance up the Brunei River and recounts how he and his seven companions were taken from their ship up to the city in light canoes called *praus*. Except for the houses of the rājā and some of his chiefs, the entire city is built over the water. Its habitations are constructed of wood which rest on high pilings. The city's everyday business is transacted by women who travel around in boats at high tide. He estimates the population at twenty-five thousand hearths (or about one hundred thousand people),[463] a figure which later writers consider to be grossly exaggerated.[464] On disembarking from the *praus*, Pigafetta's group rode to the royal palace on the backs of gaily bedecked elephants. The palace itself is said to be protected by a brick rampart on which fifty-six brass and six iron cannons are mounted. In the residence where the Europeans were housed, they slept on cotton mattresses covered with silk sheets, ate a vast selection of meats with golden spoons from porcelain dishes, and had their sleeping quarters lighted by torches of white wax which burned constantly.[465]

The reception of the Europeans on their visit to the royal palace is one of several such ceremonies recorded by the Western writers on Asia. Mounted on elephants, the visitors rode through the streets between rows of armed guards and moved directly into the royal enclosure. They were received in a great hall by a company of nobles and invited to be seated on a carpet. At the opposite end of the reception room, they saw an elevated hall separated from the main court by windows and silk hangings. When the curtains were pulled aside, the visitors could see the ruler and his young son sitting at a table and surrounded by women servants. They were not allowed to communicate with the sultan directly, but could do so only through his representatives, who, in their turn, talked to their ruler through a speaking tube in the wall. After being cordially received and sumptuously feted, the Europeans learned from the courtiers that the ruler never ventures out unless he goes hunting and that all of his acts are recorded by ten scribes called "xiritoles"[466] who write on very thin bark.[467] This rājā, like the rulers of Malacca, runs the international trade in his port cities through an administrator called in their language a "xabandar" (Persian, *shāh-bândar*, or "king of the port").[468] The rājā's authority must have extended to the southernmost reaches of the island (though probably not to the interior), for Pigafetta reports that Brunei's forces sacked Lawai in 1521 for seeking to shift its allegiance to a ruler in Java.[469]

[463] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 34. Oviedo gives the figure of 20,000 small houses in De los Rios (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 298), II, 17. On this occasion Oviedo is following Maximilian's *De Moluccis*. The English translation is in C. H. Coote (ed.), *Johann Schoner* (London, 1888), p. 136.

[464] Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 70–77, is particularly prone to discount Pigafetta's accuracy, and he notes that in the mid-nineteenth century Brunei's population was estimated at a mere 12,000.

[465] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 31–33.

[466] Juru-tulis or "secretaries."

[467] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 35.

[468] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), IV, 227.

[469] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 37.

The common people, aside from those belonging to the mercantile community are said to have a language of their own.[470] Maximilian of Transylvania and Oviedo are unique among the writers in the comments which they make on the beliefs and attitudes of the primitive islanders.[471] As pagans, these people worship the sun as the lord of the day and the moon as the mistress of the night, and believe them to be the parents of the stars. In their everyday activities they are charitable and just, and have a great love for peace and leisure and a hearty distaste for war. Rulers who become involved in hostilities are strongly disliked and are forced to take the most dangerous position on the battlefield. A king who guards the peace is as revered as a god. It is not to be assumed that these people want peace at any price. If they suffer an unprovoked attack, they will submit to the inevitable and fight. But, as soon as the wrong has been righted, they make haste to sue for peace. They consider it an honor to be the first to request peace, an infamy to be the last, and a crime to refuse it. In personal relations, robberies and murders are completely unknown among them.[472]

This characterization of the peace-loving and honorable primitives of Borneo which originates with Maximilian contrasts sharply with the lurid stories of war and cannibalism in the accounts of post-sixteenth century writers who lived among the Dayaks and other tribes of the island for substantial periods of time.[473] It is likely that the letterwriter and chronicler were being misled on this matter by their informants; Oviedo himself expressed doubt about one story, also included by Maximilian, which told of a pearl as large as a goose egg decorating the crown of the king of Borneo. When Oviedo checked out this tale with Juan Sebastián del Cano, he was informed that it was a joke. Oviedo also was skeptical about certain rumors which were relayed to him about the natives of a south sea island who had ears so large that they could envelope the entire body with one of them. While he discards this story with the pungent remark that "the Spaniards were looking for spiceries and not fables,"[474] he seems to have accepted somewhat innocently a spurious description of "noble savages" similar to other descriptions which were being circulated in his day and long thereafter. None of the other sixteenth-century accounts of Borneo supports this characterization; in fact, they contain only scattered and incidental references to the natives of the island.

The Spanish in the Philippines were for a short time involved in the affairs of Borneo. Not long after their occupation of Manila, the Spaniards were to learn by experience that life in Borneo was not idyllic and that it could be real

[470] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 207. Most of the Dayak tribes, one of them being the Kayans, have their own languages. None of them has invented a script of its own. Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 127–28.

[471] See the English translation of his *De Moluccis . . .*, in C. H. Coote (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 463), pp. 134–37. Oviedo's account is almost a direct translation of this.

[472] For a summary see Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 192–93.

[473] For a series of characterizations by nineteenth-century European visitors to the tribes of Borneo see Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), pp. 128–32.

[474] As quoted in Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 193.

and earnest. In 1578, Sirela (also known as Maleka), a deposed ruler of Brunei, arrived in Manila to ask help against his domestic enemies. Francisco de Sande,[475] the Spanish governor, responded to this request by outfitting and leading an expeditionary force against Brunei with the design of reducing it to vassalage and of opening it to Christian missionaries. After a short fight, the Spaniards succeeded in restoring Sirela and extracting guarantees from him of vassalage and friendly relations Soon after their departure, the ruler of Brunei again was in trouble and in 1581 was forced to request aid once more from his Manila supporters On this occasion, Captain Gabriel de Rivera was sent out at the head of a task force and he succeeded in putting Sirela back into power. After the accomplishment of his mission, Rivera explored the coast of Borneo before returning to Manila. Rivera was shortly thereafter sent as an emissary to Spain, but the Spanish made no further efforts in the sixteenth century to effect closer relations with Brunei or any other parts of Borneo.[476] Their attention was diverted after the union with Portugal (1581) to the possibility of richer conquests in China, Japan, and Indochina. In fact, when Mendoza talks about the eastern archipelago he mentions Borneo only once and characterizes it as one of the places where the hated Moors have made a deep impression.[477] It was not until around 1600 that a Portuguese factory and a Catholic mission were finally established at the town of Brunei.

The people of Java were far better known to the Portuguese than was Java itself. When Albuquerque arrived in Malacca, a numerous colony of influential Javan merchants were resident there and many Javans had fought in the army which the Portuguese defeated. Still, the news of Albuquerque's conquest of the entrepôt at the straits prompted one of the rulers of Java to dispatch an emissary to Malacca with gifts and the offer to supply the Portuguese government with all of the supplies and foodstuffs necessary for the maintenance of the city. This particular Javan ruler, who was often at odds with the Malays because of their harsh treatment of his subjects, initially welcomed the change in government and even volunteered to supply men to help the Portuguese hunt down the hapless Malay sultan.[478] Albuquerque sent the emissary home with the gift of one of the elephants he had captured at Malacca. The Portuguese conqueror himself was so impressed with the ability of the Javans as carpenters and shipbuilders that he sent sixty of them with their families back to Cochin.[479] Barbosa, who apparently quizzed the companions of Albuquerque at length when they returned to India, comments on the Javan ships with four masts "which differ much from the fashion of ours, being built of very thick timber,

[475] For the objectives of his mission see the documents in E. H. Blair and J A. Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands (1493–1803)* (Cleveland, 1903), IV, 148–55, for a letter of 1573 from King Sebastian of Portugal to the ruler of Borneo which was confiscated by the Spanish, see *ibid.*, pp. 173–74.

[476] Zaide, *op cit.* (n. 208), p. 273.

[477] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 394), II, 261.

[478] Albuquerque in Birch (ed), *op cit.* (n 10), III, 163.

[479] On boat construction along the northern coast of Java see Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 176.

so that when they are old a new planking can be laid over the former, and so they remain very strong."[480] Thus, from the very beginning of their enterprise in southeast Asia, the Portuguese realized that the Javans, like the much-admired Chinese, were excellent craftsmen and tough commercial competitors. It is perhaps these attributes among others which leads Barros to believe that there is more than a slight relationship between the Javans and the Chinese.[481]

De Abreu, on his way to the Moluccas in 1511, made a stopover at the port of Geresik in northeastern Java and presented its ruler with gifts from Albuquerque. But not all of the Javan princes viewed the Portuguese intrusion with so much equanimity. The Muslim state of Japara on Java's northern coast, one of the chief intermediate ports on the route between Malacca and the Spiceries, reacted quickly and violently to the Portuguese seizure of Malacca. Afraid that the Europeans would disrupt and destroy the free flow of trade in the waterways of the archipelago, Japara sent a fleet against Malacca in 1513. The Portuguese beat off the attack, but in the process they made a mortal enemy of the rising Muslim state which continued, in spite of this setback, to extend its jurisdiction over the northern coast of Java. Its ruler in a short time became the sultan of Demak. The island thereafter suffered a number of internal wars as several of the Muslim states combined forces against the declining Buddhist kingdom of Majapahit.

While the Portuguese were aware of the deep internal divisions in Java, they were unable with their limited resources to take advantage of them for their own ends. In 1522, Henrique Leme was sent to western Java to make an alliance with a Hindu prince. When the Portuguese returned five years later, they found that this town had also fallen into the hands of the Muslims. By 1535, most of the northern coast of Java had succumbed to Islam as Demak reached the zenith of its power. It was only at the extreme eastern edge of the island that the Hindus retained a remnant of control. Franciscans were sent to eastern Java around this time in an effort to convert its rulers, but this enterprise enjoyed no success. When Demak's supremacy faded around 1540, the leadership in northern Java was retaken by the Muslim state of Japara. It was the queen[482] of this kingdom who sparked the allied Muslim attacks on Malacca of 1550 and 1574. The rise of Pajang and Mataram, two interior states, paralleled the decline of the coastal sultanates in the last generation of the sixteenth century. While the Portuguese by their constant attacks certainly contributed to the downfall of the coastal states, the shift in the center of power to the Muslim states of the interior did nothing to bring the Europeans into closer touch with Java.[483]

It can be clearly seen from the foregoing that the Portuguese had but few opportunities after 1512 to learn about Java at first-hand. Consequently, the

[480] Dames (ed.), *op. cit* (n 77), II, 173–74

[481] Cf. *ibid*, pp 191–92, n. 1, Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 179 Also see above, p 576

[482] Professor Berg doubts that a woman ever ruled over Japara He suggests that this is a reference to a mythical queen who represents a demonical force in Javanese traditional history

[483] Hall, *op cit.* (n. 30), p. 204.

published European sources on Java in no way reflect how much more importance this island intrinsically had in the life of the archipelago than other places, like Sumatra, on which the Portuguese accounts are much fuller.[484] Illustrative of Java's higher level of civilization is the fact that it was an economic fulcrum in the archipelago and that the Javanese writings are fuller and more detailed and inscriptions more numerous than those of any other part of Indonesia. But it is also true that the Javan writers are not always reliable, "their notions of the past being a product of imagination and entirely unchronological."[485] The European sources, therefore, as inaccurate and piecemeal as they are in some respects, have the virtue of being realistic and of dating events with a relatively high degree of exactitude. The Portuguese, as limited as they were in their ability to trade at the great ports of Java, were forced to seek out smaller and less cosmopolitan places. Consequently, they mention places and events of local significance which are omitted by the religious and court-minded scribes of Java. Finally, the Portuguese in their preoccupation with economic affairs, tend to bring into their accounts the common practices of the marketplace and of everyday life rather than concentrating on the glories of princely conquests.[486]

No certain reference to the name Java appears in European literature until Marco Polo. Whether Polo himself ever visited what he calls "Greater Java" is in doubt because his data, it is alleged, does not correspond with what is generally known about the geography and products of the island we call Java today. It has been argued at length and with some plausibility that his data does not jibe with the facts because in talking about "Greater Java" he was actually describing Cochin-China.[487] Odoric of Pordenone, however, seems beyond doubt to have visited Java on his way to Canton in the early fourteenth century. He writes that the island was then ruled by a great lord who lived in a sumptuous palace and had seven lesser rulers as his vassals. Odoric also heard about the Mongol expedition from China against Java. Over a century later Conti, who may have gotten as far to the east as Sumbawa, inveighs against the Javans for eating unclean animals, their habit of running amuck, and their addiction to cockfighting as a chief form of amusement.[488]

The authors of the sixteenth century who comment at some length on Java,

[484] Pires, whose descriptions of Java and Sumatra on the basis of personal visits there were among those parts of his work not procured and not published by Ramusio, also exhibits this bias. His account of Java, however, is far better than any of those published in the sixteenth century. See Cortesão (ed.), *op cit* (n 46), I, 166–200 For an excellent study which compares Pires with other leading sources on the last years of the Majapahit empire see H. J de Graaf, "Pires' Suma Oriental en het tijdperk van den godsdien-stovergang op Java," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, CVIII (1952), 132–71

[485] C. C Berg, "Javanese Historiography—A Synopsis of Its Evolution," in Hall (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 8), p. 13 On Berg's historiographical ideas see J G de Casparis, "Historical Writing on Indonesia (Early Period)," in *ibid*, pp. 159–63.

[486] Vlekke, *op. cit.* (n. 401), pp. 92–93

[487] Charignon, *loc cit.* (n. 341), pp 193–347.

[488] Major (ed), *op cit.* (n. 31), Pt. IV, p. 16.

its environs, and its people are the following: Varthema, Barbosa, Pigafetta, Oviedo, Barros, Castanheda, Albuquerque, Góis, and Linschoten. Of these writers, the only ones who may possibly have written from personal experience are Varthema and Castanheda. While Varthema may have landed on the northeastern corner of the island, the account of his fortnight's experience there is so dubious that Crawfurd brands it as being "false or worthless."[489] Castanheda's references are much more factual, but they are all of the type which could have been learned from informants. Castanheda actually seems to follow Barbosa closely, though he adds a few significant particulars not found elsewhere in the published materials. Even Barros, who is normally so thorough, has very little specific data on Java. But this is certainly not because it was unavailable in Europe. Pires' detailed description of Java, though it was not published until the twentieth century, must have been known to Barros. In fact, he may even have used it for his narrative on the history of Mĕlayu. That he does not use Pires as a source for Java and for data vital to the spice trade appears to be a further indication of the fact that this information was highly classified in the sixteenth century. Of the authors actually published in the sixteenth century, the most informative on Java are Barbosa, Oviedo, Castanheda, and Barros.

The chroniclers agree in placing Java immediately to the east of Sumatra from which it is separated by the Strait of Sunda, a channel no more than fifteen leagues (60 miles) in width.[490] The island stretches in an east-west direction and its northern coast is 170 leagues (680 miles) in length.[491] About the southern coast and the width of the island the chroniclers admit that they have no exact information.[492] But the natives tell the Portuguese that the southern coast has few good harbors and that the breadth of the island is approximately one-third of its length.[493] A chain of mountains bisects the island along its length and renders communication impossible between the peoples of the northern and southern coasts. Along the northern coast are the ports of "Tūba" (Tuban), "Panaruca" (Panarukan), "Cidayo" (Sidayu), and "Agacī" (Geresik), the last of

[489] *Op cit*, p. 165; for a less critical estimate see Temple (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. lxxvi.

[490] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit.* (n. 39), II, 400. This geographical description was written by the Portuguese Livy himself. In the fourth decade, not published until 1615 and therefore not of concern here, the continuator (Couto) introduces a complication by making Java two islands, Sunda is separated from the rest of the island by a river. See Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), pp. 77–78. Pires (in Cortesão [ed.], *op. cit* [n. 46], I, 168) says that it is only one island but that it is divided by a river, a possible source of Couto's mistake. Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 79), II, 158 agrees with Barros in making it one island, and he says that the strait is from 10 to 20 leagues wide. The Strait of Sunda appears in relatively correct form for the first time on an anonymous planisphere prepared *ca* 1545. See Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit.* (n. 2), I, 155–57.

[491] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n. 79), II, 158. This is overestimated by about 100 miles (Crawfurd, *op cit* [n. 34], p. 167). But Barros' mistake is greater, he gives 190 leagues (760 miles). See Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n. 39), II, 400.

[492] Even by Linschoten's time (*ca* 1585), the Portuguese seem not to have known much more about Java's geography. See Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op. cit* (n. 25), I, 111–12.

[493] Crawfurd, *op cit* (n. 34), p. 167 indicates that there are just two moderately good harbors on the south. The breadth of the island varies from 48 to 117 miles.

which is the chief trading port of the island and the one at which De Abreu called on the first Portuguese voyage to the Moluccas.[494] Actually these were all ports on the northeastern coast opposite the island of Madura and free of all Muslim control. Pigafetta, on the basis of what his Javanese pilot told him, lists[495] the largest cities of Java as "Magepaher" (Majapahit), the capital, as well as Daha,[496] "Dama" (Demak), "Gagiamada" (unidentified), "Minutarangchen" (unidentified), "Cipara" (Japara),[497] the port of Demak, Tuban, and "Cressi" (Geresik). He also mentions the names of Surabaya, and of the islands of Bali and Madura as places closely associated with Java. Linschoten mentions "Sunda Calapa" (possibly Djakarta or Bantam) on the northwestern coast as the "principal haven in the Iland."[498]

Java is reputed to be the most bountiful island in the world in foodstuffs. Rice, meat, pepper, cinnamon, and ginger are abundant, cheap, and of good quality. Sunda (western Java) is universally mentioned as a great source of pepper, but unfortunately for the Portuguese it fell under Muslim control shortly after the conquest of Malacca. Linschoten gives to his Dutch readers a long list of the products of Java with their prices, as well as details on what imports are most desired by the islanders, and lets them know that the coins in use are "caixas" (cash) from China.[499] Java also produces some gold and copper. Oviedo generously concludes that everything in Java is as good as it is in Spain.[500]

In the interior of the country most of the people are heathen, while in the port cities the Moors predominate. Though the island is politically divided, the king of Java at the time of Malacca's fall was called "Pateudra" (Pate Udara),[501] one of the last rulers of the Majapahit dynasty. Though his Islamic vassals were in rebellion against him, the "heathen king" was still able to control them as of about 1515. "Pationus" (Pate Unus), Muslim lord of Japara, attacked Malacca in January, 1513, and after being repulsed, began to work towards acquiring the throne of Demak and extending his jurisdiction to Sunda.[502] Henrique Leme was sent in 1522 to a port of Sunda (possibly "Calapa") in

[494] List of ports published in Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed], *op cit* [n 79], II, 158) For identifications see Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 189–92 Pires (*ibid* , p. 193) calls Geresik "the jewel of Java in trading ports" and he discusses most of the ports along the entire northern coast

[495] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 167–68

[496] A city famous in the Hindu period near modern Kediri in eastern Java. Also spelled "Daia" and "Daya" in the European works

[497] See Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 160, n 1, and pp 187–88

[498] Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op cit* (n. 25), I, 112 For identification see Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n. 46), I, 172, n. 1.

[499] Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op cit* (n 25), I, 113–14, for confirmation see Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 181

[500] De los Rios (ed), *op. cit.* (n 298), II, 105

[501] Barbosa in Dames (ed), *op cit* (n 77), II, 190 For further identification of individual rulers see Cortesão (ed), *op. cit.* (n 46), I, 175–76

[502] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n. 79), II, 242, gives 1512 as the date. For the date given above see Cortesão (ed), *op cit.* (n 46), I, 151–52, n. 3. For further detail on the extension of Pate Unus' power to Sunda see R A Kern, "Pati Unus en Sunda," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, CVIII (1952), 124–31.

western Java to conclude a treaty with the local ruler who was still free of Muslim control. A treaty of commerce was signed and a *padrão* (marker) was set up on a site where the Portuguese were authorized to build a fortress.[503] Within a few years, however, this part of Sunda became Muslim and the Portuguese were forced to call only at the ports of eastern Java. Oviedo, on the basis of information conveyed to him by Urdaneta about his visit of 1535 to Panarukan, relates that there were then four kingdoms in Java which were constantly involved in war with one another. But the heathen (Hindu) ruler of Panarukan, the Spaniard admits, is a great friend of the Portuguese.[504] Very little specific information on political conditions emerges from the other sources.[505]

The people of Java, their customs, and skills, are granted most space by the European authors. This is so because many Portuguese learned to know the Javans working at trades and in crafts at Malacca and in the ports of India. Barbosa, Castanheda, and Linschoten, all three of whom had long experience in India, are in essential agreement in their descriptions of Javan physical features, personality and character, skills, and beliefs.[506] The men are chestnut-colored, strong and heavy-set, with broad faces and fleshy cheeks, heavy eyebrows, almost beardless, and with pitch-black hair cropped close to their heads.[507] They wear no head covering and ordinarily go naked above the waist. Their women are lighter in color with excellent complexions, ugly features, beautiful bodies, and graceful carriages. The Europeans judge both sexes to be exceedingly proud, daring, and skillful; at the same time they are alleged to be deceitful, treacherous, clumsy, obstinate, bellicose, and ill-tempered.[508]

But of their industry and ability there is no question or criticism. Barros compares them to the Chinese and judges them to be "the most civilized people of these parts."[509] They are expert carpenters, shipwrights, and locksmiths. They specialize in making arms of all kinds: guns, iron-tipped spears, krises, scimitars, wooden shields which cover the entire body, blowpipes which shoot poisoned arrows, and huge bows. In hunting and riding they show great daring and agility. And their skills are not limited to the use of primitive arms. They are esteemed highly in India as gunners, bombardiers, and makers of gunpowder.[510] Their women are adept seamstresses and musicians. Since the

[503] Azevedo (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 79), II, 242–43.

[504] De los Ríos (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 298), II, 105

[505] It is not clear precisely how many independent states existed in sixteenth-century Java. In 1579 when Drake touched on Java, the island was reportedly governed by six rājās "Donaw," "Rabacapala," "Bacabatra," "Tymbanton," "Patimara," and "Mawgbange." See *The Famous Voyage* in Hakluyt, *op cit* (n. 114), XI, 132. The three Javan states of the Muslim period were Bantam, Demak, and Mataram, it was not until the eighteenth century that Mataram was divided into three states

[506] Barbosa in Dames (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 77), II, 191–94, Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 79), II, 158–59, Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op cit* (n. 25), I, 114

[507] Cf., for a similar description, Crawfurd, *op cit* (n. 34), p. 173.

[508] Contrast *ibid.* where they are judged to be "peaceable, docile, sober, simple, and industrious."

[509] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n. 39), II, 400

[510] For confirmation of their ability in these crafts see Crawfurd, *op cit* (n. 34), pp. 176–78

Portuguese actually saw so little of life in Java itself during the sixteenth century, it is not surprising that they omit comment on the great skill of the Javans in agriculture and irrigation.

The customs and beliefs of the Javans appear strange, superstitious, and repellent to the Europeans. For some unexplained reason the Javans will permit nothing to be over or upon their heads. It is the worst insult possible to put a hand on a Javan's head, and he who does so places his life in jeopardy. They even build their houses just one story high so that nobody can walk over them.[511] Varthema, who perhaps heard about the ceremonial cannibalism of the Bataks of Sumatra, alleges that in Java parents sell their children to be eaten.[512] He also notices that the Hinduized Javans, like many in India, will worship the first thing they happen to meet in the morning. Pigafetta reports on the prevalence of concremation and unusual sexual practices.[513] Castanheda, following Barbosa, comments on their addiction to wizardry, sorcery, and love-enchantments. They believe that if one of their swords is completed at a designated propitious moment it will magically guarantee its wearer against death by the sword and defeat in battle. Wherever they happen to live, whether in a foreign city like Malacca or in a native town like Panarukan, the Javans are inclined, more than any other people of the archipelago, to run amuck as a way of obtaining satisfaction for real or imagined injuries. In war, likewise, they care very little about death.[514]

The European sources, as scanty and contradictory as they sometimes are, give the reader a real sense of the size and importance of the three Indonesian islands and their place in the history and trade of the archipelago. Naturally most of what they have to convey relates to the coastal towns and states and especially to those with which they had the greatest familiarity through steady intercourse. This leads the European writers to overstress the importance of the coastal areas which they know most about and to underplay the significance of interior territories which were learned about only by indirect report. They are also poorly informed about certain untouched coastal areas, such as the southern coasts of Sumatra and Java and the eastern coast of Borneo. On interior political divisions they are best on Sumatra and Java, though they exhibit practically no knowledge of Java's internal topography, climate, agriculture, or, in its highest sense, culture.

It was because of their relatively intimate degree of familiarity with coastal places and seagoing peoples that the Portuguese writers stress the expansion

[511] For confirmation of this custom from an independent Chinese source see W W Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China," *T'oung pao*, XVI (1915), 240, n 1

[512] Temple (ed), *op cit* (n 5), p lxxvi.

[513] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 169, Crawfurd (*op cit* [n. 34], p. 166) notes that concremation was still being carried on in Bali in the mid-nineteenth century On sexual practices see above, p. 553n

[514] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), IV, 144, for confirmation see Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op cit* (n 46), I, 176. For discussion see Crawfurd, *op cit.* (n 34), p. 12.

and strength of the hated Muslims throughout the entire region. Most of their informants were obviously of the mercantile and shipping classes, and they seriously recounted to the Portuguese their own myths about the past. The Portuguese faithfully recorded these popular stories as the basis for the oral history of the region, and apparently heard or knew little about the priestly tradition regarding the past. The Portuguese, because their informants were merchants, are likewise overly impressed by what they consider to be the importance of the Malay language and Malay customs as universal unifying forces.[515] They know many more details about Javan customs than of those of the other peoples because of the undoubted presence of large numbers of Javans in Malacca and India. This fact perhaps helps to explain why they are most critical of Javan habits and adulate the peoples of Borneo of whom they knew but little. It is also clear that information on Borneo was not classified in Lisbon to the degree that the reports on Java and Sumatra were. Evidence for this is that Pires' materials on Borneo, like his discussion of the Philippines, were made available to, and published by, Ramusio. Such a conclusion is reinforced by the way in which Pires organized the *Suma oriental*: he grouped Borneo with the countries to the East (China, Japan, and the Philippines), while including Sumatra and Java in the section on the eastern archipelago and the spice trade, the part of his work which was originally suppressed and remained generally unknown until the twentieth century.

7

The Spiceries

A glance at a map of modern Indonesia reveals a profusion of islands which lie scattered in the seas south of the Philippines, east of Borneo and Java, north of Australia, and west of New Guinea. Men throughout history have sought to group these islands into neat archipelagos to talk about them intelligibly. The eye and mind working in harmony have great difficulty, however, in combining these unordered spots into comprehensible and manageable patterns. The task is rendered even more complex when it is necessary to group the islands into unities which pay some deference to the focal points of the region as they existed in the sixteenth century. To avoid doing violence either to geography or history, we shall denominate as the Spiceries all of those islands which actually grew the cherished spices as well as those which were intimately related economically, geographically, politically, or strategically to the trade and to the producing islands. For example, the five spice islands (Ternate, Tidore, Motir, Makian, and Bachan), the original sources of the clove, had to depend in the sixteenth century for food upon the large, nearby island of

[515] Cf the list of words collected by Drake's men in Hakluyt, *op cit.* (n 114), XI, 132–33.

Halmahera (also called Gilolo or Batochino do Moro).[516] In our definition this forms an interdependent economic complex which we will refer to as the Moluccas. Two other insular groups, likewise part of a geographical entity and held together by various types and degrees of interdependence, were Amboina (Seram, Buru, and Amboina) and Banda (Gunuape, Mira, and Banda), the latter group being the source of nutmeg and mace. Celebes, the larger islands of the Lesser Sunda archipelago (Bali, Sumbawa, Flores, and Timor), and New Guinea will be considered as another entity within the Spiceries because of their locations and their traditional associations with the Moluccas. It is imperative to remember, however, that these groupings, like many constructs of the mind, tend to give an impression of greater unity and interrelatedness than can always be supported as times and conditions change.

Almost every European who wrote about Asia had remarks to make about the Spiceries. Explorers, merchants, statesmen, missionaries, and chroniclers eagerly gathered and assessed every scrap of information about the spices and the conditions of trade at the sources. The most authoritative of the numerous accounts are those of Varthema, Barbosa, Maximilian of Transylvania, Pigafetta, Oviedo, Gaetano, Castanheda, Gómara, Barros, Galvão, Linschoten, the Jesuit letters and histories, and the commentators on the explorations of Drake, Cavendish, and Lancaster. These authors represent a number of European nationalities. Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, English, and central European. A sizable minority of them write from personal experience in the Spiceries: Varthema (possibly), Pigafetta, Galvão, Gaetano, Xavier and his Jesuit successors, and the Dutch and English explorers. Barbosa, Castanheda, and Linschoten have the benefit of experience in India and of direct participation in the spice trade. The Portuguese chroniclers (Castanheda and Barros) and their Spanish contemporaries (Oviedo and Gómara) naturally take opposing views on the question of the ownership of the Spiceries,[517] but their descriptions of the islands themselves are similar.

Varthema may have touched upon Banda, Buru in the Amboina group, and Ternate in the Moluccas in 1505.[518] Irrespective of whether or not he was actually on the islands, Varthema's description (published in 1510) of these three groups in the Spiceries was the first to be circulated in Europe. None of the earlier travelers of the Renaissance, with the possible exception of Conti,[519] even claims to have been east of Borneo. So it was from Varthema that Europe received its first impressions of the places where the valuable cloves and nutmegs grew. He correctly reports that the nutmeg tree grows in Banda and locates

[516] Halmahera actually parallels the five smaller islands and is close to them The Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century, as a rule, do not consider it to be one of the Moluccas In the mid-seventeenth century the Dutch ordained that the clove trees in the Moluccas should be destroyed and production of cloves confined to Amboina and nutmeg to the Banda islands The origin of the name "Moluccas" is unknown See Philips (ed), *op cit.* (n 139), p. 111

[517] See above, pp. 114–19

[518] Temple (ed.), *op cit* (n 5), p. lxxv

[519] See above, p. 61

clove production in "Monoch" (the Moluccas).[520] Roughly accurate are his descriptions of the clove tree and the way in which the cloves are harvested. Of the physical surroundings and the peoples of the Spiceries he gives a dark picture. They have no government, live in gloomy, low houses built of timber, and are very primitive in their way of life. They are pagans whose beliefs resemble those held by the lowest castes of Calicut. Little can be hoped for from these people because they are stupid and lazy. They expend no labor in cultivating the spices, but simply gather and market them at the appropriate seasons of the year. While certainly inaccurate on a number of points, particularly on the absence of government, Varthema's low opinion of the people is one that later and better informed writers share.[521]

The Portuguese voyages to the Spiceries began on a systematic basis immediately after the conquest of Malacca in 1511. António de Abreu, the first to reconnoiter the route, coasted along the northern side of the Lesser Sundas as far east as Flores and then turned north to the Amboinas and Bandas.[522] In the course of this voyage the Portuguese observed the small volcanic island of Gunuape[523] in the Bandas from the cone of which there falls "continually into the sea flakes or streams like unto fire. . . ."[524] They anchored at the port of "Guli-Guli" (Kolli-Kolli) on the island of Seram and went ashore only to find that the people were cannibals.[525] On the return voyage the junk commanded by Francisco Serrão was wrecked in the Banda Sea and he along with a few companions made their way to Amboina and eventually to Ternate about 1513. Here Serrão remained for the rest of his life (d. 1521) as adviser to the Muslim ruler of Ternate and as an occasional, albeit somewhat unreliable, informant for the Europeans on insular affairs. De Abreu returned with two vessels to Malacca and, on the basis of his information, new fleets were immediately outfitted and dispatched to the Spiceries.[526] But nothing about these voyages appeared in published form in Europe until the Spanish began to write about the Spiceries in connection with Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe.[527]

[520] Temple (ed), *op cit* (n 5), p 89

[521] For example, Alfred Wallace, the great biologist, who visited the Spiceries in the mid-nineteenth century, refers to the Amboines as being "half-civilized, half-savage, lazy people" (*op. cit.* [n 94], p 230)

[522] See Humberto Leitão, *Os portugueses em Solor e Timor de 1515 a 1702* (Lisbon, 1948), pp 25–52

[523] *Gunung-api* is Malay for "fire mountain" (Crawfurd, *op. cit* [n. 34], p 33)

[524] Galvão in Vice-Admiral Bethune (ed), *The Discoveries of the World from Their First Original unto the Year of Our Lord 1555 by Antonio Galvano, Governor of Ternate* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol. XXX [London, 1872]), p 117

[525] Visconde de Lagoa and Elaine Sanceau (eds), *António Galvão Tratado dos descobrimentos* (3d ed , Porto, 1944), p 171, n. 3.

[526] For a review of these sailings see Leitão, *op cit* (n 522), pp 53–55

[527] Pigafetta (in Robertson [ed], *op cit* [n 136], II, 81, 83) notes that the Portuguese had discovered the Moluccas ten years before his arrival there in 1521 and had studiously kept this knowledge a secret from Spain Magellan apparently introduced Charles I to Varthema's account of the Spiceries (see *ibid* , II, 211) When he was in Malacca, Magellan himself had corresponded with Francisco Serrão and learned from him about affairs in the Spiceries About the unreliable character of Serrão's information on the location of the Moluccas (twice as far to the East of Malacca as they actually are), see C E Nowell, *Magellan's Voyage around the World Three Contemporary Accounts* (Evanston, Ill , 1962), pp. 15–19.

Maximilian reports in his letter on the Moluccas published in 1523 that Magellan and Cristóbal de Haro,[528] possibly on the basis of information garnered from Serrão, had pointed out to King Charles I that the Spiceries and China were within the Spanish demarcation, that the Portuguese were going there illicitly, and that it was possible to avoid the Portuguese blockade and to sail to the clove islands by a presumed southwestern route. Those survivors of Magellan's expedition who arrived at Tidore on November 8, 1521, stayed in the Moluccas for about one month and a half. In relating the story of the experiences of Magellan's men in the Moluccas, Pigafetta and Maximilian also brought before their European audiences independent but similar word portraits of the only islands in the world where the prized cloves then grew. Maximilian apparently received most of his data from Juan Sebastián del Cano, the commander of the "Victoria," and several other survivors.

All of the five clove-growing islands of the Moluccas are normally dominated by the ruler of the chief island of Ternate. Tidore and Bachan likewise have formal royal establishments (sultanates), but Motir and Makian have no kings and are ruled "by the people."[529] Eight months before Pigafetta's arrival at Tidore, Francisco Serrão, the captain of Ternate's armed forces, had been poisoned while on a trading mission to Tidore. Ten days later, his master and the ruler of Ternate, Rājā Abuleis, met a similar fate at the hands of his daughter, the wife of the king of Bachan. Nine principal sons of Rājā Abuleis were left to contend among themselves for the throne. When the Spanish fleet arrived at Tidore, its ruler, Sultan Manzor, appears to have replaced the ruler of Ternate, temporarily, as the overlord of the clove islands[530]

Manzor is pictured as a handsome and dignified Moorish ruler of forty-five years of age. To receive the foreigners he was barefooted and clad in a delicate white shirt with gold-embroidered cuffs, a sarong, and a silken turban. He welcomed the Spanish expedition in a friendly manner and volunteered to place Tidore, and, if possible, Ternate in vassalage to the king of Spain. Manzor was evidently concerned that the Portuguese from Malacca might be preparing reprisals against him for his part in Serrão's murder and hoped that the protection

[528] Cf above, pp 115–16, and also Coote (ed), *op cit* (n 463), pp 111–12

[529] Pigafetta in Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 71 Cf Varthema, above, p 594. Pigafetta's description of his experiences in the Moluccas may also be found in G B Ramusio, *Delle navigatione* . . (Venice, 1550), I, 403r–407r

[530] Barbosa (Dames [ed], *op cit* [n 77], II, 200–201), who wrote in about 1518, notes that on Ternate "dwells a Moorish King whom they call Soltan Binaracola [who] was formerly King of all five, but now the four have risen against him and are independent " Pires (in Cortesão [ed], *op. cit* [n 46], I, 214) reports that only the king of Ternate is called Sultan, the rest are rājās He also records that "Raja Almancor" (Manzor) of Tidore is at war with Ternate In fact, this was almost the regular state of affairs in the archipelago, for the rivals headed up competing alliances The rulers of Ternate and Tidore struggled against each other for supremacy in the archipelago with the aid respectively of the *Oulilima* (Five-Power Alliance) and the *Oulisiwa* (Nine-Power Alliance) Each camp frequently had allies on the same island, and neighboring communities (*kampongs*) fought each other in their roles as members of these competing alliances Consequently, local strife and warfare were almost endemic to the Moluccas and to those of their neighbors who became involved in their power struggle See Wessels, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 29

of Spain might help him to retain his control in the islands.[531] Whatever his motives actually were, Manzor treated the Spaniards exceedingly well and did his utmost to gather together a cargo of food, water, and cloves for them before they would have to catch the monsoon. Within three days after their arrival, he had a building thrown up for them to use as their warehouse on shore. He sent envoys for cloves to neighboring islands and permitted a few of the Europeans to accompany them. Rulers of the other islands were allowed to come to Tidore to inspect the new arrivals and their two battered vessels. The Europeans entertained their visitors by firing their artillery and by presenting them with knickknacks of European manufacture. From observing Manzor and the other Moorish rulers, Pigafetta learned that they have as many women as they desire, that they keep them in harems, and that every family within a ruler's jurisdiction is required to present one or two daughters to the royal harem.[532]

Among those who came to see the Spanish expedition were some merchants of Halmahera and one of its rulers. This large island, Pigafetta reports,[533] is inhabited by Moors who control the coast and heathens who live in its interior, a division of power which the Europeans found to be quite common throughout the East Indies. The Moors, who first came into the Moluccas about fifty years before the Spanish arrived at Tidore, quickly took over the coastal areas and control of the trading towns.[534] By Pigafetta's time, Halmahera had three kings—two Moors and a heathen prince named Rājā Papua.[535] The Moorish rulers keep large harems and father hundreds of children; the heathens are not inclined to have so many wives even though Papua possesses a rich store of gold. The ordinary heathens are likewise less "superstitious" than the Moors, though "they adore," like Hindus, "for all that day the first thing that they see in the morning when they go out of their houses."[536] Rājā Jessu, one of the Moorish rulers of Halmahera and an aged man, visited the Spanish at Tidore to see how they fired their guns. About Halmahera itself, Pigafetta learned that it is so large that it takes native crafts (*praus*) four months to circumnavigate it. It also produces certain thick reeds (of which the Europeans bought many) that grow on rocks and which are filled with fresh, clear water.[537] A few cloves

[531] See Manzor's speech as given in Maximilian's words in Coote (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 463), p. 140.

[532] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 75.

[533] *Ibid.*, pp. 75–76.

[534] *Ibid.*, p. 115. This is roughly confirmed by Pires (in Cortesão [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 46], I, 213).

[535] This mention of Papua, the first in a European source, has frequently been interpreted as a reference to the Papuans of New Guinea, and the survivors of Magellan are incorrectly credited with having discovered that island. For comment in depth see Arthur Wichmann, *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea (bis 1828)* (Leiden, 1909), I, 12–13.

[536] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 77.

[537] The Jesuit, Frois, writes in 1556 (Wicki [ed.], *op. cit.* [n. 80], III, 542): "The whole island [Ternate] has . . thick canes with a pleasant water in them which the Portuguese drink." Probably bamboos filled with water from local rivers. Wallace, *op. cit.* (n. 94), p. 61, observed that the Dayaks of Borneo used ". . thin, long-jointed bamboos for water vessels. They are clean, light, and easily carried and are in many ways superior to earthen vessels for the same purpose."

grow on Halmahera, but they are not as good or as valuable as those which come from the five smaller islands.[538]

While waiting for a cargo, the Europeans went ashore on Tidore and visited a few of the smaller, nearby islands. Pigafetta used his time ashore to study the local scene He depicts each of the five clove-producing islands of the Moluccas as a mountainous island, all of which are within sight of Tidore except for Bachan to the south. Bachan is the largest of the five islands and its peak is higher and blunter than those of the other mountains. The clove tree will not live in the flatlands but prospers on the sides of these volcanic mountains. Cloves become perfect because of the mountain mists which regularly cover them. Each island possesses groves of its own trees which the people watch over but never cultivate Harvests occur twice each year, at Christmas time and at the nativity of St John the Baptist (June 23), and every fourth year a bumper crop is gathered. The cloves must be harvested when they are red and ripe or otherwise they become so large and hard that only their husk is of value. Until the merchants come to purchase them, the cloves are dried and stored in pits. A few nutmeg trees also grow in the Moluccas. Pigafetta describes both the clove and the nutmeg trees and their fruits. Crawfurd remarks that the Italian's "Account of the clove is a good popular one, even at the present day [1856]."[539] Pigafetta also used his time to compile, probably while in Tidore and possibly aboard ship as well, his vocabulary of Malay which he calls "the words of those Moro people"[540] of Tidore. Only forty-seven words of his total compilation of 450 actually appeared in the sixteenth-century versions of his work.[541] In Tidore, he notices, cloves are called "ghomode"; in Sarangani (the islands south of Mindanao), "bongalauan", and in Malacca, "chianche."[542]

Besides cloves, the Moluccas grow ginger roots which are dried in lime for preservation. Honey is produced and stored in the trees by small bees.[543] In addition, the islands yield a wide variety of tropical fruits as well as sugar cane, rice, poultry, goats, and palm products. The islanders, who normally go uncovered except for a breach cloth, manufacture their own clothes from the bark of trees. They soak the bark in water, beat it with sticks, and pull and shape it to the desired size and form. The bark so processed looks "like a veil of raw silk" and gives the appearance of being woven.[544] Pigafetta also describes the various stages in the production of sago flour and bread, and notices that the natives while at sea live almost exclusively on it. Multicolored and white

[538] All of the European writers agree that Halmahera produced no great amount of cloves Also see Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34), pp 10–11.

[539] *Ibid*, p. 103. Also see Orta in Markham (trans.), *op. cit.* (n 359), pp. 213–21.

[540] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n. 136), II, 117.

[541] See Ramusio, *op. cit* (n 529), I, 408v.

[542] Robertson (ed), *op cit.* (n 136), II, 91, 215, n. 502 (discussion of local names). Cf Orta's names in Markham (trans.), *op cit* (n 539), p 215

[543] Robertson (ed.), *op cit* (n 136), II, 115 Wallace, *op cit* (n 94), pp 153–54, describes the huge honeycombs of wild bees which hang from the highest branches of the tallest trees in Timor.

[544] Robertson (ed.), *op cit* (n. 136), II, 89.

parrots flourish in the islands, but those which are reddish speak much more distinctly than the others. The islanders prize highly and tell many wonderful stories about thrushlike birds called "bolon divata" (*Burung-dewata* or Bird of the Gods).[545] These extraordinary creatures, now called Birds of Paradise, are said to originate in heaven, never to fly except when there is a wind, and to render invincible and secure anyone who wears their skins into battle.[546] Of the preserved plumages brought back to Europe in the "Victoria," two were given to Charles I and one was sent by Maximilian to his father, the Cardinal of Salzburg.[547]

The houses of Tidore are elevated like those of other tropical places, though they are not built as high above the ground, and they are enclosed within fences of bamboo When a new house is thrown up, the natives light a ceremonial fire and hold many ritual feasts before going to live in it. To the roof of the new house they fasten samples of the island's products to keep its occupants from ever being in want.[548] One day the Spanish, who guarded the merchandise in the storehouse ashore, were warned officially that they should not go outdoors at night because of danger from certain sorcerers. These anointed terrors, who were possibly running amuck, give the appearance of being headless as they roam through the town. Should they meet another man, they touch his head and rub some of their ointment on it. The accosted individual soon falls ill and succumbs within three or four days.[549] The divers of the island have remarkable ability in staying underwater for long periods of time. When the "Trinidad" sprang a mysterious leak in its hull, special divers were sent for who had long hair. These men, who could stay underwater for as long as an hour, tried to locate the leak by putting their heads against the bottom of the hull so that their long hair might be sucked into the hole along with the water.

Because the leak in the "Trinidad" was so serious and impossible to discover in the water, it was decided that she should remain behind for repairs and then try to make her way back to Spain via the Pacific.[550] The "Victoria" therefore left Tidore alone on December 21, 1521, with two native pilots aboard to lead her through the maze of islands to the south and west. Pigafetta provides long

[545] *Ibid*, p 105, these birds are called "Mamuco Diata" (*Manuk-dewato*) by Maximilian (Coote [ed], *op cit* [n. 463], p. 143) For discussion of these appellations see Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34), p. 54, A more detailed analysis of these two common Malay terms for the "bird of Paradise," and of their use in English literature, may be found in C P G Scott, "The Malayan Words in English," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I (1897), 76–80 (The first part of Scott's article in *ibid* XVII [1896]).

[546] Pigafetta in Robertson (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 105, Maximilian in Coote (ed), *op cit.* (n 463), p. 143 For other stories see Linschoten in Burnell and Tiele (eds), *op cit.* (n. 25), I, 118 Actually the birds were probably not native to the Moluccas at all, the skins of the preserved birds given to the Europeans were probably prepared in the Aru Islands or New Guinea. See Wallace, *op. cit* (n 94), pp. 419–24.

[547] Coote (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 463), p. 143

[548] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 107

[549] *Ibid*, pp 106–07.

[550] On her unsuccessful effort to return see Henry R Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 96

lists of individual island names for each of the small archipelagos through which the "Victoria" threaded its way.[551] He noticed that some of these places were peopled by pygmies and others by cannibals. After halting at Baru in the Amboina group, the men on the "Victoria" sighted the Banda archipelago and noted that it consisted of twelve islands on six of which nutmeg and mace grow in abundance. Pigafetta names all twelve islands and locates them at around 6 degrees south latitude.[552]

Southwest of the Bandas they entered the Lesser Sundas where they were hit by a heavy storm and had to take refuge on the island of "Malva" (now known as Alor or Ombai Island).[553] The people of this island are savage cannibals who "wear their beards wrapped in leaves and thrust into small bamboo tubes—a ridiculous sight."[554] Here the Spanish expedition stayed for two weeks to make necessary repairs on the ship, and Pigafetta notices that the natives cultivate long pepper and black pepper On January 25, 1521, they sailed south-southwest of "Malva" to the island of Timor Pigafetta then went ashore to ask the chief of the town of "Amaban" (Amaben) on the northern coast to sell them fresh meat.[555] Unable to get supplies here, they captured the chief of the neighboring village of "Balibo" (Silabão) and held him for ransom. While negotiating for provisions, Pigafetta learned that white sandalwood is grown on Timor and nowhere else,[556] and that traders come from as far away as Luzon to purchase sandalwood and wax. On the southern side of Timor live four heathen kings who have their residences at "Oibich" (Vaibico?), "Lichsana" (Lecam?), "Suai" (Suzi?) and "Cabanaza" (Camanassa).[557] Of these principalities "Oibich" is the most powerful and at "Cabanaza" the gold is found with which they pay for their purchases. While on Timor, Pigafetta also learned the names of eleven other islands in the Lesser Sundas from Flores westward to Bali.

The ships of the Loaisa (1525) and Saavedra (1527) expeditions across the Pacific got as far as Halmahera and Tidore. Urdaneta and his companions in the sole vessel remaining from the Loaisa expedition arrived on the east coast of Halmahera on October 29, 1526. From these survivors, who returned to Spain around 1536, Oviedo learned in detail about the difficulties which they experienced in the Spiceries at the hands of the Portuguese and their allies of Ternate.[558] Fortunately for them, they landed at "Campaho," a town which was in the hands

[551] For an effort to identify these many obscure names see *ibid*, pp 221–23.

[552] *Ibid*, p 153. They are actually at somewhat less than 5 degrees south latitude.

[553] See Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 202 n Alor is located between Flores and Timor in the Lesser Sunda chain.

[554] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 157.

[555] For a map of Timor with early place names see Leitão, *op cit* (n 522), facing p. 164

[556] Actually it grows on a number of islands in the Malay archipelago, but Timor was certainly the most important source of supply See Crawfurd, *op cit* (n. 34), p 375, and Wallace, *op cit* (n. 94), p. 153.

[557] Robertson (ed.), *op cit* (n 136), II, 163, for efforts to identify place names see map in Leitão, *op cit* (n 522), facing p 164.

[558] De los Rios (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 298), pp. 65–100.

of "Quichil Bubacar,"[559] a vassal of the aged Sultan "Adulraenjami"[560] of Halmahera. "Adulraenjami" was himself an ally of "Rajamir" (Rājā Emir) of Tidore and an enemy of the Portuguese. From a slave who had been in the hands of the Portuguese for a time, the Spanish quickly learned that the Portuguese had taken reprisals against Tidore for the hospitality, aid, and vassalage which it had offered Magellan's companions. Urdaneta and five of his associates, including the interpreter Gonçalo de Vigo, were sent in *praus* to announce officially to "Adulraenjami" and "Rajamir" the arrival of this second ship from Spain. While they were given a cordial reception, it was not until the beginning of 1527 that the Spanish managed to get to Tidore through the Portuguese blockade and to join there with the survivors of the Magellan voyage. The Portuguese lost no time in attacking the new arrivals who were aided for a time by the governor of Makian ("Quichelhumar" or Kĕchil Umar), an enemy of Ternate and the Portuguese. The Portuguese finally destroyed the city of Makian while continuing to besiege Tidore. In February, 1528, Saavedra arrived at Tidore to reinforce the beleaguered Spanish. Though several efforts were made to find a route back across the Pacific, they all met with disaster.[561] The conclusion of the Saragossa arrangements in Europe in 1529 soon brought an end to the Spanish resistance in the Spiceries. Urdaneta and others took refuge for a time in the numerous islands of the Spiceries, but finally, after giving themselves up to the Portuguese, they began in 1534 and 1535 the long voyage back to Europe via Portuguese India.

At the conclusion of his discussion of the Iberian war fought in the Moluccas, Oviedo devotes a chapter to a description of the Spiceries.[562] While he surveys most of the important islands, his account is particularly valuable for the light which it throws upon the political and social organization of the little known islands of Halmahera and Celebes, and certain islets near Celebes in which Urdaneta spent time in 1532 and 1533 as a refugee from the Portuguese.[563] Like the Jesuits at a later date, Oviedo brings out clearly the association, political and economic, existing between Halmahera, northern Celebes, and the Moluccas.[564] Oviedo describes Gilolo as being but one of the states on the island known to the natives as "Alhora" (Halmahera).[565] The principal city of Gilolo (modern spelling is Djailolo) is eight leagues (32 miles) northeast of Tidore, though Halmahera at one point is no farther than two leagues (8 miles) east of Tidore. The people are far from primitive, many of them being Muslims as well

[559] "Quichil" is from the Malay *kĕchil*, meaning small, and it is used as a title equivalent to Spanish "Don." Bubacar or Abu-Bahr was this governor's proper name. See *ibid.*, p. 65.

[560] *Ibid.*, p. 70. Berg suggests "Adulraenjami" should be written Abd-Rahman I.

[561] The most detailed study of this expedition is Ione S. Wright, *Voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Céron, 1527–1529* (Coral Gables, Fla., 1951).

[562] De los Rios (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 298), pp. 100–105.

[563] *Ibid.*, pp. 102–3. He comments most particularly on two islands called "Bangay" and "Tobucu." Banggai lies off a peninsula of the same name on the east coast of central Celebes.

[564] Below, pp. 614–15.

[565] Means "mainland" in one of the native tongues to contrast its large size with the tiny islands surrounding it. See Crawfurd, *op. cit.* (n. 34), p. 10.

as heathens. Parts of Halmahera are under the control of Tidore and Ternate, and they use in those places the weights and measures common to the entire area. Crimes are punished by fines, exile, or death according to the magnitude of the offense. Of medium stature like the Spanish, the people of Halmahera are slim, agile, and well proportioned. They wear cotton and silk vestments, and like Moors everywhere take as many wives as they desire. The fathers of their brides receive money for their daughters. Gold is highly prized, though they do not have deposits of it themselves but receive it from the merchants from Celebes who trade there each year.[566] The people of Halmahera also place high value on silver, colored textiles of silk and cotton from India and Portugal, and porcelains from China. At their fiestas and before going into battle they play musical instruments which sound like bells. They also have many drums to whose rhythm they chant as they row, even when at sea for long periods of time. They prize brass articles highly and give good prices for the commodities of Flanders (knives, daggers, scissors), trinkets of ivory and coral, and glass beads. The people of Celebes likewise esteem these same items, but are particularly anxious to have iron with which to make their arms and their axes for woodcutting. Though most of the people in Celebes are heathen, there are a few Moors in that island. All the people, Moors and heathens, tattoo themselves with pictures of living creatures to help raise their courage for battle, and many of them wear their hair coiled at the nape of the neck. Throughout the islands the medium of exchange is Chinese copper cash. Oviedo was presented with four pieces of cash by Martin de Islares, and he includes a picture of one of them in his book. He also reproduces a picture of a house in Gilolo, possibly drawn by or at the instruction of Islares and Urdaneta.[567]

Given the reports of the Spanish voyages to the Spiceries and the debates in Europe over ownership of the Spiceries, it was not long before maps were being drawn in Lisbon and Seville which included data on these islands. Francisco Rodrigues, a pilot on De Abreu's expedition to the Spiceries, is the first (*ca.* 1513) to depict in a beautifully executed chart the islands of Sumbawa, Gunung Api, Timor, Amboina, and Seram; and he also vaguely delineates the archipelago of the Moluccas.[568] Jorge Reinel, who ran away from Portugal to Seville in 1519 when Magellan's expedition was being prepared, may have placed the Moluccas on the chart which became the standard (*padrón*) map of the East used by the Spanish explorers.[569] With the return of the "Victoria" and the rise in tempers over the ownership of the Moluccas, the contest continued

[566] Gold is procured by washings in the northern part of Celebes In the nineteenth century, Celebes exported more gold than any of the other islands of the Indonesian archipelago with the exception of Borneo *Ibid*, p 88.

[567] De los Rios (ed.), *op cit* (n 298), Appendix, Plate I, figs. 1 and 2

[568] See Cortesão (ed), *op. cit* (n. 46), I, 200, II, 523

[569] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit* (n 2), I, 19–20 This is based on the depiction of the Moluccas incorporated on the chart prepared about 1517 and attributed to Pedro Reinel. See *ibid*, pp 33–34, G Caraci, the Italian student of historical cartography, credits Nuno Garcia de Toreno, first master of the charts at Seville, with preparing the charts for Magellan's voyage See *ibid*, pp. 87–89.

between Spain and Portugal to lure the leading cartographers of the day into their camps. Lopo Homem, who prepared a chart of the known world in 1523 and acted, in 1524, as an expert for the Portuguese delegation at the Badajoz-Elvas conference, had apparently offered to furnish the Spanish with materials for a price.[570] In Pigafetta's book (first published in France *ca.* 1525) were included a few drawings of islands in the eastern archipelago. The Portuguese governor of the Moluccas, Dom Jorge de Menzes, was apparently the first European to set foot on New Guinea when his ship was blown beyond Halmahera in 1526.[571] None of the earlier maps, however, includes the northern coast of New Guinea even after it was again touched upon by the Villalobos expedition in about 1545. The depiction of the Moluccas in these years was caught up in the demarcation controversies, and the cartographers seem to have specialized in catering to the positions taken by their sovereigns. The planispheres of Diogo Ribeiro prepared in 1525 and 1527 place the Moluccas in the Spanish demarcation following the opinion and judgment of Juan Sebastián del Cano.[572] Two atlases of about 1537 attributed to Gaspar Viegas locate the Moluccas in 145 degrees longitude and draw in the entire west coast of Celebes[573] —possibly on the basis of information obtained from the survivors of the Spanish expeditions The anonymous chart of about 1535 incorporates materials from the Spanish voyages and is particularly clear on the area between the Philippines and the Moluccas. Not until the anonymous planisphere of about 1545 (now housed in the National Library in Vienna) is the representation of the Spiceries significantly improved and accurately drawn.[574]

The survivors of the Villalobos tragedy left the Spiceries in 1546 after their commander's death and three years later a number of them were back in Spain. One of their number, Father Cosmas de Torres, wrote a letter to Loyola and the Jesuits of Europe in January, 1549, from Goa telling of his voyage across the Pacific from Mexico to the Spiceries with the Villalobos fleet.[575] After almost eighteen months on Sarangani Island, he reports that they were forced to leave for the Moluccas because of their great losses through death. From April, 1544, to November, 1545, the remnant of the expedition stayed on Tidore Island.[576] Ultimately realizing that they would be unable to sail back to Mexico, they concluded a bargain with Fernão de Sousa de Tavora, commander of the Portuguese fleet, to take them to Goa. At Amboina in the spring of 1546 on the way to India, Torres met Xavier who so impressed the secular priest that he "soon wished to follow in his [Xavier's] footsteps. . . ."[577]

[570] See *ibid.*, pp 50–51

[571] See Wichmann, *op. cit* (n 535), pp. 14–16, who contends that he visited the tiny port of Warsai on the small island of Wiak off the northwestern peninsula of New Guinea

[572] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit* (n 2), I, 99–101

[573] *Ibid*, pp. 117–21, actually their true location is further westward at about 128 degrees.

[574] *Ibid*, pp. 155–57.

[575] Wicki (ed), *op cit* (n 80), I, 468–81 First published in *Copia de las cartas* (1565)

[576] For Gaetano's account of Tidore and the Portuguese establishment at Ternate *ca* 1545 see Ramusio, *op cit* (n 529), I, 417r and v

[577] Wicki (ed), *op. cit* (n 80), I, 475.

Torres realized his ambition in 1548 when he joined the Society of Jesus in Goa. His letter written in 1549 shortly before his departure for Japan was frequently published in Europe during the sixteenth century. Along with Gaetano's journal (published in Ramusio in 1550), it was one of the few printed accounts by a participant to report on the successes and failures of the Villalobos expedition Ramusio's map incorporates many of the references which came into Europe before 1550 primarily through the accounts of the Spanish voyages.

It was not until after mid-century that Europe learned something in detail of what the Portuguese knew about the Spiceries. The *Book* of Duarte Barbosa, first printed by Ramusio in 1550, was accurate enough for its day (*ca.* 1518) but added nothing to what had become current through the accounts of the Spanish voyages. The best general survey of the Spiceries appeared in Barros' *Década* III, first published in 1563, just fifty years after direct information on the Moluccas began to trickle into Malacca from the letters of Francisco Serrão. That the Portuguese had long possessed detailed and accurate information on the Spiceries is clear from the evidence of unprinted maps and from the wealth of data in the unpublished portion of Pires' *Suma oriental* prepared in about 1515. If it is at all correct to talk about a studied policy of secrecy being followed by the Portuguese government during the sixteenth century, nowhere is it more apparent than in the case of the Spiceries. António Galvão's *Tratado . . . dos descobrimentos* appeared in Lisbon in 1563, the same year as Barros' *Década* III, but the reminiscences on his tenure (1536–39) as governor of Ternate were kept out of print by royal instructions Even in the *Tratado . . .*, Galvão gives no systematic review of affairs in the Moluccas.[578] It is likely, however, that Barros in his capacity as official chronicler of the Portuguese discoveries in Asia had access to and incorporated material from Galvão's manuscript history into his own description of the Spiceries From his own testimony we know that Barros consulted Galvão personally while writing on the Moluccas.[579] The historical period to which Barros' (and Castanheda's) work refers is, as in the rest of the *Décadas*, to the years before 1540.

The ancients, according to Barros, were ignorant about the physical features of the archipelago east of Sumatra and the Golden Chersonese. Ptolemy, after confessing his lack of acquaintance with it, nevertheless proceeded, according to Barros' understanding, to depict it in his *Geography*. Southward from the eastern extremity of Asia, the ancients erroneously postulated a huge peninsula which supposedly extended 9 degrees south of the equator. Ptolemy filled in this fabulous peninsula with equally imaginary rivers, bays, promontories, and cities, such as Cattigara. But since the Portuguese have navigated east of Malacca, it is now known that no great peninsula exists there and that this entire region is a sea dotted with many thousands of islands. In the midst of this maze of islands the Moluccas are to be found They are located at three hundred leagues (1,200 miles) east of Malacca and south of the equator. Even as the

[578] See above, pp 195–96

[579] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit* (n 39), III, 259–60.

crow flies, Barros underestimates the distance between the two places; he is also incorrect in putting the islands south of the equator. Actually most of the Moluccas are located north of the line, and the Portuguese fortress was on Ternate, the northernmost of all the Moluccas. It is hard to see how a scholar as well informed as Barros could have unintentionally committed these errors,[580] particularly as Pigafetta at an earlier date gives relatively correct latitudes for all five of the Moluccas.[581] It is possible that the Portuguese intentionally shortened the distance from Malacca to the Moluccas to keep information away from the Spanish which might have again led them to claim that the Spiceries lay within their demarcation.[582]

Barros describes the Moluccas, says that they are five in number, and tells us how they lie in a north-south line parallel to a large island located a short distance to the east. About sixty leagues (240 miles) in length, Batochina do Moro[583] (Gilolo or Halmahera) faces the western islands and enfolds them in three arms of land. The five smaller islands are called the Moluccas, a collective name comparable to the Canaries. Though he realizes that there are actually more than five islands which make up the complex of the Moluccas, Barros discusses only those islands to which the clove is native. These five clove islands are all within sight of one another and cover a complete distance from north to south of not more than twenty-five leagues (100 miles). In the native language the ancient names of the islands from north to south are: "Gape" (Ternate), "Duco" (Tidore), "Moutil" (Motir), "Mara" (Makian), and "Seque" (Bachan).[584] All of these islands are very small, the largest being not more than six leagues (24 miles) in circumference. Their coastal flatlands are narrow and the waters roundabout are filled with rocky reefs dangerous to the ships which try to approach or anchor off their shores.[585]

Nature has given the Moluccas little more than the clove. Climate and landscape are both unpleasant and unhealthy. Because of the equatorial location

[580] It is remarkable how the Portuguese of this period agree in misplacing the islands. Castanheda (in Azevedo [ed], *op. cit* [n 79], III, 166–67) and Frois (letter from Malacca, November 19, 1556, in Wicki [ed.], *op cit* [n 80], III, 540) also locate the Moluccas just south of the equator Notice also that on the Ramusio map Ternate is south and Tidore north of the equator. Xavier, however, is much more accurate than Barros on the distance to the Moluccas. In a letter from Goa (September 20, 1542) Xavier wrote to Loyola that "from this city of Goa it is 1000 leagues to Maluca . . and it is 500 leagues from here to Malacha. . . " (Schurhammer and Wicki [eds], *op cit* [n 93], I, 141) By simple subtraction it is easy to see that Xavier estimated the distance from Malacca to the Moluccas at 500 leagues (2,000 miles) For a contemporary complaint about Barros' strange inability to determine the exact location of the Moluccas see letter of Guillaume Postel to Abraham Ortelius, April 9, 1567 (J. H. Hessels [ed], *Abrahami Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem et ad Jacobum Colium Ortelianum Epistolae (1524–1628)* [Cambridge, 1887], I, 43).

[581] Robertson (ed.), *op cit* (n. 136), II, 115.

[582] See Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 105, n 1.

[583] Batochina equals "land of China" to Barros (Cidade and Murias [eds.], *op cit.* [n. 39], III, 262).

[584] What these names mean or what language they come from is not known. The same can be said for the modern names of these islands. See Crawfurd, *op cit* (n. 34), p 283

[585] Barros in Cidade and Murias (eds), *op cit* (n 39), III, 257–58 For a description of the elevated coral reefs of Halmahera see Wallace, *op. cit* (n 94), p. 6.

of the islands, the sun is always near, even when at its northern and southern solstices. Constant heat combined with high humidity encourages the growth of heavy vegetation everywhere and produces clouds that hang near the tops of the mountains. The moisture-laden air, so good for vegetation, is unhealthy for humans Most trees are never without leaves, though the clove puts forth its leaves only every second year because the new growth is usually crushed at harvest time On the sides of the volcanic mountains of the interior, the atmosphere is healthier than in the marshy and disease-ridden lowlands. The soil on all the islands is usually black, dry, and highly porous No matter how much it rains this thirsty soil (lava) seemingly absorbs all the water. Even rivers which rise in the interior dry up before reaching the sea. Several of the islands have active volcanoes, the most vital of these to the Portuguese being the one on Ternate of which Barros gives a full description based on information received from Galvão.[586] The clove islands are far from being self-sufficient in the necessities of life. But nature has arranged it so that the islands supplement one another by the things which they produce. Halmahera has no cloves but it has plenty of foodstuffs to supply the islands where the cloves grow. Clay suitable for pottery manufacture is found only on one islet, between Tidore and Motir, which they call the "island of pots" (Pulo Cabale).[587] At the town of Gilolo on the large island of Halmahera they make the sacks for shipping cloves. Supported by the products of their neighbors, the five little islands produce the cloves sold everywhere in the world for these trees are found nowhere else.

Millet and rice in small quantities are available in the Moluccas, but the diet of the islanders is most dependent upon the products of the "sagum" (sago palm). This tree, similar in appearance to the date palm, has fronds which are of a darker green color, tenderer, and spongier. The trunk of the tree has leafy branches at its top and on them grows a fruit, similar to cypress nuts, within which one finds a powder. The trunk of the tree is a wooden shell in which there is nothing but a mass of tender and moist pith. The natives extract the moisture from the pith by letting it drip out overnight into a vessel This liquor is the color of whipped milk and they call it "tuaca."[588] Drunk fresh it has a sweet and agreeable taste and the reputation of being healthful and fattening. When cooked, this liquor can be converted into wine and vinegar. Once the pith is well drained of its sap, what remains is used as flour from which to make bread that is better than European biscuits. Two other trees, one of them being the nipa palm, also yield bread, wine, and vinegar. Nothing goes to waste from these trees, because the bark, fronds, and other remains are used for clothing, shelter, and other purposes. A superior wine, ordinarily reserved for the nobles, is distilled from large canes. The higher classes also live on the meat of pigs,

[586] Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op. cit* (n. 39), III, 258–59.

[587] *Ibid*, p 259, Barros explains that "Pulo" means "island" and "Cabale" means "pot" "Pulo" is a Malay word usually applied to islands or islets. See Crawfurd, *op cit* (n 34), p 361

[588] From Malay, *tuāq*, a term used throughout the eastern maritime world as far west as Madagascar. See Dalgado, *op cit* (n. 53), II, 388.

sheep, goats, and birds. The insular animals, according to Castanheda, reproduce several times each year in this tropical climate. One of the finest delicacies is the meat of certain curious rabbit-like animals who carry their young in pouches.[589] Seafood and fish are both abundant and excellent, and more common in the diet than meat. The Moluccas appear not to be endowed with metals, though it is rumored that gold may be found there.[590]

The people of the islands are tawny in color and have long hair, robust bodies, and strong limbs. Surly of countenance, they grow grey early even though they often live to ripe, old ages. They are greedy, deceitful, and unpleasant, and are quick to learn everything. Nimble of limb and agile of body, they swim like fish and fight with the swiftness of birds. Whatever work is done in the fields or the marketplace is accomplished by the women. The men are lazy and indolent about everything but war. They are a hard people to control because they refuse to be convinced by means other than the sword. In war they are efficient and so cruel that fathers and sons sometimes fight against each other. The victors in battle cut off the heads of their enemies as trophies and hang them up by the hair. They have no trading junks because the foreign merchants call at the Moluccas for the cloves, their only export. Native warships are large, well made, and propelled by oars, some of them having as many as 180 oarsmen on each side. Evil and strife are endemic to the Moluccas, for the clove, though a creation of God, is actually an apple of discord and responsible for more afflictions than gold.[591]

Internal hostilities and the multiplicity of their languages seem to indicate that the inhabitants of the Moluccas are of diverse origins In their everyday relationships with one another, these people are faithless, hateful, and constantly suspicious and watchful—not at all like the people of one nation. The languages commonly spoken in the islands vary widely, the speech of one place not being understood in the other.[592] Some form their words in the throat, others on the palate. If they have a common tongue through which they communicate, it is the Malay language of Malacca which was introduced by the Muslims to the nobility of the islands. Islam was reportedly accepted in Ternate a little more than eighty years before the Portuguese established a fortress there, or in about 1440.[593] Before this date, there are no historical records, only a few traditions preserved by word of mouth. During their pre-Muslim existence they had no written language, no calendar, and no weights and measures. Without knowledge

[589] Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n 79), III, 168, a reference to the marsupial variety of *cuscus*, a kind of kangaroo. See the comments of Henry O Forbes, *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago* (New York, 1885), pp 291–92

[590] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit.* (n. 39), III, 260–61

[591] Barros in *ibid*, pp 261–62, Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), III, 168–69.

[592] A very astute observation since the languages of south Halmahera and the Moluccas are completely unrelated to the Indonesian languages, and their origin is still a mystery to students of comparative linguistics

[593] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op cit* (n 39), III, 263, Pigafetta (see above, p 598) dates the introduction of Islam in Tidore about 1471 It is likely that Muslim merchants were active in Ternate before they penetrated Tidore.

of God and organized religion, they worshipped the sun, moon, stars, and earthly objects, even as the heathens living in the interior still do. The one tradition which all of them hold to firmly is the belief that they are not native to the islands but came originally from elsewhere.[594]

As elsewhere in the world, legends exist in the Moluccas which credit the rulers with divine origins The "bestial people" of these islands, according to Barros, have such a legend about the descent of their rulers. The fable avers that in times past when the islands were governed by elders there was a principal elder named Bicocigara living on the island of Bachan. One day, while he was being rowed along the edge of the coast, the principal elder saw among some huge rocks a large thicket of *rotas* (rattan),[595] young canes used as rope by the islanders. Bicocigara, thinking these reeds especially fine, sent his men ashore to cut them down and bring them to the boat. On arriving at the place indicated, the men were betrayed by their own vision and could see no canes. In great indignation Bicocigara went ashore, pointed out the reeds to his servants, and commanded them to be cut down. Blood began to run out of the severed reeds and they noticed at the roots four eggs which looked like those of a serpent. A voice was then heard which told them to take the eggs from which would be born their princes. The eggs were carried home and stored in a closed and safe place until three princes and a princess were born from them. Accepted readily and enthusiastically by the people, one of the princes reigned on Bachan, another on "Butam," and the other in the Papuas (New Guinea), east of the Moluccas. The princess married the ruler of the Lolodas, islands west of the northern arm of Halmahera, and from this couple descended the kings of Halmahera. It is because of their firm belief in this creation story that the Moluccans revere as a shrine the place in the great rocks where the eggs were supposedly found.[596] From the viewpoint of the cultural and political unity of the Moluccas, it should be noticed that the action in this story takes place in various islands and that it was apparently accepted as the story of origins for all of them.

Barros speculates that the Moluccas, parts of them at least, must have been covered by the seas until fairly recent times. He arrives at this conclusion because the Portuguese in the islands find seashells in holes dug in the earth and even at the roots of trees. Such a deduction is reinforced by the absence of references in the oral tradition to a long history, and to the persistence of stories about originating elsewhere. When they first arrived in the islands, the Moluccans lived under the rule of their elders, in virtual isolation. Soon the islands were visited by the junks of three nations: China, Java, and Malaya. In some way the naming of the island of Batochina do Moro (Halmahera) seems to be associated

[594] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n 39), III, 261–62.

[595] See Scott, *loc cit.* (n 545), pp 97–99

[596] *Ibid*, pp 263–64 This legend is also told by B Leonardo de Argensola in his *Conquista de las islas Malucas* (Madrid, 1609). See the reprint published at Saragossa in 1811, pp. 2–3 The probability is that he got this story from Barros because he cites the Portuguese chronicler on other matters having to do with the early history of the Moluccas.

with the arrival of the Chinese. Since "Bata" means "land," it could perhaps be deduced, Barros believes, that Batochina do Moro was the seat of a Chinese trading settlement and so was known in the Moluccas as "the land of China." It was only with the arrival of the Chinese that cloves became an item of international commerce and that they were used for something beside medicines.[597] The Chinese brought trading items and copper cash into the islands and carried out the cloves to the entrepôts of the East; from these marts they were transported to the rest of the world. The fame of this commerce increasing, the Javans soon began to come to the Moluccas. Following the decree of the Ming emperor forbidding venture overseas, Barros continues, the Chinese withdrew and the Javans became the masters of the clove trade for a time. With the founding of Singapore, and later Malacca, closer contact between the Malays and the Javans was established It was not long until the Malays began to participate in the spice trade and until they appeared in the Moluccas. When the Muslims became involved in Eastern commerce, they brought their religion with them The Muslims converted many Javans and Malays to the teachings of the Prophet, and they in turn helped to carry Islam to the Moluccas.[598]

Throughout history thirteen kings have ruled over Ternate and its dependencies. Tidore Vongue (also called Kĕchil or "Cachil"), the father of Boloife and the first to accept Islam, was apparently married to a Javanese noblewoman who helped to convert him. In 1520, when António de Brito arrived there, a minor of seven years was reigning, and, as we know from Pigafetta,[599] Tidore was in process of taking over the leadership in the archipelago's affairs. This usurpation was soon halted by the construction on Ternate of a Portuguese fortress and by the support which it lent to Ternate's position in politics and trade. The rulers of the Moluccas are all said to be Moors. They keep large harems and, along with their nobles who are called mandarins, dress in Malay style in rich silks decorated with gold and jewels. Castanheda describes at length their valuable arm-bracelets, earrings, and other personal adornments. These rulers receive no revenues from their subjects, are held in general esteem, and are considered divine by the common people.[600] Evidently the rulers of Ternate, as well as the dependent princes ("Sangages")[601] of the other islands, live entirely on the revenues derived from trade, imports, and middleman profits. It is clear from what all the writers report that negotiations for cloves went on directly between the ruler and the foreign merchants, and that the ruler acted essentially as an agent for both the buyers and the sellers of cloves.

The Portuguese and Malay merchants prefer to do their trading south of the

[597] Orta (in Markham [trans.], *op. cit.* [n 359], pp. 218–19) reports that he also heard this.

[598] Barros in Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op cit* (n. 39), III, 262–63.

[599] Above, p 595

[600] Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op cit* (n 79), III, 168–69

[601] From Malay, *sangá-agi*, meaning "prince." Evidently it is also used to mean "vassal prince." See Dalgado, *op cit* (n 53), II, 282–83.

Moluccas in the Banda Islands rather than going all the way to Ternate themselves. The Banda Islands, sometimes called the "Nutmeg group," were first surveyed by De Abreu in 1511. He had evidently learned from the Javan and Malay traders at Malacca that cloves as well as the native nutmegs and mace could be purchased in the Bandas. The islands known collectively as Banda include, according to Barros,[602] the individual island of Banda with its port of "Lutatão" (Lontar), as well as "Rosolanguim" (Rosingain), Ai, "Rõ" (Run), and Naira.[603] The island of Banda is a delight to see with its flat, horseshoe-shaped shoreline covered with shiny, sweet-smelling nutmeg trees. Its people are robust, white, and endowed with smooth, shiny hair. They are Muslims, though they have no kings but only elders as their governors. The men engage in commerce, while the women work in the groves cultivating the nutmeg and fruit trees of the island. All of the orchards are owned by the community and from June to September particular groups have the right to gather the harvest from assigned plots. The elders have a difficult time maintaining order, particularly in the seaports. The people of some of the neighboring islands specialize in piracy and prey upon the trade which centers at Banda.[604] While the Portuguese chroniclers give additional information on trading conditions both at Banda and in the Moluccas, they concern themselves primarily with Portuguese activities in the Spiceries. For the period after 1540, when the Portuguese chronicles cease, it is necessary to turn to the Jesuit letters and histories.[605]

Xavier visited and worked in the Spiceries for over one year (mid-February, 1546, to mid-April, 1547) of his eleven-year apostolate in the East. His first stop of any length was at Amboina where he spent over three months (February–June, 1546).[606] Then he lived through the summer of 1546 on the hot island of Ternate. In the middle of September he carried the gospel to the Moro Islands (roughly the northern arm of Halmahera and Morotai Island). After three months in these remote parts of the insular world, he started on the journey back to Malacca. He spent the first three months of 1547 on a second visit in Ternate while his vessel waited for the southwestward monsoon to blow it on the way back to Malacca.[607] Two of his letters of May 10, 1546, from Amboina were the first Jesuit letters from the Spiceries to be circulated in the sixteenth century. These letters were written after about three months of experience on the island.[608]

[602] Cidade and Múrias (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 39), III, 266

[603] For discussions of these identifications and a map see Leitão, *op. cit.* (n. 522), p. 49

[604] For additional information on the Bandas see Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 79), III, 155–56

[605] Maffei is very little help in this regard. His account (*op. cit.* [n. 98], I, 208–11) follows Barros closely and adds practically nothing. For the Jesuit letters from India see above, pp. 427–32.

[606] On his activities at Amboina see Wessels, *op. cit.* (n. 21), chap. 11, for a more nearly contemporary account see Guzman, *op. cit.* (n. 44), Vol. I, chap. xx. Also see above, pp. 281–82.

[607] Itinerary based on materials in Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 93), I, 339, 375, 348, 378, 384.

[608] Not published until Tursellinus' collection appeared in 1596, however, since they were the first letters from the Moluccas and widely circulated in manuscript and frequently cited in the sixteenth century, they will be discussed here.

Xavier apparently chose Amboina as his first stopover in the Spiceries because of what he heard in Malacca about its bright future in the Portuguese plan of empire. A regular port of call on the spice route, Amboina was the place where the fleets waited at anchor for several months to catch the monsoons to take them either to Ternate or Malacca. It was also the place where the crews of naval and trading vessels "relaxed" on board and ashore to the dismay of the natives and their own officials and priests. The Portuguese, who resided permanently in Amboina to service the fleets and to work in the spice trade, soon became involved in insular politics and civil hostilities. Many of them sided with the heathens of Amboina against their Muslim neighbors; in 1536, Portuguese sympathizers were sent to Malacca to request support for the *Oulisiva* (League of Nine), an alliance of states politically associated with Tidore and the pagans of Amboina and foe to the league of states headed by Ternate. It was at about this time also that certain heathen chieftains, desirous of having Portuguese aid, accepted Christianity. When Xavier arrived in the Spiceries, he found seven Christian settlements functioning on Amboina alone.[609]

Portugal's efforts to tighten its hold upon Amboina and the spice route brought a quick response from the Muslim merchant communities of Java and the Macassars. In 1538 a Javanese fleet attacked the Portuguese and their Moluccan allies at Amboina, and they were aided in this effort by several Muslim *kampongs* (villages) of Amboina. Once the invading fleet was beaten back, the conversions to Christianity became more numerous and the decisions of officials in Goa and Malacca came to have more meaning in Amboina. A particularly good example of growing Portuguese control is to be found in the case of Jordão de Freytas. This Portuguese, who visited at Ternate several times, had struck up a friendship with Tabarıdjı, the sultan of Ternate. When the sultan was summarily sent off to Goa in 1535 on a charge of disloyalty and treason to Portugal, Freytas visited him in prison and proceeded to convert him to Christianity. In gratitude to Freytas, the sultan bestowed Amboina and its environs upon him as a personal fief. This award was ratified in Lisbon, and Freytas was ordered to return to the Moluccas with Tabarıdjı to help reestablish him on his throne. Shortly before arriving at Malacca in 1545, the sultan died on board ship and by his will the throne of Ternate passed to the king of Portugal. Such dispositions were not recognized, however, by Hairun, who replaced Tabarıdjı as sultan of Ternate, and so conditions in the Spiceries became tenser than ever. Freytas sent his cousin to Amboina to construct a fortress on his property, and at this juncture Xavier decided to survey Portugal's latest overseas acquisitions as possible mission footholds.[610]

Shortly after Xavier's arrival at Amboina, the fleet of Fernão de Sousa da Tavora anchored there on the return from its expedition against the Spanish of

[609] See Wessels, *op. cit.* (n 21), pp 30–31.

[610] *Ibid*, pp. 33–34. Xavier expected Freytas to take over Amboina personally in November, 1547, but in this hope he was disappointed. See Schurhammer and Wicki (eds), *op cit.* (n. 93), I, 340

Villalobos' fleet. When the Portuguese fleet left for India on May 17, 1546, Xavier's letters to India and Europe went with it. For the enlightenment of his colleagues, Xavier explains that "... the region of Molucca is all islands, and, until now, no one has discovered a continent"[611] of the type postulated by Ptolemy. Seventy years before (*ca.* 1476), Islam was introduced into these islands and many who were originally heathens have since become Muslims. The gentiles and Moors hate each other, but fortunately the gentiles are still in the majority The pagans resist accepting the teachings of the Prophet because the Muslims make slaves of them. The weather is temperate in the Spiceries but it often rains. The islands are so mountainous and so thick with vegetation that it is hard to journey through them. In time of war the people retire to these mountains which serve them as fortresses. No horses exist on the islands, and even if they did they would be of no use in getting about. Earthquakes are frequent and terrifying especially when one is at sea, for the ship shakes and seems to be running aground on rocks.[612] Volcanoes erupt with noise so loud that no amount of artillery fire could equal it and with impetus enough to roll huge rocks along. "In the absence of anyone who can preach the torments of hell in these islands, God allows hell to break open to the confusion of these infidels and their abominable sins."[613]

The depravity of these people is almost beyond belief and Xavier finds himself not bold enough to describe their wantonness in detail. He contents himself with condemning the infidels for their barbarism, treachery, and ingratitude, and concludes that they are worse than Negroes. The Jesuit has been told about islands where aged fathers are eaten at ceremonial banquets, a story which Varthema and Balbi respectively tell about the natives of Java and Sumatra, and which other European writers of the period recount about other remote places and distant peoples. On another island, possibly Halmahera, Xavier has been told that those killed in battle are eaten. Each island has its own language and on some of them almost every town speaks a tongue of its own. Malay is the only language spoken commonly throughout the region, and it is for that reason that Xavier translated certain sacred writings into Malay while he was in Malacca. No writings in the native languages exist. All the writing which is done is in Malay and in the Arabic alphabet and script. Xavier also tells of milking a male goat (*cabrón*) which had only one teat (the genitals?), an animal which was thought of as being so remarkable for the milk it continually gave that a Portuguese gentleman planned on sending one back to Europe.[614] Before departing from Amboina for Ternate, Xavier reports that he will be going to Moro (Galela),[615] where Franciscans from Ternate had earlier (1533–44) made many converts among the pagans. The Jesuit points out that nobody

[611] *Ibid*, I, 328
[612] *Ibid*, pp. 331–33.
[613] *Ibid*, p. 333.
[614] *Ibid*, pp. 333–35
[615] *Ibid*, p. 325. Galela is located on the northeastern tip of the northern arm of Halmahera

looks forward to a visit to this Ultima Thule of the Moluccas since its people are reputed to be treacherous and specialists in poisoning those whom they fear or dislike. While Xavier spent three months in this wild country, he seems to have written very little about it aside from mentioning his visits to the scattered Christian communities there, the primitive conditions of life, and the shortages of food and water.

The Jesuit letters written in the decade (1547–57) after Xavier's visit to the Spiceries are likewise not very illuminating. From India and Malacca the fathers comment in open astonishment about the great distance to the Moluccas, the difficulties of traveling there, and the slowness of communication.[616] Rumors, sometimes accurate, are relayed to Europe from the Jesuits in India about the hardships of life in the Moluccas, the ease with which the islanders are converted, and the addiction of the islanders to the use of poison as a political weapon. The serious lack of personnel and leadership in India itself from 1552 to 1556 and the consequent breakdown in communications is partially to blame for the dearth of reports on the activities of Xavier's successors in the Spiceries. Brother Aires Brandão writes from Goa in 1554 that there are only two fathers, João de Beira and Affonso de Castro, in the Moluccas and that they have with them two lay brothers, Nicolau Nunes and Francisco Godinho.[617] Early in 1555, Goa nonetheless learned from a letter sent by Cristovão de Sá, captain of Malacca, that great progress was being made in evangelizing the Moluccas. Meager as these notices are, they were published in Europe almost as soon as they arrived there and were even republished in following decades.

The first systematic description of the Moluccas prepared by a Jesuit was that contained in the letter of Brother Luis Fróis from Malacca to Portugal written in November, 1556.[618] The author received his information directly from Father Beira and Brother Nunes when they returned to Malacca to seek more missionaries for the Spiceries. Fróis' letter was first published in Europe in the *Nuovi avisi* of 1559 after being translated into Italian, revised, and edited by Polanco.[619] Like the Portuguese chroniclers, Fróis mistakenly puts "the fortress of Maluquo" (Ternate) one degree south, instead of one degree north of the equator. Hairun, ruler of Ternate and sultan of the Moluccas, is obedient to the Portuguese at the fortress and comes whenever he is called. He is kind to the Portuguese and eager to co-operate with them in order to retain their aid in

616 Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), I, 19, 24, 34, 43. The *Diversi avisi* (Venice), beginning in 1558, published portions from the letters of João de Beira (Feb. 25, 1549, Ternate to Goa, in Eglauer [trans.], *op cit* [n. 181], I, 123–25; Feb 8, 1553, Cochin to Rome, in *ibid.*, I, 196–205), Manuel de Moraes (undated [1549?], Goa to Coimbra, in *ibid*, I, 22–26), Affonso de Castro (Jan. 18, 1554, Ternate to Goa, in *ibid*, I, 211–13, May 13 [1554?], Amboina to Goa, in *ibid*, I, 278–81), and Antonio Fernandez (Feb 27, 1554, Amboina to Goa, in *ibid.*, I, 214–17).

617 Wicki (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 80), III, 186.

618 Written at the behest of Baltazar Dias (Malacca, Nov 19, 1556) in *ibid*, III, 522–64

619 A somewhat abbreviated translation of this into German is available in Eglauer (trans.), *op cit.* (n 181), II, 1–26. It is derived from *Diversi avisi* (Venice, 1559) and represents what was actually published in the sixteenth century The European editors of the sixteenth-century edition telescope the explanations and omit a number of place names, but otherwise this is an accurate rendition of the original

extending his own power over a constantly larger number of islands. While he is outwardly accommodating to the missionaries, he is secretly the enemy of Christianity and plots the persecution and death of the converts. In public he criticizes the followers of Islam and the teachings of the Prophet, but he resists conversion to Christianity himself because "he thinks it a severe hardship to leave his many women."[620] Still, he is not beyond hope, for he understands and speaks Portuguese well[621] and simply needs continuing attention. Xavier himself was not able to convert Hairun, though he did succeed in bringing a number of women from his family to Christianity. The most important of the royal converts was the queen, Dona Isabel,[622] mother of Sultan Tabarijī[623] and stepmother of Hairun. Better informed about the tenets of Islam than other members of her family, Xavier took advantage of Dona Isabel's theological turn of mind to convince her of the truth of Christian teachings. Had her baptized son returned safely from India, Fróis believes Ternate and its dependencies would quickly have become a Christian province. Now she is badly treated by her stepson who has confiscated her lands, and she receives very little comfort from the Portuguese officials who work with Hairun.[624] Nonetheless, nobody dares to harm her personally because she is virtuous and honest, from the best blood in the Moluccas, the mother of a former sultan and sister of a former ruler of Tidore (Rājā Emir who reigned from 1526–47), and venerated by the common people.

Troubles between the rulers of Ternate and Gilolo, according to Fróis, involved the Portuguese and the missionaries in insular wars during 1550–51. A land located seven leagues (28 miles) from the Portuguese fortress at Ternate on the island of Halmahera, Gilolo had maintained its own stronghold for seventeen years (or since about 1533). In that period the sultan of Gilolo had captured guns and artillery from the native Christians and turned them against the Portuguese and their converts. A great tyrant, many of the converts suffered martyrdom at his hands. Hostilities between Ternate and Gilolo which previously had been sporadic, began to be regular in 1549. A Portuguese fleet under Bernardin de Sousa, captain of Ternate, finally laid siege to the fortress of Gilolo. For three months (December 28, 1550–March 19, 1551) the sultan of Gilolo held out against the small but carefully trained group of Portuguese besiegers. Finally forced to capitulate, the king of Gilolo lost his title, acknowledged himself to be the vassal of Ternate, and paid tribute to the Portuguese. "They say," Fróis reports, "that he killed himself with poison. His son has succeeded him in the kingdom."[625]

[620] Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 540.

[621] Confirmed by Xavier's remark in his letter of Jan. 20, 1548 (Schurhammer and Wicki [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 93], I, 386).

[622] Also known as Elizabeth Niachile Pocarago (*ibid.*, p. 126, n. 15).

[623] For his career see above, p. 610.

[624] Writing from Malacca in 1549 to Goa, Xavier asked that the Portuguese give her a pension and their unqualified support. See Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 93), II, 127.

[625] Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 543.

It is evident from the amount of material relayed to Fróis by Beira and Nunes that the missionaries to the Moluccas had spent a large part of their time following up work of evangelizing which had been undertaken earlier in Moro. From Fróis' letter we get for the first time an accurate description of what the Jesuits meant by the geographical term "Moro." Moro is twenty-five or thirty leagues (100 or 120 miles) beyond (i.e , north of) the town of Gilolo on Halmahera Island and is divided into two parts· Morotai and Morotia. The division called Morotai includes two islands which are respectively eight leagues (32 miles)[626] and three or four leagues (12 or 16 miles) from the island (Halmahera) on which Gilolo is located. The smaller of these is six or seven leagues (24 or 28 miles) and the larger is thirty-five leagues (140 miles) in circumference. Morotia is another large island which is said to have a circumference of 150 leagues (600 miles). From this description and from what can be inferred from other sources, Morotia seems in reality to be the northern promontory of Halmahera rather than a separate island. The two islands of Morotai probably refer to what we today call Loloda and Morotai which are located in the sea on either side of the tip of the northern promontory of Halmahera.[627]

Forty-six Christian communities, some of them with 700 to 800 inhabitants, are scattered along the coasts of these Moro territories.[628] The interior regions are peopled by barbaric pagans "who kill whomever they encounter to steal their clothes."[629] In the north of Morotai live white, unclothed savages who do not even know what weapons are. Others, of the same island, are peaceful, tattooed, well-formed, and similar in appearance to Brazilian Indians.[630] The tribal groups who live in these hinterlands are called the "Geilolos" (Gilolos), Ganes, "Bedas" (Wedas), Mabas, and "Bicholas" (Bitjolis).[631] The languages spoken in Moro are numerous, and within a distance of eight miles Nunes ran across languages as different from each other as French is from Portuguese.

From scattered references in Fróis' letter, it is possible to conclude that control of Moro was one of the issues in the war between Gilolo and Ternate. With the defeat of Gilolo in 1551, Ternate and the Portuguese apparently assumed uncontested suzerainty over this northern insular region. It also seems that in earlier times the kinglet of Loloda was the most powerful of the local rulers, and that the various chieftains of Loloda continued even while Portugal held sway in the area of Moro (1551–74) to be fairly independent of outside

[626] Wallace (*op cit* [n 94], p. 244) puts Morotai Island twenty-five miles from the northeastern tip of Gilolo

[627] For a map of the area with these names on it see Wessels, *op cit* (n 21), end of volume

[628] Wicki (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 548. The Jesuits in the Moluccas give 20,000 as the total number of Christian converts in Moro.

[629] *Ibid* , p. 543.

[630] *Ibid* , p 546.

[631] These tribal groups exist today in the eastern and southern parts of Halmahera (*ibid* , p. 543). Wallace (*op. cit* [n 94], p 243) notes that in the nineteenth century the indigenous people of Halmahera were confined to the northern peninsula Xavier (in Schurhammer and Wicki [eds], *op. cit.* [n 93], I, 380) mentions a group called the "Tavaros," possibly the Tabaru tribe of Halmahera, as being residents of the Moro area.

authority. The ruler of Tolo (in East Central Celebes), who supported Gilolo in its resistance to Ternate, likewise continued to be a thorn in the flesh of the missionaries. Occasionally the native Christians of Moro as well as the missionaries were personally attacked and their shrines and images desecrated. The converts would sometimes quarrel and fight with the pagans as each group sought to prove the greater merit and potency of its beliefs. The Jesuits were apparently forced to call upon their god to produce rain and other supernatural feats of the kind the pagans expected from their gods. Like most primitive peoples, the pagans of Moro have a vast pantheon of nature and familial gods. Spirits are everywhere at work and must be propitiated or exorcised. To frighten the spirits of the nether world and thereby prevent earthquakes and tremors, the natives beat the ground with sticks. They believe in forest nymphs (*charisique*) who damage their trees. Each individual, including the children, has his own god. Through this god, before whom ceremonies are performed, the individual makes contact with his ancestors. It is particularly difficult to convince the natives of the falsity of their beliefs in traditional gods and sorcery, because they do not possess the requisite vocabulary for the understanding and expression of religious ideas.

The Jesuits concern themselves considerably with the natural phenomena and environment of the Moluccas and Moro. Among other duties they bless the rice seeds of their converts before each planting and hold elaborate funeral services for native Christians. Aside from accommodating themselves to the practices and beliefs of these primitive agriculturists, the fathers note that the islands produce rice, ginger, and other foodstuffs. Fróis gives in some detail what can only be called a recipe for making sago bread, an item of paramount importance to the Europeans working and sailing in the Spiceries because it was the single most important food in their diet.[632] Wild chickens (*Magacephalon maleo*) in Moro lay large eggs which the natives gather and eat.[633] Crabs with claws larger than those of lobsters are trapped and eaten, but there is one black crablike creature which is deadly poisonous. The sea abounds in turtles which lay eggs, are themselves edible, and taste like mutton. Because the people of Moro have no cows on land, the Lord provides them with sea cows (manatees) which they catch in nets when the moon is low. The parts best for eating, and those which the Jesuits rate as good food, are the heads, necks, and teats.[634] The forests are alive with parrots which have no trouble imitating any language. On Ternate there are fantastic snakes (pythons) large enough to swallow a whole dog or goat, but which refrain from attacking people unless they are extremely hungry.[635]

[632] Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 544

[633] For a thorough discussion of this mound-building bird of Celebes and the Moluccas see Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–74.

[634] Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 545 The sea cow is called *duyong* in Malay. For discussion see Scott, *loc. cit.* (n. 545), XVII (1896), 135–37.

[635] Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 542 See Wallace (*op. cit.* [n. 94], p. 228) for his description of the python in Amboina which he judges is capable of "swallowing a dog or a child."

East of Morotai, Fróis reports, lies one of the largest islands of the area, the land of the Papuas.[636] The Jesuits learned of New Guinea from Papuan slaves in the Moluccas and from Castilians who had been there. A Spaniard who had been held prisoner in the land of the Papuas for ten or twelve years told the Jesuits in Ternate that the Papuas could be readily converted.[637] He reported that New Guinea is only seven or eight days distance from the Moluccas and that its people would welcome the Portuguese. The island is said to have seven hundred leagues (2,800 miles) of coast and to be located near to New Spain, possibly meaning that its eastern extremity lay close to what Fróis thought the Spanish demarcation to be. The island is rich in gold, its population is completely black, and many kings rule there. The natives, who look like Africans, are exceedingly clever, as evidenced by slaves working for the Portuguese, and show ability to grasp the essentials of the faith. Between Ternate and New Guinea countless other islands dot the sea and support people whose names are not known, except for the "Sumas" (in eastern Halmahera, now called Ngollopleppo), the "Gebes" (on Gebe island, east of Halmahera), and the "Gaiceas" (of Waigeu Island).[638] It can readily be seen from these observations that the Spanish informant of the Jesuits followed what has been the traditional trading route from the Malay world of the Moluccas to the Papuan world further to the east.[639] The Jesuits also heard from the Castilians about places to the north of the Spiceries where gold and cinnamon could be obtained called "Mindanoao" (Mindanao), "Tagima" (Tapima), and the "Xulas" (Sulu Islands).[640]

About lesser-known places in the Spiceries proper, Fróis comments on Celebes where the king of Manado[641] is a Christian and where the people are reputedly well disposed towards conversion. There is gold in this distant place, but not a single missionary. Southward from Manado are the Macassars where three Christian kings reign and uphold the faith even though no missionaries are now there to help them. The islands of the Amboina group contain many Christian communities and two churches.[642] All the inhabitants of Buru would become Christian if someone would go there to evangelize. The smallest island of the "Leasse" (Uliasser), probably Nusalaut, is entirely Christian, and "Loreçore" (Saparua), a cannon's shot away, has a number of older Christian communities and many recent converts. Before being drowned in 1554, Brother Antonio Fernandez baptized nearly thirteen hundred souls in Amboina

[636] Wicki (ed.), *op cit* (n. 80), III, 546–47.

[637] Possibly a sailor from the "San Juan" of the Villalobos expedition In 1545, Ynigo Ortiz de Retes, the commander of the "San Juan," sailed along the northern coast of New Guinea as he sought for a passage back to Mexico. Here he fought several engagements against hostile natives. It was Ortiz who claimed the island for the king of Spain and gave it the name "New Guinea " See Wichmann, *op cit.* (n. 535), pp. 23–28.

[638] Wicki (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 80), III, 547.

[639] Cf. the sketch map of Wallace's voyage of 1860 from Waigeu to Ternate, *op. cit* (n. 94), p. 411.

[640] Wicki (ed.), *op cit* (n 80), III, 559–60.

[641] *Ibid.*, p 559. Manado is at the extreme northern tip of this tentacled island and directly west of Halmahera.

[642] *Ibid*, pp. 560–61.

and noted their names down on a register so that they would not be forgotten. Another nearby island is "Varanura" (Seram) where many still await redemption. After a fervent plea and exhortation to Europe for more missionaries, Fróis brings his letter to a close with the flat statement: "Europe has sufficient religious; the East hardly any."[643]

The cry for more workers in the Spiceries was to sound incessantly throughout the sixteenth century. Beira and Nunes, as a result of their visit to Goa in 1557, returned to the Moluccas at the end of the year with a company of nine (four fathers and five brothers), including themselves. More than one-fifth of all the Jesuits in the East outside of Goa (nine of forty-four) were in the Moluccas in 1557, and in the College at Goa lived one boy from Macassar and another from Amboina.[644] The Molucca mission, after a slow start, seemed to be on the verge of prospering, and in Europe several reports on its progress appeared in the *Diversi* and *Nuovi avisi* (Venice) of 1558, 1559, 1562, and 1565, in the *Epistolae Indicae* (Louvain, 1566), in the *Epistolae Indicae et Japonicae* (Louvain, 1570), and in the *Nuovi avisi* (Brescia) for 1571.

In a report written in 1559 addressed to the fathers in Portugal, Fróis includes an account of the conversion of the Sultan of Bachan and his subjects in the summer of 1557.[645] It appears that the sultan of this island group located "twenty leagues [80 miles] from Maluquo [Ternate] in the direction of Amboine [Amboina]"[646] was the nephew of Sultan Hairun. On a visit to Ternate the young ruler evidently eloped with his cousin, Hairun's daughter, and took her home with him. Shortly thereafter, the girl died in childbirth and the young husband became fearful of Hairun's wrath. To counter any moves which Hairun might make, the ruler of Bachan secretly sent an emissary to the Portuguese fortress at Ternate to ask for support and the dispatch of a missionary to his island. Father Antonio Vaz arrived at Bachan on June 23, 1557, and formally converted the young sultan and his advisers after a week of instruction. The Sultan, who had previously been a Muslim, was given the Christian name, John, since he was baptized on the feastday of Saint John (July 1). The newly

643 *Ibid*, p 563. He estimates (*ibid*, p 561) that in 1556 there were probably 50,000 converts in Amboina and Moro, the two largest Christian centers in the Spiceries At that time there were but two brothers in Moro, one father in Ternate, and nobody in Amboina But it should also be recalled that there was a shortage of Jesuits everywhere in the East

644 See "Catalogue of the India Province" in *ibid.*, pp. 783–91. The boy from Amboina was the son of the Muslim ruler of Nusatelo (or Asilulu) of the Hittu peninsula of Amboina, the father was known as "a great persecutor of Christians."

645 From Goa (November 14, 1559) and written at the behest of Quadros, the Provincial of India. In *ibid*, IV, 347–50 It was published in Europe in 1562, 1566, 1569, and 1570. Notice arrived in Europe in this same letter of the conversion of the ruler of Timor and of the request sent by him to Malacca for the dispatch of a missionary to his island For a much more detailed account of the mission in the Bachan archipelago see C. Wessels, "De Katholieke Missie in het Sultanaat Batjan (Molukken), 1557–1609," *Historisch Tydschrift*, VIII (1929), 115–48, 221–45.

646 For discussion of the eighty small islands of the Bachan archipelago, its population of less than 12,000 (1925), and its great store of sago see W Ph Coolhaas, "Mededeelingen betreffende de onderafdeeling Batjan," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, LXXXII (1926), 403–85. The young sultan evidently lived on the island of Kasiroeta at this time.

converted ruler then helped Vaz to destroy the mosque and accompanied him on a tour of the island. For four and one-half months Vaz instructed Sultan John and baptized men, women, children, and slaves. John, according to Vaz, is "a courteous and civil man, and, if he were a little whiter, would be taken for a Portuguese." After Vaz's departure, Brother Fernão d'Osouro stayed for a time at the side of the royal convert.[647] In the war which the chagrined Hairun launched against the Portuguese and Bachan, the young sultan remained steadfastly on the side of his Portuguese allies. Hairun's siege of the Portuguese fortress on Ternate cut off communications for several years between the missionaries in the Spiceries and their colleagues in Malacca and Goa.[648] Jesuits captured by the Moors were ruthlessly executed, a number of them suffering martyrdom in 1558–60. In 1559, Hairun himself was captured and held prisoner for a short time until he agreed to co-operate with the Portuguese. The Jesuits nonetheless continued to suspect his loyalty and to persist in believing that he was plotting treachery.[649]

The lengthiest letter written directly from the Moluccas, of those printed after reinforcements arrived in 1557, was from the pen of Father Pero Mascarenhas.[650] Dated from Ternate on November 12, 1564, this letter records both the victories and the defeats of the mission. Like most of the edifying letters, its theme is simple and direct: there would be more victories for the faith and fewer setbacks if more missionaries were available and if the Portuguese administrators would concern themselves to protect the Christians, would sublimate their personal desires for trade and wealth, and would consequently make fewer concessions to the stiff-necked Hairun. In May, 1563, Mascarenhas reports, Hairun outfitted an armada to attack northern Celebes and gave the command to his son, Crown Prince "Baba" (Bāb-Ullāh).[651] When the Jesuits at Ternate realized that an attack was being planned against the Christian rulers and converts at Manado, they determined to send Father Diogo Magalhães to prepare the Christians there for the expected onslaught. Hairun tried to prevent the dispatch of the Portuguese fleet, for he considered the rulers of these places to be his vassals. After some delay, the Portuguese fleet finally sailed with Magalhães aboard.

During the summer of 1563 the Jesuit father visited and made conversions at Manado, "Sichao" (Sangihe Islands), and at the towns dependent on Manado —"Bola" (Bolaäng), "Caurıpa" (probably at the tip of the promontory), and

[647] Baltazar Dias to Miguel de Torre, Provincial of Portugal (Malacca, December 1, 1559), in Wicki (ed.), *op cit.* (n 80), IV, p 483, Fróis to the Fathers in Portugal (Goa, December 1, 1560) in *ibid*, pp. 741–42, Quadros to General Lainez in Rome (Bassein, November 28, 1561), in *ibid*, V, 239

[648] Fróis to Marco Nunes in Portugal (Goa, December 12 [?], 1560) in *ibid.*, IV, 835 D'Osouro was an illiterate, poorly prepared for this task, in Fróis' view, since he "barely knows how to recite the prayers"

[649] Manuel Teixeira to Marco Nunes in Portugal (Bassein, December 4, 1561), in *ibid*, V, 316.

[650] Translated in Eglauer, *op cit.* (n 181), II, 279–90

[651] The year before, in 1561, a similar fleet had joined with some Javan junks to besiege the Christian settlements on the northern coast of Amboina (Wessels, *op cit.* [n 21], p 64).

"Totole" (Toutoli).[652] This northern coast of the northern promontory of Celebes lay between the Muslim kingdoms of Ternate and "Chigliguzarate" (unidentified) and seems to have had regular relations with Gilolo and Morotai on the opposite side of the Molucca Sea. It is likely that the peoples of this region also belonged to a group who are vaguely called "Batachinas" by the Portuguese and Jesuits.[653] A bellicose people, the subjects of the ruler of Manado were probably eager to accept Christianity in an effort to retain their independence from the more powerful Muslims who surrounded them. The island of "Sichao" is reported as having twenty-five thousand inhabitants, an army six thousand strong, and plentiful supplies of food and water.[654] The ruler of this island, shortly after Magalhães' stopover, personally visited the Portuguese fortress at Ternate.

In the Moluccas the Jesuits fear most the perfidy and machinations of Hairun and inveigh against the efforts which the Portuguese administrators and merchants make to appease him in the interests of trade. The Jesuits themselves continually concentrated their own attention upon converting and concluding alliances with his political and hereditary enemies. In 1564, a few days before Mascarenhas wrote his letter, the Jesuits baptized a male cousin of the ruler of Tidore, an influential and wealthy nobleman "whose conversion will, we hope, help to promote that of the whole of Tidore "[655] This event occurred at a time when the Sultan of Ternate was trying to dethrone his seventeen-year-old rival at Tidore. Hairun, who must have been as outraged with the Jesuits as they were with him, began in 1564 to make overtures to appease Mascarenhas. This transformation is brought about, Mascarenhas thinks, by Hairun's fear that the Jesuits will finally manage to bring Tidore to Christianity and that the Portuguese will then switch the center of their mercantile activities to the rival island. In an interview with Mascarenhas, Hairun agreed in November, 1564, to give the Jesuits freedom to preach in his realm and to attend their services himself in the company of his sons. While pleased by this turn of events, Mascarenhas concludes that the wily Sultan knows that "if the king of Tidore accepts the faith and he rejects it, he [Hairun] has nothing more to hope for from the viceroy [Henrique de Sá] and everything to fear."[656] For the moment the Jesuits seemed to have matters under control at Ternate; and their Christian ally, the ruler of Bachan, meanwhile protected the Christian communities in Amboina from Muslim reprisals by stationing his fleet in nearby waters[657]

But Mascarenhas is describing the calm which precedes a storm. Early in 1565

[652] Xavier (Schurhammer and Wicki [eds], *op cit* (n 93), II, 113) mentions Toutoli as one of the places to be evangelized For a general review of this mission see C Wessels, "De Katholicke Missie in Noord Celebes en de Sangi Eilanden, 1563–1605," *Studien*, CXIX (1933), 365–69

[653] Also see Mascarenhas in Eglauer (trans), *op cit* (n. 181), II, 327 For a map of the Minahasa part of Celebes see Wallace, *op cit* (n 94), p 189

[654] Based on Magalhães' letter from Manado of Aug 5, 1563, which is included in Mascarenhas' letter of Nov 12, 1564, as translated in Eglauer (trans), *op cit* (n. 181), II, 280–84

[655] *Ibid* , p 286

[656] *Ibid* , p. 289.

[657] Wessels, *op cit.* (n. 21), p 64

the Christian communities in the Amboinas were pillaged, burned, and their people killed and scattered by the combined forces of Ternate and the Muslim Javans.[658] The Portuguese commandant at Ternate meanwhile, much to the indignation of the Jesuits, decided not to interfere at Amboina. A large fleet carrying more than one thousand men was shortly thereafter, in 1566–67, outfitted at Goa to recapture the Moluccas. It left Malacca in August, 1567, under the command of Gonçales Pereira Marranaque. He plotted his course to the Moluccas around the north of Borneo, probably to seek out the Spanish of the Legaspi expedition who were thought to be violating the Portuguese demarcation. The fleet did not arrive in the Spiceries until 1568 and Marranaque still continued to be more interested in the Spanish than in straightening out the affairs of the Moluccas. In 1569, however, he led an expedition against the Muslims in Amboina accompanied by levies furnished him by Bachan and Tidore. Here, after driving the Javans and local Muslims into the interior, he built a strong, palisaded fortress. In the meantime, in 1568, Diogo Lopez de Mesquita had arrived in the Moluccas, accompanied by Mascarenhas, to take over as the new captain of Ternate.

In the early months of 1569, in this atmosphere of new hope and optimism, letters were written from Ternate by two old hands, Nicolau Nunes and Mascarenhas. Two years later, both letters appeared in Italian translation in the *Nuovi avisi* then being published at Brescia. Nunes, the senior member of the mission and personal acquaintance of Xavier, writes that the Moluccas promise now to be the most fruitful vineyard in which the Jesuits toil.[659] While most of the mission stations are located only in the coastal towns of Ternate, Bachan, Celebes, and the Moro Islands (notice the absence of Amboina from this list), the Muslims can certainly be annihilated in these islands "if more workers become available." Magalhães still works with success in Celebes, now being at Tolo in the eastern and central part of the island. Nunes himself is in Morotai at the city of "Sequita" (unidentified) and is aided by Brother Antonio Gonçalvez who recently visited the nearby island of Rau. Churches have been built in almost all the Christian settlements in Morotai. Great progress is likewise being recorded in Bachan by Fernão Alvares, whose converts are better able to grasp and understand Christian teachings than the more primitive pagans of Moro. Besides these heathens there are many others, particularly the Papuans, who are eager to have the faith brought to them. On one occasion, when in Bachan, Nunes saw some visiting chieftains from New Guinea who expressed the desire to become Christian like their host.

Mascarenhas, shortly after arriving at Ternate, accompanied an expedition which was sent in September, 1568, to help restore the Christian king of "Sion" (Sião or Siam in Lower Macassars) to his possessions in northern Celebes. In a

[658] In an official report (Goa, November 25, 1565) from Quadros to General Lainez, the Provincial of India observes: "The fathers have been expelled from Amboina by the Moors who have taken over the islands and the 70,000 Christians in them." See Wicki (ed.), *op cit* (n. 80), VI, 493.

[659] Eglauer (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 181), II, 317–22

letter written shortly after his return to Ternate from this expedition[660] Mascarenhas explains that the subjects of the king of "Sion" joined in the general revolt of 1565 against the Portuguese. The king with his family were thereafter forced to flee to Ternate for protection. It was apparently the arrival of Marranaque's fleet which enabled the Portuguese to delegate a task force to accompany the deposed ruler on the return to his homeland. Word had been received in Ternate, previous to the departure of the expedition, that the king would be welcomed back by his own people. Upon arriving at Manado, Mascarenhas learned, however, that only half of the king's territories were willing to acknowledge him and that he would probably have to fight to regain control over the others. After delivering the king to "Sion" and making a mild display of their arms, the task force had to depart in order to rendezvous with the rest of the Portuguese fleet. The king, Mascarenhas, and two Portuguese aides were left behind and they then took sanctuary in a village near "Sion." Upon hearing of the Jesuit's presence, envoys came to him from the king of "Sanguim" (in the Sangihe Islands), to request baptism for their sovereign.

On the feast of St. Francis (October 4), Mascarenhas, accompanied by eight ships and the king of "Sion," left for and arrived at "Sanguim." He was then taken to the residency and principal city of "Calanga" (Kalama?) where he stayed for several days, just long enough to baptize the royal family and nobles of both sexes, to erect a cross, and to begin construction of a church. Thereafter the expedition began its return to the lands of the king of "Sion"; on November 2 Mascarenhas was evidently dropped off at the city of Manado. After ten days here, the Jesuit went on to Bolaäng to pick up a youthful convert whom Magalhães had left there. Finally, he arrived at "Cauripa" where the king of "Sion" was scheduled to meet units from the Portuguese fleet which would help him quell those territories still in revolt. Though the expected aid failed to appear in January, 1569, two armed Portuguese vessels (probably manned by freebooters) ultimately arrived on the scene and their captain offered his ships and men to the king. After a siege of several days, these forces captured and occupied two strategic centers and the king of "Sion" then felt that he was in command of the situation. When Mascarenhas left for Ternate in February, 1569, he took with him the king's oldest son, a nine-year-old boy, to be brought up as a Christian under the Jesuits.

The forecast of Christian victories and future conquests in these two letters of 1569 was overly optimistic. The government of Diogo Lopez de Mesquita at Ternate quickly ran into new trouble with Hairun and the Muslim alliance which he commanded. Mesquita, vexed by the craftiness of Hairun and perturbed by internal questioning of his own policies, agreed in 1570 to a conference with the Sultan. At this meeting Hairun was brutally stabbed to death by the nephew of Mesquita at the instigation of his uncle. This act put Bāb-Ullāh into power on Ternate, and he at once took an oath of vengeance. War broke out in various places between the Portuguese and the confederation of Muslim rulers, and the

[660] Dated March 6, 1569, from Ternate. See *ibid.*, pp 322–30.

fortress at Ternate was put under siege. For nearly five years the Portuguese withstood the siege, but their fortress finally fell in 1574. The Christian communities, many of which were located in places subject to Ternate, were doomed. The only place to hold out against the forces of Bāb-Ullāh was Amboina, and refugees from the other places poured into it. Finally, in 1578, the Portuguese regained enough strength to return to the clove islands and to build a fortress at Tidore, the island which had traditionally fought against the extension of Ternate's influence. For the period from 1571 to 1578 not a missionary letter from the islands is extant, a reflection of the almost complete annihilation of the Christian enterprise in the Spiceries.[661] In Europe, nothing at all was published by the Jesuits on the Spiceries during the last generation of the sixteenth century,[662] except for the reprinting of earlier materials. Even Guzman, who gives a summary of Jesuit activities in the Spiceries in his *Historia de las missiones* (1601), records nothing about events there for the years after 1570.[663] The thick veil of silence covering the Jesuit writings is probably to be accounted for by the political and religious difficulties as well as by the internecine differences which plagued the Europeans in the Moluccas during the last generation of the century.

The only substantial, eyewitness record of the changed situation in the Moluccas was printed in 1600 in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (III, 730–42). It is entitled *The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea . . . begune in the yeere of our Lord 1577*, and is probably a compendium produced by Hakluyt himself on the basis of several manuscript accounts written by participants in Drake's voyage.[664] From *The Famous Voyage* we learn that Drake arrived in the Moluccas on November 14, 1579, almost two years after his departure from Plymouth. While coasting off the island of Motir on the way to Tidore, Drake's vessel was hailed by some *praus* from Ternate which had officials aboard. The Englishman, who probably had known before leaving England about Ternate's earlier alliance with Portugal,[665] had to be convinced by the Ternate spokesmen who came aboard that the situation had changed and that he would be accorded a friendly reception by Bāb-Ullāh, now the enemy of Portugal. Drake, finally resolving to approach Ternate rather than Tidore, anchored in Bāb-Ullāh's harbor on the following day. He sent the Sultan a

[661] Wessels, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 90.

[662] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[663] *Op cit* (n. 44), I, 178–88. This is particularly striking, because his information on many other places, such as south India, is very current The first seventeenth-century book to deal with this period in detail is Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.* (n. 596).

[664] There is some question when this account was first printed, but by 1600 it existed in a number of published versions in English, Dutch, and German For its publication history and authorship see Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World, Its Aims and Achievements* (San Francisco, 1926), pp 238–41.

[665] Contrast the statement (*ibid*, p 177) "When Drake left England, it is hardly likely that he had sufficient knowledge of political conditions in the islands to induce him to seek any one in particular." Such a conclusion hardly seems justified in the light of what Englishmen could readily have known from printed materials alone about political conditions in the Moluccas.

velvet cloak as a token of his peaceful intentions and a message which indicated that he had come to trade and nothing else. A response quickly came from shore that the Sultan would be happy to trade and that "he would yeelde himselfe, and the right of his Island to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince. . . ."[666] Though it is unlikely that Bāb-Ullāh actually offered vassalage to England, the East India Company later claimed that this "verbal treaty" gave England certain rights in the Moluccas.[667]

Drake's vessel, the "Golden Hind," was shortly thereafter towed into a safer haven by four large *praus* sent out to it. The Sultan himself then came out to the ship accompanied by his retinue. This royal procession is described in some detail in *The Famous Voyage*, and Bāb-Ullāh is depicted as a tall man who was greatly delighted by the music which he heard aboard the "Golden Hind." After the Sultan's departure, provisions were sent to the ship from shore along with a quantity of cloves Not long thereafter the Sultan, who had promised to return to the ship, sent his brother instead and requested Drake to come ashore. Fearing treachery, Drake declined the invitation and sent a number of his men to the beach in company with the ruler's brother. The English delegation was taken to the royal residence where a thousand persons were assembled to see them. Here they were received in state by the elders, and evidently the Sultan himself appeared on the scene. After this reception, Drake decided to leave Ternate with his cargo of provisions and cloves in order to be on his way to distant England. The observations which the Englishmen made at Ternate add nothing of significance to what was already available in other European sources. Probably the most valuable remarks are those which have to do with the dress and display of the court and the descriptions of the *praus* which came out to the ship. On a silver cup, which Queen Elizabeth is said to have presented to Drake in 1580 on his return, there is engraved the scene of the four *praus* towing the "Golden Hind" into the roads of Ternate, an indication of the great importance which the queen attached to the establishment of relations with the Spiceries.[668] The *mappemondes* published after the circumnavigation of the world by Drake and Cavendish include geographical data on the Moluccas and Celebes acquired during these voyages.[669]

8

The Philippine Islands

Claims have repeatedly been advanced that, long before Magellan reached the Philippines in 1521, they were visited by European travelers and merchants. Vague and unidentifiable references in the writings of Marco Polo, Odoric of

[666] From text of *The Famous Voyage* as reprinted in *ibid*, p 279.
[667] See *ibid.*, p. 182. [668] *Ibid.*
[669] *Ibid.*, pp 405–37. For the Spanish view of Drake as the first of the "heretical pirates" to invade the Iberian world in the East see Argensola, *op. cit.* (n. 596), pp. 104–9.

Pordenone, and Varthema have been pounced upon in vain attempts to prove that these early authors touched upon the Philippines in the course of their travels.[670] That Ibn Batuta made a halt in the Philippines in the mid-fourteenth century when his ship was driven off course by a typhoon seems to be a more firmly founded conjecture.[671] It is possible that Francisco Serrão, who had been sent out by Albuquerque to reconnoiter the trade routes and who had been shipwrecked in 1512, may have gotten to the island of Mindanao.[672] Other Portuguese ships in these early years may also have been wrecked, or may even have called intentionally at certain of the southern Philippine Islands. It is well known that later Portuguese vessels on their way to the Spiceries were blown beyond the Moluccas and thereby discovered a number of other islands in their vicinity. When Magellan arrived at Malhón Island (more commonly Homonhón)[673] in what is now called the Gulf of Leyte, he was told by the natives that they had already seen others of his kind.[674]

These earliest contacts with the outside world notwithstanding, the Philippines were first discovered, in any meaningful sense of the term, by the Magellan expedition. Europe quickly heard about the islands uncovered by the Spanish from the published writings of Maximilian of Transylvania (1523) and Pigafetta (*ca.* 1525). A truncated Italian version of the Pigafetta story appeared at Venice in 1536.[675] Nothing more is learned about the later Spanish experiences in the islands until the publication of Oviedo's Book XX in 1548. Two years later Ramusio republished Maximilian and the truncated version of Pigafetta, and published for the first time Pires' short account (prepared *ca.* 1515) as well as the report by Juan Gaetano on the Ruy Lopez de Villalobos expedition (1542–43) which sailed from Mexico to the Philippines.[676] A few additional details on the Spanish activities in the western Pacific were incorporated into Gómara's *Historia* published in 1552. Accounts of later events in the Philippines, after the

[670] Alfredo Gumma y Marti, "El archipiélago Dondin, el nombre de Luzon y los origenes del Christianismo en Filipinas," *Boletim de la real sociedad geografica* (Madrid), XXXIX (1897), 21–46, also Austin Craig, *Pre-Spanish Philippine History and the Beginnings of Philippine Nationalism* (Madrid, 1935), pp. 91–101 The evidence advanced is not substantial enough to support these conjectures.

[671] Zaide, *op. cit.* (n. 208), p. 119.

[672] A. Galvão in Bethune (ed.), *op cit* (n 524), pp. 117–18 For an exposition of the theory that Magellan himself had secretly visited the Philippines from Malacca in 1512 see C M Parr, *So Noble a Captain* (New York, 1953), p 328.

[673] See Andrew Sharp, *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands* (London, 1960), p. 13 Alternative names for Malhón are Homonhón and Jomonjol. See U.S. War Department, Bureau of Insular Affairs, *Pronouncing Gazetteer and Geographical Dictionary of the Philippine Islands* (Washington, 1902). At present Homonhón is a barrio (pop. 1,960) of the municipality of Guinan (Samar Province).

[674] See Cortesão (ed.), *op cit.* (n 46), I, 133–34, n. 2

[675] Italian version translated from the original French summary of *ca.* 1525 The part on the Philippines is in *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, I (Venice, 1554), 389v–400v It is this Ramusio text which was translated by Richard Eden into English in *Decades of the Newe World* (1555) and republished by Purchas in 1625 The complete Pigafetta manuscript did not see print until 1800, the modern, authoritative edition is Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), I, 99–193, II, 13–25. The most significant omissions in the texts published in the sixteenth century are. certain miraculous events, stories of sexual practices, some place and personal names, and the list of Bisayan words

[676] Gaetano's itinerary was probably written in 1546 or 1547; it was addressed to the Emperor Charles V.

Spanish conquest began in 1565, are included in the histories of China by Escalante and the Augustinian, Mendoza. These works, supplemented by incidental data in Linschoten,[677] constitute the narrative accounts published during the sixteenth century. Though the Jesuits arrived in the Philippines in 1581, a survey of the letters printed in the sixteenth century shows that they were extraordinarily silent about their early activities in the islands. The first book published by a member of the Philippine province of the Society appeared at Rome only in 1604.[678]

The Philippines were not slow to appear on European maps after the return of Magellan's crew to Europe. An anonymous chart, prepared in about 1522 and attributed to Pedro Reinel, includes the inscription "Islas s. Lazaro," the name given by Magellan to the Philippines in honor of St. Lazarus on whose feast day the expedition jubilantly sighted the mountainous archipelago.[679] Other data provided by Juan Sebastián del Cano were incorporated into the anonymous planisphere of 1527 attributed to Diogo Ribeiro, the first cosmographer of the *Casa de Contratación* in Seville.[680] Particularly striking are the additions on an anonymous chart of about 1535 which delineate the southern Philippines and name particular islands. Cebu and Negros are shown, and Mindanao is correctly depicted as the largest and southernmost of the islands.[681] The delineation is improved upon in subsequent representations and a map published in 1554 by Ramusio includes not only the individual islands mentioned above but also the inscription "Filipina," a name which was given by Villalobos to a single island in 1543[682] and which quickly became the official designation for the entire archipelago shortly after the prince for whom it was named became King Philip II.

The paucity and slightness of the published materials, whether maps or narratives, contrasts sharply with the importance which certain of them have had for the historiography of the pre-Spanish period of Philippine history. Almost no native writings of the pre-conquest period are extant, and significant archeological remains and inscriptions are few.[683] Aside from the European sources, the historical records of the pre-Spanish period are limited to scattered references in the sparse annals of the neighboring insular areas and in the Chinese histories. Given the poverty of indigenous sources, the firsthand observations of a Pigafetta or the secondhand account of a Maximilian of Transylvania no longer seem so slight. Consequently, historians of the Philippines have long looked upon these two early European tracts as sources of focal

677 Linschoten's account (in Burnell and Tiele [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 25], I, 123–24) is extracted from Mendoza, but has also a few personal comments on the veracity of the Spanish account

678 Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabaido los padres de la Compañia de Jésus* (Rome, 1604)

679 Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit.* (n. 2), I, 35–36.

680 *Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.

681 *Ibid.*, pp. 123–24

682 This map was probably drawn by Giacomo Gastaldi. See Carlos Quirino, *Philippine Cartography (1320–1899)* (2d rev. ed.; Amsterdam, 1963), p. x

683 Zaide, *op. cit.* (n. 208), pp. 40–41.

importance which they have systematically combed and recombed for each tiny fragment of specific information. They have somehow not been so thorough in their survey of the materials in Oviedo and Ramusio which are also important for the pre-conquest period.

The historian of the Spanish debut on Philippine soil (from 1565 to 1600) has available, by contrast, an abundance of material. He has a few printed sources from the last generation of the sixteenth century, the published materials, however, become numerous only after 1600. He can consult also a substantial number of sixteenth-century documents, most of which have been collected and published only within the last century.[684] What is missing so far is a synthesis of the voluminous materials contained in the great source collections in print and in the archives. No detailed and satisfactory history of the Philippines exists for either the pre-conquest or the Spanish period. In part, because of the difficult source problem, a new approach to the history of the Philippines has been tried in recent years which stresses working carefully back from the present into the past. Called ethnohistory for want of a better name, it seeks to bring the disciplines of anthropology and history into closer collaboration in an effort to integrate and evaluate the growing corpus of primary material with the aid of contemporary archeological, linguistic, and native testimony.[685]

Like a number of other insular peoples, natives of the Philippine Islands were first "discovered" by the Portuguese in the Strait of Malacca. Pires, who wrote in about 1515 on the basis of information available to him in Malacca, refers to the "Luções" (Luzones) as an insular people who live "ten days' sail beyond Borneo."[686] The merchants and sailors from Luzon, as seen from Malacca, trade in both Borneo and in the new Portuguese colony. They are mostly heathens, and they are little esteemed in Malacca. Still they are strong, industrious, and given to useful pursuits; in many of their ways they resemble the people of Borneo and these two groups are treated as being from one place in the Malacca community of foreign merchants. In their own country, the "Luções" have plenty of foodstuffs, wax, honey, and gold of a very inferior grade. They have no king, but are governed by a group of elders.[687] It is only in recent years that they have begun coming to Malacca. Around 1515 about

[684] For a review of the manuscript and printed sources see John L Phelan, *The Hispanization of the Philippines. Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses* (Madison, Wis , 1959), pp. 199–210, for a survey of the manuscript sources on trade at Seville see Pierre Chaunu, *Les Philippines et le Pacifique des Ibériques* (Paris, 1960), for the Jesuit materials see H de la Costa, S. J., *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), pp 629–33.

[685] The University of Chicago project on the Philippines headed by Fred Eggan is an outstanding example of this new approach. For example, see Eggan *et al.*, *The Philippines* (Human Relations Area Files [4. vols., New Haven, 1955]).

[686] Cortesão (ed), *op cit* (n 46), I, 133. This is the first reference to Luzon in European literature. By 1563, on the basis of reports from a Portuguese who evidently got to Luzon in 1545, the name "Luçoes" begins to appear on maps (*ibid* , n 2)

[687] A vague reference to the *barangay*, a unit of settlement and government normally ruled over by a *datu* or *raha* and a council of elders, this small community organization survives today in the islands as the barrio. The term *barangay* is also used to refer to the ships in which the original settlers are presumed to have come to the islands. Zaide, *op. cit* (n. 208), pp. 67–68.

five hundred "Luções" are reported to reside in "Mjjam" (Minjani),[688] a town on the western side of the peninsula between Malacca and Kedah. This group includes a number of important merchants who would like to trade at Malacca, but who cannot get permission to leave Minjani because that town is still secretly supporting the Malay sultan in his fight against the Portuguese.[689]

Upon arriving in the western Pacific, Magellan first landed in the Ladrones (Marianas) and touched on its southernmost islands of Guam and Rota.[690] While Maximilian reports that these islands are uninhabited, Pigafetta from his own experience there paints a fascinating word picture of the islanders. They live in freedom with no lord over them and no formal religion. In appearance they are tawny, well-formed, and as tall as Europeans. They wear what is fairly common tropical dress—small palm-leaf hats, long hair and beards, and very little else They subsist on a diet which includes coconuts, batatas or sweet potatoes, birds, flying fish, bananas, and sugar cane. Primitive as they are, the women remain indoors and spend most of their time weaving palm leaves into mats, baskets, and other household necessities. Their wooden houses are covered with planks and banana leaves and are well furnished with palm mats. They sleep on soft and good beds of shredded palm straw. The only arms which they carry are spears with points of fishbone. For their only recreation they take excursions in their little black and red boats which resemble the gondolas that ply between Fusine and Venice. When in the water themselves, the islanders swim and leap about like dolphins. From the bewilderment which they exhibited on seeing Europeans for the first time, Pigafetta concludes that the islanders must formerly have believed that they themselves were the only people in the world. The natives excel so in thievery that Magellan in reprisal burned their houses and killed a few of their men. From their skill in stealing, the commander called their islands the archipelago of *Ladrones*, the Spanish word for "thieves." The later accounts of the Ladrones (which sometimes actually refer to islands in the Marshall group rather than in the Marianas) are essentially in agreement with Pigafetta's. In 1565, Legaspi formally claimed the Ladrones for the crown of Spain, but the Spanish were not able to annex them for another century. It is probable, however, that by 1600 all of the Ladrones from the Maug group to Guam had been sighted or touched upon by the Spanish in their search for trans-Pacific passages between Mexico and the Philippines.[691]

While taking fresh water aboard in the Ladrones, Magellan learned from the natives about an island further to the west called "Selani" where he could

[688] Pires in Cortesão (ed.), *op cit* (n. 46), I, 107, n 2

[689] *Ibid*, p 134

[690] Maximilian (in Coote [ed], *op. cit.* [n 463], 126–27) refers to "Inaugana," the major city on Guam's northern coast, and to "Acacan," the watering-place at the western end of Rota, an island north of Guam For confirmation of these identifications see Sharp, *op cit* (n. 673), pp. 5–6. For a summary of all the Pacific discoveries made by Magellan and his survivors see *ibid.*, p. 11.

[691] *Ibid*, p. 86.

obtain all the provisions which he required.[692] On March 16, 1521, at a distance of three hundred leagues from the Ladrones, the Spanish sighted the mountains of Samar in the Philippines, and on the following day went ashore on the uninhabited islet of Homonhón just to the south of Samar. Here, while resting and taking fresh water aboard, the Spanish were visited by nine natives from a neighboring island. The natives being friendly, Magellan gave them a few trinkets in exchange for food and a jar of arrack. Through sign language, the natives let the Spanish commander know that they would return in four days with coconuts, rice, and other provisions. This reference to coconuts gives Pigafetta an opportunity to discourse at length on the numerous virtues of the coconut palm, his description is based not only upon his stay at Homonhón but obviously on his total experience in the East.[693] In any event, the natives returned to Homonhón as they had promised, and informed the Spanish through signs about the neighboring islands and their products. The Spanish, from their base at Homonhón where they stayed for one week, explored the neighboring islands and found them to be inhabited by semi-nude heathens whom they described as being dark, fat, and painted, and as having goats, fishing nets, and an assortment of metal weapons and large shields. These people, in Pigafetta's view, are clearly more sophisticated, friendlier, and better armed than the primitive residents of the Ladrones. Not only do they know how to use metal in the manufacture of weapons, they also decorate their spears with gold—one of several optimistic signs that the hopeful Spanish immediately noticed about the presence of gold in the Philippines.[694]

Refreshed and revictualed the Spanish sailed southwestward for three days and anchored off Limasawa, a small island south of Leyte The flagship was soon approached by a small boat with eight men aboard. Magellan's slave, a native of Sumatra, addressed them in Malay. Though they readily understood him, they were at first unwilling to board the ship. After Magellan had thrown them a few trinkets, the natives rowed away to notify their chief (*datu*) of what they had seen and heard. Two hours later, two large boats called "balanghai" (*barangays*)[695] approached Magellan's ship; in the larger one of these the chief himself sat under an awning. Henrique, Magellan's slave and interpreter, talked with the ruler from a distance. After a while a number of the natives were sent aboard the ship while their chief remained in his *barangay*. Satisfied that the Spanish were friendly and trustworthy, the chief himself came aboard on the next day. After presents were exchanged and a banquet eaten, Magellan had the interpreter tell the chief that he wanted to be his blood brother. Kolambu,

[692] Maximilian in Coote (ed.), *op cit.* (n 463), p. 127 This is possibly a reference to a port on the southwest side of the island of Leyte Maximilian, who omits mention of the first landings in the Philippines, says that the expedition was driven by storms to "Massana" (Limasawa), a little island south of Leyte.

[693] All of this is reproduced in Ramusio, *op. cit.* (n 529), I (1554), 393r and v. See also Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n. 136), I, 99–103.

[694] Robertson (ed), *op. cit* (n 136), I, 103, 109

[695] See above p 626n

as the chief is called, and Magellan sealed their friendship by a blood compact (*kasikase*), the first recorded one in Philippine history. Then the commander of the Spanish expedition put on a display of his rich cargo and his military might. He frightened the natives by discharging the ships' guns and rendered the chief almost speechless by having an armored soldier take blows from three men armed with swords and daggers without being wounded. The interpreter-slave then relayed to the chief Magellan's studied opinion that one such armored man was probably worth more than one hundred of the native's unarmored retainers. When Kolambu concurred, Magellan informed him that he had two hundred such armored men in each of his ships. After Magellan showed him the ship's instruments and explained how they enabled the Europeans to sail out of sight of land for many days, the overawed chief agreed that Pigafetta and another of the ship's company might go ashore with him.[696]

When the Europeans and Kolambu reached the beach, the chief lifted his hands towards the sky in thanksgiving and then turned to his two strange companions. Pigafetta and his colleague were led by the hand to a bamboo awning under which a large *barangay* was sheltered. The party sat down in the stern of the boat to converse by signs in the presence of the royal guardsmen. Soon a plate of pork and a large jug of wine were brought in. Each bite of meat was accompanied by ceremonial wine drinking. Before the chief took the cup, he raised his fist toward the sky and brandished it at his companions. After he had taken the cup to drink, he flung out his left fist so sharply and abruptly that Pigafetta thought for a moment that the chief meant to strike him. When the European came to realize that the chief was merely offering a friendly toast, he replied in kind.[697] Once these ceremonies ended, the Europeans presented the chief with a number of the gifts which they had brought ashore with them. In the meantime the Italian wrote down the terms which the natives were using; their astonishment was obvious when he was able to read their words back intelligibly from his phonetic transcriptions.

After a supper of pork and rice, the Europeans were taken to the chief's abode. It was "built like a hayloft and was thatched with fig and palm leaves."[698] Since this house rested on wooden stilts, it had to be entered by climbing up ladders. Once inside, the Europeans sat down beside the chief on a bamboo mat and were served a dish of fish and ginger. The interior was lighted by torches made from tree gum wrapped in palm and banana leaves. The chief's son joined the party and Pigafetta's companion soon became intoxicated from the overindulgences of the day. The chief indicated by a sign that he would retire for the night, and he left his son to entertain the reveling Europeans. The young men finally slept for a few hours, their heads resting on pillows made of leaves. At dawn, the chief awakened the Europeans and sent them back to their ship. They were accompanied to their ship by Kolambu's brother, Siaui, the ruler

[696] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 111–13.
[697] On ritual drinking see Phelan, *op. cit* (n. 684), p. 23.
[698] Robertson (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 136), I, 117.

of Butuan and Surigao in northeastern Mindanao, who was then visiting and hunting on Limasawa.[699]

From Siaui the Europeans learned through their interpreter that chunks of gold the size of walnuts and eggs are found in Mindanao by sifting the earth.[700] The chief's dishes and part of his house are reportedly made from gold Even on his very imposing person, the chief gives evidence of great wealth. Atop his long black hair, he wears a covering of silk, and two golden earrings are fastened in his ears. His body is wrapped in a sarong of cotton cloth embroidered with silk. Around his waist hangs a dagger with a long golden shaft which protrudes from a scabbard of carved wood. Even his teeth look as if they are edged and inlaid with gold. Tattooed all over and highly perfumed, Siaui is regarded by Pigafetta as the "finest looking man that we saw among those people."[701]

After Siaui's visit to the fleet, Magellan apparently decided that it was safe for a large body of men to go ashore to hear mass on Easter Sunday. Both of the native rulers participated in the ceremonies, the first recorded Catholic rites held on Philippine soil. When communion had finally been taken, Magellan put on a fencing tournament to entertain the chiefs. Then he had a cross brought forward which, he explained through the interpreter, he would like to set up on a high place as a symbol of his appearance in these islands. Should other Europeans chance to visit Limasawa, he reassured the natives, they would recognize the cross and would likewise behave in a friendly manner. The cross, the natives were told, would also protect them from the elements if they would make their obeisances to it every morning. Magellan also inquired about their own beliefs and learned that they were not Moors but heathens who worshipped a god in the skies called "Abba."[702]

After this short digression on religious matters, Magellan inquired why there was so little food on Limasawa. Kolambu explained that this was not his home island, but just a retreat where he came to meet his brother and to hunt. On the afternoon of Easter Sunday, the cross was planted with due ceremony on the highest peak of the island. Magellan then made further inquiries of his hosts about the best place to find provisions. He was told that there were three nearby islands—"Ceylon" (Panaon, south of Leyte), "Zuba" (Cebu), and "Calagham" (Caraga)—where they might find stores, but that Cebu was the largest and the one with most trade. Kolambu offered to show the Europeans the way to Cebu himself if only they would wait two days until he could complete the rice harvest and attend to his other affairs. To facilitate matters some of the Europeans helped to harvest the rice and Pigafetta evidently tried

[699] *Ibid.*, p. 119. Maximilian (in Coote [ed], *op cit* [n. 463], p 127) describes Kolambu as being the ruler of three islands, possibly including therein the territories governed by his brother.

[700] On gold production see Conrado Benitez, *History of the Philippines. Economic, Social, Cultural, Political* (Manila, 1954), pp. 55–56, also Zaide, *op. cit* (n. 208), p 17.

[701] Robertson (ed.), *op cit* (n. 136), I, 119

[702] A Bisayan word for the supreme being, for a list of the other names under which the supreme being is known in the Philippines see Juan Roger, *Estudio etnologico comparativo de las formas religiosas primitivas de las tribus salvajes de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1949), p. 67.

bartering with the natives while taking a few notes on their customs. He remarks particularly on their nudity, tattoos, habit of chewing betel, and on Limasawa's products.[703]

Finally, the rice being harvested, the fleet of Magellan escorted by Kolambu's ships set sail for the northwest. On their way to Cebu they passed five places: "Ceylon" (Panaon), Bohol, "Canighan" (Canigao, southwest of Leyte), "Baybai" (Bayban on the west central coast of Leyte), and "Gatighan" (Apit or Himuquetan?).[704] In the vicinity of these islands they saw all sorts of wild fowl and huge bats.[705] Since Kolambu's *barangay* had great difficulty in sailing as fast as the European ships, they were forced to wait for him near the three Camote Islands to the west of Leyte. Contact being re-established, Magellan took Kolambu and several of his chieftains aboard the flagship and set his course directly for Cebu.

On Sunday, April 7, 1521, the Europeans entered the port on Cebu's eastern coast. As his three vessels approached the city, Magellan ordered them to strip their sails down, as if preparing for battle, and to fire all their artillery. The people on shore, who must have been puzzled and perplexed merely by the sight of three strange, ominous-looking vessels, were almost thrown into panic by the sound of the artillery bursts. Once anchored in the harbor, Magellan sent a representative and his interpreter ashore to confer with Humabon, the ruler of Cebu. After reassuring the chief that the guns had been fired as a token of peace and friendship, the interpreter told the questioning Humabon that his master was in the service of the greatest king in the world and was on his way to find the Moluccas. Magellan, Humabon was told, had come to Cebu, on the recommendation of the ruler of Limasawa, to exchange goods for provisions.

While responding in a friendly fashion, Humabon firmly announced that all foreign ships were required to pay tribute before engaging in trade. To prove this fact, the ruler brought forward a Muslim merchant from Siam who had arrived just four days earlier in a junk loaded with gold and slaves. He was now doing business at Cebu after having paid the required tribute. The interpreter insisted, however, that his master, as the agent of the greatest king in the world, would pay no tribute and threatened hostilities unless his demands were met. The merchant from Siam then erroneously informed the chief that the Christians were the same as those who had conquered Calicut and Malacca and that it would be advisable to trade on their terms. After agreeing to discuss the matter with his advisers, Humabon was visited by Kolambu who evidently reassured him about the intentions of the Europeans. The ruler of Cebu thereupon agreed to negotiate the next day with the intruders from afar.[706]

Formal negotiations were carried on at first between Humabon and his

[703] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 136), I, 128–29.

[704] *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 256–57. For a listing of old place names in the Philippines see Quirino, *op cit.* (n. 682), pp. 67–72

[705] Bats are very numerous in the Philippines. At dusk, clouds of "flying foxes," huge fruit bats, often darken the sky. See Eggan *et al.*, *op. cit* (n. 685), pp. 44–45.

[706] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 133–35.

chiefs on one side and Magellan's notary and interpreter on the other. Fearful that the European wanted to make him a vassal, the ruler of Cebu was reassured that Magellan had no such intention and that he wanted "only to trade with him and no others."[707] As a testimony of their mutual good faith, Humabon suggested that he and Magellan should exchange drops of blood from their right arms as well as presents. On the following morning (Tuesday, April 9, 1521), Kolambu and the Muslim merchant went to the ships to tell Magellan that the king of Cebu was collecting provisions and that he would send his representatives to make peace arrangements in the afternoon. The delegation of chieftains who appeared later on that day was led by Humabon's nephew and heir. Asked if they came with full powers and the authority to speak publicly, the natives answered in the affirmative. In the discussion which followed, Magellan inquired about their succession practices and lectured to them about peace and Christianity. The purpose of his digression into Christian ideas was obviously to find out something about their own beliefs and their possible attitude towards conversion. Though he counseled them not to accept Christianity and his peace offering through fear, he promised that if they became converts he would leave a suit of armor with them and that they would be everlastingly free from the torments of spirits and devils. Peace vows being concluded, the pact was sealed with embraces and an exchange of gifts.

Pigafetta and the interpreter accompanied the Cebuan delegation ashore to thank Humabon officially for his gifts. They found the chief seated before his "palace" on a palm mat in the midst of a great number of people. A short, fat man marked with tattooings, Humabon wore only a loin cloth, an embroidered scarf on his head, a necklace, and two large gold earrings encrusted with precious stones. In front of him on another mat were two porcelain dishes of turtle eggs which he was eating and four jars of palm wine which he was sipping through straws. After officially extending their commander's thanks for his gifts, the representatives of Magellan clothed Humabon in a Turkish-style yellow and violet silk robe, red cap, and strings of glass beads which Magellan had sent him as presents. After sampling the turtle eggs and sipping the palm wine, Pigafetta and his companions went off with the chief's nephew to a party at his house. Here, while they ate dinner, they were entertained by native musicians and naked dancing girls.[708]

Their negotiations complete, the Europeans began on Wednesday (April 10, 1521) to bring merchandise ashore to exchange for provisions and other local products. The beginning of trade gives Pigafetta an opportunity to discourse on a number of local customs. He notices that commercial rules are studiously followed and that they have accurate weights and measures of their own

[707] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[708] *Ibid*, pp. 139–47. Much of the description of this gay party (*ibid.*, pp 146–47) is given only in summary in the version printed by Ramusio (*op. cit.* [n. 529], I, 396v). Evidently these and similar descriptions of frivolity were purposely deleted or abbreviated by the sixteenth-century publishers of Pigafetta.

type.[709] In their houses, which are built on stilts, they have separate rooms, and under their houses they keep pigs, goats, and poultry. Beautiful large shellfish called "laghan" (*lagan*)[710] which are good to eat are found on Cebu. It is said by the local people that if a whale swallows one of them alive, the *lagan* will come out of its shell and kill the whale by eating the heart. In the official trading which began on Friday (April 12, 1521), the Europeans exchanged iron and other metals for gold, and their smaller and less valuable items for rice, meat, and other foods. Magellan evidently had to give orders to his gold-hungry men that they should not spoil the trade in gold for others by giving too much in exchange for it.

In the meantime preparations were being completed for the formal ceremonies by which Humabon, Kolambo, and their wives and retainers would publicly become Christians. Apparently it had been arranged in Magellan's negotiations with the Cebu delegation that baptismal services would be held on Sunday, April 14. Earlier in the week the land in the public square had been consecrated by the ship's chaplain preparatory to the burial of two sailors who had died after arriving in Cebu. On Saturday, April 13, a platform was erected in this consecrated square and it was decorated with hangings and palm branches to lend as much solemnity and pomp as possible to the chiefs' acknowledgment of the Christian god. On Sunday morning, the program began with the appearance on the beach of Magellan and forty men from the ships. As they landed, all of the ships' guns fired a salute. They were led in procession by the royal banner of Spain and two armored soldiers. After a formal exchange of greetings, Magellan and Humabon, each with his chief attendants, ambled to the platform to take their places. While conversing with the chief, Magellan learned that some of Humabon's subordinates were unwilling to accept Christianity. With this revelation all pretenses were dropped. The Portuguese Magellan, who had long before learned how to mix force with persuasion, threatened to kill and take other reprisals against the reluctant chiefs. At the same time he reassured Humabon that he intended to make him, as a Christian lord, into the supreme and unchallenged ruler of the entire region. Without further ado a large cross[711] was raised in the center of the square and the natives were told that they were to destroy their old idols and to kneel before the cross each morning. Instruction being over, Humabon and his principal retainers were baptized and given Christian names. Before mass was sung that morning, five hundred men were baptized. After lunch the royal ladies and their attendants likewise accepted baptism. Counting men, women, and children, eight hundred[712] souls came to Christ on that notable Sunday in Cebu;[713] ironically, in Germany, Martin

[709] For comment and names see Zaide, *op. cit.* (n. 208), p. 92.

[710] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 136), I, 149; 261.

[711] This cross and some sacred images are still preserved in Cebu as religious relics. See Zaide, *op. cit.* (n. 208), p. 139, ns 59 and 61.

[712] Robertson (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 136), I, 155

[713] Maximilian (Coote [ed.], *op. cit.* [n 463], p. 129) notes that the numbers baptized during Magellan's entire sojourn in Cebu totaled 2,200.

Luther was preparing for his appearance two days later (April 16, 1521) before Charles V and the Diet of Worms.

After these first mass baptisms, people from other parts of Cebu and neighboring islands also accepted Christianity. The Europeans, presumably acting in the name of the Christian king of Cebu, had no hesitation about burning down a village on a neighboring island when its people refused to acknowledge the authority of Humabon. Magellan himself went ashore daily to hear mass in the temporary chapel constructed of tree branches and sails.[714] On these occasions he talked with Humabon about Christianity and the need for spreading it to the neighboring islands. He also called in the chiefs of the city and the island and required them to swear obedience to Humabon. In turn, Magellan required Humabon to take an oath of fealty to the king of Spain. After warning all the Cebuans that their oaths could not be broken except on pain of death, Magellan presented the chief with a red velvet chair. Humabon replied that he was having bejeweled golden earrings, arm- and ankle-bracelets, and other precious adornments made for Magellan to wear. The Portuguese navigator, who was apparently not averse to decking himself out as a heathen prince, chided the new converts for not burning their idols as they had promised to at the time when they had become Christians. They responded that their idols were then being propitiated in behalf of an aristocrat who was seriously ill. Magellan told them that the patient would recover quickly if only he was baptized. When all turned out as Magellan had predicted, the hold of Christianity became correspondingly stronger than ever and the new believers systematically began to destroy their old shrines and images.

Magellan's swift successes soon led him to take the step which ultimately brought about his death and the downfall of his Christianizing effort. Maximilian of Transylvania summarizes the project as follows:

> Magellan seeing that this island [Cebu] was rich in gold and ginger, and that it was so conveniently situated with respect to the neighboring islands thought that it would be easy, making this his headquarters, to explore their resources and natural productions. He therefore went to the chief of Subuth [Cebu] and suggested to him, that since he had turned away from the foolish and impious worship of false gods to the Christian religion, it would be proper that the chiefs of the neighboring islands should obey his rule, that he had determined to send envoys for this purpose, and if any of the chiefs should refuse to obey his summons, to compel them to do so by force of arms.[715]

While a number of neighboring chiefs readily acquiesced, Mactan, an islet near Cebu, refused to submit. It was clearly Magellan's policy whatever the opposition might be, to elevate Humabon from his position of *datu* of a large *barangay* (community) to that of a vassal king dependent upon Spain.[716]

The resistance to Magellan's demands was kept alive on Mactan by a chief called "Cilapulapu" (Lapu-Lapu). He continued to defy Spain and Cebu even after one of his villages had been burned by the Europeans and after another

[714] *Ibid*, p 128 [715] *Ibid*, p. 129.
[716] Phelan, *op. cit.* (n 684), p 16.

Mactan chieftain (Zula) had agreed to submit.[717] In his determination to force Lapu-Lapu's surrender, Magellan led a contingent of Europeans and Cebuans to Mactan. The European commander, who apparently hoped to impress Humabon with the effectiveness of European arms and tactics, ordered the Cebuans to remain off shore in their *barangays*. With about fifty men he waded ashore to attack the fifteen hundred warriors of Lapu-Lapu who waited in battle order. The odds being about thirty to one, the superiority of European armor, weapons, and tactics did not shine forth on that day (April 27). Lapu-Lapu's warriors won the engagement and before sunset Magellan himself was dead, a number of his men were wounded, and the entire expedition was shorn of its prestige in the eyes of the natives.[718]

It was not long thereafter before Humabon, possibly in connivance with Magellan's interpreter-slave, turned against the Europeans.[719] He tricked a number of them into going ashore by inviting them to a banquet at which he was supposed to deliver the jewels earlier promised to Magellan. Twenty-seven Europeans were massacred at the banquet, and the men who remained behind on the ships, hearing the din of battle, pulled up anchor and sailed away from Cebu on May 1, 1521. Pigafetta himself escaped the massacre because he had stayed on shipboard to nurse a wound received in the Mactan engagement. It is probably this injury which is responsible for the fact that Pigafetta lived to tell his story about Magellan's exploits.

From his twenty-five days of experience in the harbor and on the shore of Cebu, Pigafetta observed a number of native customs and recorded his impressions of them. His attitude towards the island and its people is interested and objective, especially if it recalled under what harsh conditions he and his companions were forced to flee. As he sees the Cebuans, they are people who love "peace, ease, and quiet,"[720] devote themselves to the joys of the flesh, maintain strange customs filled with superstitions, and live "in accordance with justice."[721] In common with the peoples of the Malay archipelago, some of them understand the Malay language of commerce, chew betel, and keep a principal wife and as many others as they desire.[722] As a rule the Cebuans of both sexes wear nothing but loin cloths. Males of all ages have their sexual organs "pierced from one side to the other, with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill."[723] Whenever the Europeans go ashore, they are wined and dined

[717] Pigafetta in Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 163, 171.

[718] For the Philippine nationalist view on the "battle" of Mactan see Zaide, *op cit.* (n 208), pp. 140–42. Monuments to both Magellan and Lapu-Lapu stand on Mactan today. For the details of the battle see Pigafetta in Robertson (ed.), *op. cit* (n 136), I, 171–79

[719] For Pigafetta's theory, see *ibid.*, I, 180–81; essentially the same story, with a few variations, is told by Maximilian. See Coote (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 463), pp. 131–32

[720] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 149.

[721] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[722] Polygamy seems not to have been widespread among the natives of the Philippine Islands, its practice was largely confined to the Bisayan Islands where it was probably introduced by Muslim traders from Borneo and elsewhere in southeast Asia. See Phelan, *op cit.* (n. 684), p. 18.

[723] Pigafetta in Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 167, cf similar practices attributed to the Peguans (above, p. 553).

at banquets which last for five or six hours. Wine always flows freely,[724] but the meats which they serve are half-cooked and very salty to the European palate. At fiestas the Cebuans play music on stringed instruments and metal gongs.

Pigafetta describes in some detail two of their religious ceremonies. The first has to do with the sacrifice of the hog in a ritual performed solely by elderly women.[725] After the ceremonial killing of the animal, its blood is smeared on the heads of the men in the assemblage. Only the women are invited to eat the ceremonial dishes of rice, millet, and roast fish which are used in these rites.[726] Whenever a chief dies, the Cebuans follow equally curious mourning and burial customs. The corpse is put into a box over which a kind of canopy is erected. One of the women in attendance ceremoniously and slowly cuts off his hair while the principal wife lies down on top of him. Ceremonies are performed over the dead chief's body for five or six days at the end of which time the box with the deceased in it is covered with a wooden lid and buried.[727]

Cebu produces many types of meat, fish, and seafood as well as a long list of fruits and vegetables.[728] Most interesting are Pigafetta's references to bananas as long, delicious figs and to *mangcas* (breadfruit), a fruit which resembles the cucumber on the outside and the pulp of which tastes like chestnuts.[729] Maximilian describes how sago is obtained and prepared in Cebu, and even sends a specimen of this strange type of bread to his father, the Cardinal of Salzburg.[730]

Pigafetta evidently collected, while in Cebu, his list of Bisayan words, as well as details on the geography of the archipelago. For the instruction of those who will go there in the future, he notes that Cebu itself is a large island located at 10 degrees north latitude and 164 degrees east of the line of the demarcation.[731] Its port is served by two entrances, one to the west and the other to the east-northeast. The island of Mactan, where Magellan died, is close by and helps to protect the harbor.

After fleeing from Cebu in their three ships, the survivors of the Magellan expedition took refuge temporarily on the island of Bohol. Here they burned one of their ships because there were too few crewmen left to sail all three. From

[724] The Bisayans also had a reputation with subsequent Spanish commentators for being heavy drinkers See Phelan, *op. cit.* (n. 684), p. 23.

[725] Ritual sacrifices were usually performed by elderly women known as the *babaylan* or the *katalonan*, a professional priestly caste. See *ibid.*, p. 24. This was an agricultural fiesta called *Mang-mang*. See Roger, *op. cit.* (n 702), p. 145

[726] Pigafetta in Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n. 136), I, 163–67 For a similar description of this sacrificial ceremony see Blair and Robertson (eds), *op. cit.* (n. 475), V, 172.

[727] Robertson (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 169–71. For a summary of death rites as described by a number of other observers see Roger, *op. cit.* (n. 702), pp. 125–35.

[728] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), I, 183.

[729] *Ibid* , II, 149 The *mangcas* are fruits known scientifically as *Artocarpus integrifolia* or commonly as breadfruit. In Malacca and India they were called *jambos* See Orta's description in Markham (trans.), *op. cit* (n 359), pp 235–37.

[730] Evidently it had been used as a staple on the "Victoria." See Coote (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 463), p. 128.

[731] Pigafetta placed the Philippines about 25 degrees farther to the east than they actually are. For the calculations which show his error see Quirino, *op. cit.* (n. 682), pp. 18–19. This may have been an intentional error, since it is hard to believe that Magellan would have been so far off in his reckoning.

Bohol they proceeded to the southwest along the island of Panglao where they saw Negritos living. Finally they came to a large island which Maximilian refers to as "Gibeth" (Quipit), a place which is actually on the extreme northwestern coast of the Zamboanga Peninsula on the island of Mindanao.[732] Its main port is "*Chipet*" (Quipit), an excellent harbor which he located at 8 degrees north latitude and 167 degrees east of the demarcation line. The *datu* of Quipit, Kalanao, concluded a blood compact with the Europeans, and Pigafetta, presumably because he was something of a language student and because they had lost Magellan's interpreter-slave, went ashore alone to visit with the ruler. After a long row upriver, Pigafetta arrived at the *datu*'s residence. Here, he observes, the eating and drinking customs and ceremonies are the same as those followed at Limasawa. He explains how they cook their rice so that it "becomes as hard as bread,"[733] a mode of preparation which he alleges to be general throughout the region. He spent the night with one of Kalanao's chieftains, and the next morning went roaming around the island. In the course of his wanderings, he noticed that gold was more abundant than food. Then after a simple noonday meal of rice and fish, he went to visit Kalanao's principal wife who lived at the top of a high hill. While he saw gold here and elsewhere on his excursion into Mindanao, he observes that the natives care very little about it and that they have no iron tools with which to dig it. Here he also learned that two days' journey to the northwest is located another large island called "Lozon" (Luzon).

But Luzon was not in the direction that Pigafetta and his companions were headed. In their search for the Moluccas they took a south-southwest course from Quipit into the Sulu Sea. Finally they landed on the sparsely inhabited island of "Caghaian" (Cagayan de Sulu) located at 7.5 degrees (actually at 7 degrees) north latitude. The few residents of this island were Muslim exiles from Borneo who lived in virtual nudity.[734] Since little extra food was available in this primitive place, they took a west-northwest course to "Pulaoan" (Palawan), a large island located at 9.3 degrees north latitude and 171.33 degrees from the demarcation line. Here, at last, they found the food supplies which they were looking for and so they called it "the land of promise."[735] They quickly concluded a blood compact with the local ruler and then began to look around.

The people of Palawan labor in the fields and fish in the seas. From their rice they make a distilled wine which Pigafetta considers to be stronger and better than palm wine. They value particularly products made of metal, such as brass rings, chains, bells, knives, and copper wire. They raise and train large cocks which they pit against each other in fights upon which they bet. Pigafetta was particularly intrigued with their blowpipes and poisoned arrows and so he

[732] Quipit (now spelled Kipit) is the name of both the river and town.
[733] Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 17.
[734] *Ibid.*, p. 21
[735] *Ibid.*

describes them in some detail. Once their two vessels were loaded with provisions and water, the Europeans left Palawan for Borneo.[736]

From the end of July to the beginning of November, 1521, after they visited Brunei, Pigafetta and his companions roved the Sulu Sea seeking to find their way to the Moluccas. Pigafetta, who continued his observations under all conditions, remarks in interesting detail on the marine life of the Sulu Sea, noting the presence of crocodiles, gigantic oysters, and horned fish.[737] Not having enough men, ships, or arms to risk encounters with the rulers of the larger islands, the Europeans raided the small, sparsely populated islands and pirated unprotected vessels at sea.[738] In their frenzied search for food, water, and a pilot to guide them to the Moluccas, they finally found themselves back at Quipit in Mindanao. Then they sailed southwards around the Zamboanga Peninsula to the Jolo group of the Sulu archipelago before going into the Moro gulf. Finally, after turning northward again and landing in southwestern Mindanao near Zamboanga, they found cinnamon but apparently no pilot or provisions. From here they continued sailing to the northeast; en route they captured a party of Mindanao chieftains. On the advice of the leader, a man who knew the seas, the Europeans changed their course to the southeast. On the island of Sarangani, just south of the Mindanao cape, they finally captured two pilots who knew the route to the Moluccas.

Except for their brief visit in Borneo during July, the Magellan expedition was in the waters or on the islands of the Philippines for about seven and one-half months.[739] The first three and one-half months (March 16-*ca.* July 1, 1521) were spent threading their way through the central Philippines from uninhabited Homonhón in the east to Palawan in the west. The return visit (July 30-*ca.* November 1, 1521) brought them to a great number of islets in the Sulu Sea, to the Sulu archipelago, and to northern and southern Mindanao. In their travels through these regions, the Europeans saw Bisayans, Moros, Negritos, the "sea-rovers" known as *Sámal Laut*,[740] and some cannibals.[741] In the period after its hasty departure from Borneo, the expedition was seriously handicapped by a lack of leadership and discipline. While resorting to hit-and-run tactics, the Europeans were often forced to seek refuge in remote places. During their two extended visits the Europeans learned a bit about several of

[736] See above, pp. 580–83.

[737] Robertson, *op cit.* (n 136), p. 47 He also comments on "walking leaves," insects which resemble leaves (*Phyllium orthoptera*).

[738] The Europeans, like many native groups around the Sulu Sea and in the insular areas southwest of Mindanao, resorted to piracy as a means of livelihood. On the organization of piracy in these regions see J. Franklin Ewing, S J , "Notes on the Tawsug of Siasi in Particular, and the Moros of the Southern Philippines in General," in Fred Eggan (ed.), *Papers Read at the Mindanao Conference* (Mimeographed; Chicago, 1955), I, 100–107

[739] Robertson (ed), *op cit* (n 136), II, 45–61, for an analysis of Pigafetta's sketches of the various islands see Quirino, *op cit* (n 682), p. 18.

[740] For description of these people who were then apparently near Zamboanga in Mindanao see Robertson, *op. cit* (n 136), pp. 53, 204

[741] Called "Benaian" by Pigafetta (in *ibid.*, pp. 57, 204).

the levels of civilization in the pre-Spanish Philippines. More specifically, the account of Pigafetta shows that he grasped many details about local products, trading practices, and native languages. Although the natives are depicted as living in primitive conditions, the authors are also aware of the existence of the indigenous traditions and exhibit an understanding for their similarities and differences from place to place.[742]

The "Victoria" entered the port of San Lúcar de Barrameda in Spain on September 6, 1522, after completing the first circumnavigation of the world. She had aboard a rich cargo of spices from the Moluccas and twenty-one survivors—eighteen Europeans and three East Indians.[743] During the following several years, thirteen other survivors made their way back to Spain by various routes. In the meantime the returned Europeans were feted and welcomed in Spain and throughout Catholic Europe. The great losses to the first expedition were conveniently attributed in official circles to the wrongheadedness of Magellan, even though Pigafetta defended his policies stoutly.[744] Since the cargo of the "Victoria" yielded enough to pay for the entire expedition, the Spanish and Charles V hastened to prepare new fleets to follow in Magellan's wake. In quick succession three expeditions were sent out under Loaisa (1525), Cabot (1526), and Saavedra (1527). The first expedition got into the Philippines and the Moluccas, but was unable to return across the Pacific and so it ended in the Spiceries. Cabot did not even get around South America. Saavedra's expedition, which was sent out from Mexico by Cortes, suffered the same fate as the Loaisa enterprise. In 1530, after the conclusion of the pawning arrangements at Saragossa (1529),[745] the Spanish refugees in the Spice Islands surrendered to the Portuguese. These survivors, among them Andrés de Urdaneta from the Loaisa expedition, were sent back to Europe via India and the Cape of Good Hope. By 1536 most of them were back in Spain.[746]

The Spanish, in the meantime, were not entirely happy about their monarch's decision to halt the expeditions to the Moluccas. Complaints were heard in the Cortés of Castile,[747] and independent plans were being laid in the New World, especially by missionaries, to foster new Pacific expeditions. Oviedo, who was official chronicler of Charles I, was in the thick of these controversies both in Spain and Mexico. Book XX of his *Historia general y natural* . . . , which first appeared in 1548, recounts the history of Spain's Pacific voyages from 1519 to 1529. On the three voyages which followed Magellan's, he derives his information from the survivors. While in Santo Domingo in 1539, he

[742] For a Portuguese view of the Magellan expedition see Castanheda in Azevedo (ed.), *op. cit* (n 79), III, 160–64

[743] The eighteen Europeans, whose names are all known are the only survivors ordinarily mentioned, the three East Indians (probably Malays) are not named See Zaide, *op cit* (n 208), p 149, n 19

[744] Juan Sebastián del Cano, whom Pigafetta does not even mention, is usually given responsibility for the discrediting of Magellan.

[745] See above, p 118.

[746] Zaide, *op. cit* (n 208), pp. 158–59.

[747] Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 181.

interviewed two survivors of the Loaisa fleet, Andrés de Urdaneta and Martin de Islares, who were then on their way to Guatemala [748] It is from these experienced observers, as well as from official sources, that the Spanish "chronicler of the Indies" and contemporary of Barros, derived most of his information on the Ladrones (Marianas), the Philippines, and the Spiceries to the southeast.[749]

While Oviedo's description of the Ladrones[750] corresponds in general with Pigafetta's, the Spaniard adds new dimensions to the picture. He evidently learned about these islands from his informants in New Spain who in turn had gotten their information on them from Gonçalo de Vigo, a Galician and a deserter from the Magellan expedition who was picked up by the sole remaining ship of Loaisa's fleet in 1526. This man, who had spent five years in the Ladrones, was subsequently of great use to his fellow Spaniards because he knew both the language of the islands and commercial Malay. Through Vigo, it was learned that the Ladrones include thirteen islands which run in a north-south direction as far north as 21 degrees north latitude.[751] The first of these islands to be sighted after a Pacific crossing is one called "Botaha," possibly a reference to the island south of Gaum which appears on later maps as "Bataba."[752] Aside from the generalities of insular life also noticed by Pigafetta, Oviedo points out that the people of the Ladrones have no livestock for meat and no metals with which to make tools and weapons. Even birds are not numerous, for, aside from a few sea gulls and pelicans, they have only small birds like turtledoves. These little birds are kept in cages where they are made to fight one another in a sport similar to the quail fights enjoyed by the Italians. The Ladronese themselves work and fight with instruments of stone, bones, and extremely hard wood. They make canoes and boats of many different kinds, which Oviedo describes. Most noteworthy among their social customs is the freedom which young bachelors enjoy in consorting with married women.

On October 2, 1526, fifteen days sail from the Ladrones, Loaisa's ship entered the harbor of "Viçaya" (Bicaio?)[753] near the southeastern tip of Mindanao. For thirteen days it stayed near the beach in an effort to get provisions and water. A landing party was then dispatched inland to see what could be found. After roaming about aimlessly for a long time, the Spaniards finally sighted a canoe in the bay. Vigo tried to hail its occupants in the Malay language, but they were not able to understand him. So the Spaniards got into their ship's boat and followed the canoe upriver to a center called "*Vendanao*" (Mindanao itself or Magindanas in present-day Cotabato province). Here they found some

[748] *Ibid*, pp 195–96, also see De los Rios (ed), *op cit*., (n 298) pp. 58–59. Urdaneta himself wrote a brief report for King Charles I in 1537. For an English translation of this narrative see Sir Clements Markham (trans. and ed), *Early Spanish Voyages to the Strait of Magellan* (London, 1911), pp. 41–89.

[749] For his materials on the Spiceries see above, pp 600–601.

[750] De los Rios (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 298), pp 60–62

[751] Urdaneta (in Markham [trans and ed], *op. cit.* [n. 748], p. 51) says in his report that they extend from 12 degrees to 19 degrees north latitude.

[752] See Sanson's map of 1692 prepared for Louis XIV.

[753] Cf. below, p 641.

natives who could understand and speak Malay. Though they were treated hospitably at first, the atmosphere of cordiality soon changed. On their initial effort to trade their merchandise for provisions, they met with delay and excuses. In an effort to get at the root of the problem, Vigo was sent a short way into the interior to interview their chieftain. Here he was asked if they were *Faranguis* (Franks or Portuguese), and the Galician interpreter assured him that they were not. The chieftain said that he knew that trouble began whenever these *Faranguis* appeared and that he was gratified to learn that the Spaniards also opposed them.[754] Still, he was not sufficiently reassured to allow peaceful trading. His men repeatedly tried to seize the Spanish ship and its boat. And they often tried at night to cut the ship's cables. While they failed in these actions, the Spanish were equally unsuccessful in getting the provisions which they badly needed after their long voyage across the Pacific. From here the Spanish sailed along the coast of Mindanao to the southernmost tip of the island at a place called "Baguindanao" (Banajan?).[755] Then they tried to sail northwestward to Cebu, which they knew about from the Magellan expedition, but were forced southward by contrary winds. They finally anchored on October 22 off the northeastern shore of Talão (Taland) Island, an islet "almost midway" between Mindanao and Ternate in the Moluccas. At this place they were well received, acquired all necessary provisions, and refurbished the ship.[756]

Mindanao, according to Oviedo, has a circumference of about three hundred leagues (1,200 miles) and belongs, he erroneously believes, to the Celebes archipelago. From the information gathered by the Spanish along the eastern and southern coasts, he concludes that the island is divided into six provinces: "Baguindanao" (Maguindanao), "Paraçao" (unidentified), "Bituan" (Butuan), "Burse" (unidentified),[757] "Viçaya" (southeastern coast?), and "Malucobuco" (Malibog?).[758] From the southernmost tip of Mindanao (Point Tinaka) it is possible to see many islands,[759] three of which are named "Sandinguar" (Sampantangu?),[760] "Carraguan" (Sarangani),[761] and "Sanguin" (Sanguir).

[754] De los Ríos (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 298), p. 63; this is perhaps an indication of the fact that Portuguese freebooters were active in the Philippines before 1526, or merely that news of their depredations elsewhere had reached eastern Mindanao.

[755] Possibly the old name for Point Tinaka. See Felipe Bravo, *Diccionario geográfico, estádistico, histórico de las islas Filipinas* (Madrid, 1850), II, 320. It is more likely, however, that it refers to "Maguindanao," an older form of Mindanao, and the name of the sultanate which then controlled the southern half of the island.

[756] De los Ríos (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 298), p. 64.

[757] Oviedo (*ibid.*, p. 14) refers to "Burse" as a territory rich in cinnamon, it is possibly in the western part of the island.

[758] Malibog is the name of a river which debouches on the eastern coast. See Bravo, *op. cit.* (n. 755), II, 203.

[759] For a similar but more extended list see Pigafetta in Robertson (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 136), II, 57.

[760] Sampantangu is a point on the southern coast, but it is the only other name in this area which resembles "Sandinguar." See Bravo, *op. cit.* (n. 755), II, 421.

[761] This island was also visited by the Magellan crew (above p. 638) and in 1578 by Francis Drake (Sharp, *op. cit.* [n. 673], p. 49).

The people of Mindanao are clever, bellicose, and treacherous, even in their relations with one another. Under cover of night, while some tried to cut the ship's cables, others sought to sell gold to the crew. The tribes of one part of the island are almost constantly at war with one another. For this reason arms are normally carried at all times by everyone including the children. Around their waists they wear dagger-like blades. They never go anywhere without their shields, and their lances are like the harpoons used for killing tunny, only more elegant and finished.[762] To all these parts each year come the junks of China to exchange their silks, porcelains, and finely wrought brass and wood items for gold, pearls, and slaves.[763]

Mindanao and its environs were also visited by the Villalobos expedition in 1543. The official report on this voyage was written in 1547 or 1548 by the pilot Ivan Gaetan (beginning with the reissue of 1588 the editor writes Juan Gaetano) and was printed in Ramusio as early as 1550.[764] While noting that this island is usually called "Vendenao" (by Oviedo, for example) Gaetano gives it the better spelling of "Migindanao." Reportedly, Villalobos named this island "Cesarea Caroli" in honor of his king and emperor.[765] "This island," writes the pilot, "is very large, and after circling it we found it had a circumference of 380 leagues [1,520 miles], and had its greatest extension from east to west while stretching in a north-south direction from 11.5 degrees to 5 or 6 degrees north latitude."[766] While circumnavigating Mindanao, the Villalobos expedition saw many different peoples, both Moors and heathens, as well as divers kings and dignitaries. Like Oviedo, Gaetano notices that all the people are well clothed, and he observes that they wear sleeveless robes called *patolas*,[767] the rich having theirs made of silk and the rest of the people having theirs made of various types of cotton cloth. In addition to the offensive and defensive weapons noticed by Oviedo, Gaetano remarks that in places where the Muslims do business the natives also have small pieces of artillery. The island has numerous wild animals, such as pigs, deer, and buffalos.[768] Its people cultivate chickens, rice, and palms. Since they raise no wheat, they make something resembling bread from either rice or sago. The island is rich in ginger, pepper, and gold. Along its westernmost cape (Zamboanga) cinnamon grows, and the Portuguese sometimes touch there when they go to the Moluccas.

[762] For a brief account of weapons in use among the Bogobos and Colu Mandaya tribes of southeastern Mindanao see Fay-Cooper Cole, "Cultural Relations between Mindanao Regions and Islands to the South," in Eggan (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 738), pp. 4, 6.

[763] Oviedo in De los Rios (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 298), 64

[764] *Op. cit.* (n. 92), I, 416r–417v It is entitled "Relatione di Ivan Gaetan pilotto Castigliano. . . ." For a short biographical sketch of Gaetano see Zaide, *op. cit.* (n. 208), p. 160, n. 16.

[765] Zaide, *op. cit* (n. 208), p. 161

[766] Ramusio, *op. cit.* (n. 92), I, 416r. It is actually between 5 degrees and 10 degrees north of the equator and its irregular coastline is estimated as being about 1,600 miles

[767] This is a Portuguese version of Kanarese, *pattuda*, meaning "a silk cloth." See Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n. 218), p. 520. For modern dress of the Bogobos see Cole, *loc. cit.* (n. 762), pp. 4–5.

[768] Probably the carabao. On the fauna of the Philippines see Eggan *et al.*, *op. cit.* (n. 685), pp. 43–50.

Villalobos, after encircling the island, laid over for three or four months in 1543 at an unpopulated place near Point Tinaka to refurbish his ships and to refresh their crews. Then he sailed southward to the nearby islands of "Sarangã" (Saranganı) and "Candigar" (Sampantangu?)[769] which are just two miles apart. There, Gaetano reports, they found a pirate's lair and he describes in some detail the raiding ships. Not being able to provision his ships at these small islands, Villalobos sent a ship northwards to forage for food. The "San Juan" under the command of Bernardo de la Torre skirted inhospitable Mindanao (later writers allege that the Portuguese had conspired with the natives of Mindanao not to give supplies to the Spaniards)[770] and finally landed at an island called "Tendaia." Modern scholars disagree as to whether this island was Samar or Leyte, but Samar appears to be the more likely identification.[771] Gaetano reports that the heathens of this island treated them with great kindness and that they quickly got together a cargo of provisions and fresh water. In gratitude, the Spanish gave the name "Filipina" to this island. On Ramusio's map, first published in 1554, the name "*Filipina*" appears beside a long, narrow island which is roughly in the position occupied by Samar and Leyte.[772]

In 1577, Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion . . .*[773] appeared at Seville and its last chapter contains a brief discussion of the "Islands of the West which we call the Philippines."[774] Twelve years earlier the Legaspi expedition had begun to set up a permanent Spanish establishment in the Philippines without regard for the Portuguese claim that these islands were within their demarcation.[775] Still, in Escalante's book there is no mention of Legaspi's activities in the islands or of the foundation of Manila on the island of Luzon on June 24, 1571. Escalante, like Oviedo, is inclined to think of the Ladrones and Mindanao as satisfactory but undistinguished stopovers on the way across the Pacific to the Moluccas. But, since he is primarily concerned with China in his *Discurso . . .*, he merely mentions the proximity of Luzon to Canton, its overwhelmingly Moorish population, and its gold production.[776] Clearly, from this book, one obtains the notion that Escalante and his informants had little concern for the Philippines themselves, but thought of them mainly as way stations on the sea track to richer places.

[769] Cf above, p. 641.

[770] Zaide, *op cit* (n. 208), p 161. The Portuguese came from the Spice Islands to southeastern Mindanao to obtain gold and recruits for their activities in the Moluccas They apparently touched frequently on Sarangani Island For references see Castanheda in Azevedo (ed), *op cit* (n 79), IV, 382–83, 388, 522–23

[771] For a short rundown of the views of a number of authorities see Zaide, *op. cit* (n. 208), p. 161, n. 21; for a convincing identification with Samar see Blair and Robertson (eds), *op cit.* (n. 475), III, 193, 316. Also see Quirino, *op cit* (n 682), p. 72.

[772] For a similar description of the Villalobos expedition see Galvão in Lagoa and Sanceau (eds), *op. cit.* (n 525), pp. 275–77.

[773] For further discussion see below, pp 742–43.

[774] Carlos Sanz (ed), *Primera Historia de China de Bernardino de Escalante* (Madrid, 1958), p 94. Incidentally, the Portuguese authors refer to the Philippines as "the Islands of the East "

[775] A number of Spaniards accepted the Portuguese claim, including the pilot and mission leader of the Legaspi expedition, Father Urdaneta

[776] Sanz (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 774), p. 99.

It was from the reports of his fellow Augustinians[777] and from the Franciscans who endeavored to penetrate China in 1577 that Mendoza received most of the information on the Philippines printed in his popular *Historia . . .* (1585). Like Escalante and the missionaries themselves, Mendoza was mainly preoccupied with China. But, the Augustinian historian, like his fellows in the field, digressed sufficiently from his primary interest to inform Europe about a score of years (1565–85) during which the Spanish and four of the religious orders established themselves in the Philippines. As the backdrop for these movements, he sketches in many new details about the islands, particularly with regard to Luzon and its immediate neighbors.

Like the other Spanish authors, Mendoza commences his discussion with the Ladrones where the galleons from Acapulco first drop anchor after being out of sight of land for forty days.[778] His description of the people and their customs parallels Oviedo's, but the Augustinian includes only seven or eight islands (instead of thirteen) as lying within the archipelago. The friar, like Pigafetta and Oviedo, notices the freedom with which young bachelors, according to their customs, visit married women with the knowledge and consent of their husbands.[779] Over these islands there reigns no central political or religious authority. Consequently, the islanders are often at war with each other, particularly when a Spanish fleet appears with goods to exchange for food and woven mats. The inhabitants of the Ladrones prize iron and glass products much more highly than silver or gold. Nobody knows what these people believe in because no European has been in the islands long enough to learn the language.[780] Mendoza's informants believe that the language could be learned easily[781] and the people be readily converted from their heathenish idolatry if only a few missionaries and soldiers could be spared from Spanish enterprises elsewhere. It is thought, avers Mendoza, that these gentile people are descended from the Tartars for they have many similar ceremonies and customs. Moreover, they buy iron from the Spaniards to sell it to the Tartars who come there to trade. Evidently, these Tartars, to which he refers, were merchants from either Japan, the Liu-ch'ius, or China.

The Spanish, in Mendoza's words, sail due westward from the Ladrones for almost two hundred leagues (800 miles) to a strait called "of the Holy Ghost"[782] and through it they enter into the archipelago. Composed of an infinite number of islands, the archipelago stretches, by his naive geography, in a semicircle from the Moluccas to the strait at Singapore. Manila, the Spanish political and

[777] The Jesuit procurator sent from Mexico to Rome in 1577 was under orders from his provincial congregation to collect data on the Philippines, especially from the Augustinians. See De la Costa, *op. cit* (n. 684), p. 5.

[778] Mendoza in Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 394), II, 253–57

[779] Cf. their remarks (above, pp. 627, 640)

[780] Evidently Mendoza had never heard of the Galician, Gonçalo de Vigo, who remained there for five years between the Magellan and Loaisa expeditions (above, p. 640).

[781] Mendoza (in Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n. 394], II, 256) gives two words of the "native" language.

[782] *Ibid.*, p. 258 This is the strait between Samar and southern Luzon now known as Bernardino Strait The northeastern cape of Samar was long known as the Cape of the Holy Spirit.

ecclesiastical capital, he locates with precision on the island of Luzon at 14.25 degrees north latitude. The countless islands of the archipelago are almost all inhabited by "natural people," a minority (400,000)[783] of whom have been brought within Manila's jurisdiction. When the Spanish explorers first arrived in the islands, political anarchy reigned throughout the archipelago. But, according to Mendoza's view of history, the war of all against all was a fairly recent condition. In earlier times, China had ruled the islands until its emperor decided to give them up of his own free will—a reference to the decision of the Ming emperors in the early fifteenth century to prohibit overseas activities. Left to their own devices, the natives reverted to brutish ways and went about recklessly killing and enslaving one another.[784] But God, in his divine wisdom, provided a remedy by leading the missionaries to the islands where, by evangelizing, they helped Him restore peace, order, and justice.[785] Had the Spaniards not come when they did, the hapless natives would have fallen to Islam through the proselytizing activities of Muslims who regularly came to the Philippine Islands from Borneo.[786]

The religion of the Tagalog people of Luzon, where the early Augustinians and Franciscans were most active and effective, prescribes worship of the sun, moon, other natural phenomena, and numerous idols.[787] The most revered of their idols is one called *Batala*,[788] who is traditionally superior to the other gods even though the natives seem unable to give any satisfactory explanation as to why he alone occupies the supreme position. The gods, called "maganitos,"[789] are honored at sumptuous festivals known as "magaduras."[790] The priestesses who preside at the sacrificial ceremonies are called "holgoi"[791] and Mendoza characterizes them as witches held in high esteem for their ability to talk with the devil and perform feats of sorcery. Throughout Luzon soothsayers enjoy a high reputation and the common people are acutely sensitive to portents and signs. The natives of the Ilocos region of northern Luzon, who were pacified by Legaspi in his expedition of 1572, are said to worship the devil as compensation for the vast stores of gold which he has given them.[792] While the missionaries make great progress in the islands, Mendoza points out that their numbers are too few, particularly as new islands are being discovered almost daily.

When the Philippines were first discovered, they were reputed to be

[783] *Ibid*, p. 263

[784] While denouncing native slavery, Mendoza lashes out against the Spaniards in the islands who continue to maintain it. On slavery in the pre-conquest period see Lasker, *op. cit.* (n. 427), pp. 36–41.

[785] For a similar rationale by a modern author see De la Costa, *op cit.* (n 684), pp. 18–19.

[786] Mendoza in Staunton (ed), *op cit*, II, 260–61.

[787] *Ibid.*, pp. 261–63.

[788] Correct See Zaide, *op cit* (n. 208), p 78.

[789] The spirits were called *antos*, and the religious sacrifices honoring them were called *maganitos* (*ibid*, p. 79).

[790] Unidentified

[791] Unidentified

[792] A reference to the gold mine rites of the Igorotes, who believed that the gold belonged to the *antos* (spirits) See Roger, *op. cit.* (n 702), p 151

unhealthy and hence unfit for colonization.[793] Experience, however, soon disproved this belief as the islands were quickly found to be both healthy and habitable for Europeans. Mendoza gives a long list of the products of Luzon, and remarks on the inexpensiveness of all native products there. Like so many other commentators, Mendoza dwells at great length on the countless uses which are made of the palm tree and its products. Though the islanders have no olive oil or wine made from grapes, they have satisfactory substitutes in linseed and flaxseed oil and in palm wine. Every year more than twenty junks from China bring beautiful silk and cotton textiles in all colors, gunpowder, and saltpeter, and luxury items of brass, copper, and carved wood. Close to the city of Manila on the other side of the Pasig River from the Spanish settlement there is a colony of Chinese. Most of the Chinese are artisans (shoemakers, tailors, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths), merchants, or functionaries, and all have accepted the official Christianity of the city. It was the easy conversion of these overseas Chinese which reinforced the missionaries in their hope of converting mainland China even though they well understood that they were strictly forbidden to go there by Chinese law. It was with the help of the Manila Chinese that the missionaries were able to translate into Spanish the Chinese materials used by Mendoza in preparing his work on China.[794] Even though the Spanish missionaries were finally thwarted in their efforts to evangelize on the China mainland, they succeeded at Manila in making a few beginnings towards the understanding of Chinese culture.

Very little was known in Europe about southeast Asia before 1500 except for the names and the major products of a few of the leading continental states and chief islands. With the passage of another century, thanks to the chroniclers, officials, explorers, and missionary reporters, a substantial amount of information had been printed on every major country and island from Burma to Indochina, the Philippines, New Guinea, and the Marianas Much additional data had also been siphoned into Europe which did not see print for reasons of secrecy or merely because they were considered too repetitive or inconsequential. While Malacca was the center of trade and information for the entire region, the Europeans have little to say about Malaya after Albuquerque seized the entrepôt. Java, Borneo, and Sumatra, probably because they were Moorish strongholds, are likewise slighted by the European authors. The Portuguese and Spanish chroniclers summarize in their narratives what was known in Europe by mid-century about Siam, Burma, Indochina, and the Spiceries. Most of what was published about the Philippines and New Guinea came from the Spanish explorers. The Jesuit letters are especially valuable for Malacca and the Spice Islands. They have only incidental references in them to the continental states where the Jesuits were conspicuous by their absence, and to the Philippines where they were less influential than the Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans.

[793] Mendoza in Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 394), pp. 264–66

[794] See below, pp. 747–48.

Nevertheless, most of what was known in Europe about the activities of the mendicant and preaching orders in southeast Asia was relayed through the Jesuit letters All of this information, scattered and questionable as some of it undoubtedly is, remains valuable to modern scholarship because of the dearth of native sources, the unreliability and lack of regard for accurate dating in those that exist, and as supplements to the precise annals of China.

The European observers, especially Barros, sought to learn about the pre-European history of the region from local informants They record whatever they were able to learn from the oral traditions, whether mythical or factual, about the origins and development of Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Sumatra, the Moluccas, and the Philippines. Many of them studied the native languages and were therefore able to supply commercial, religious, and administrative terms, especially in Malay, Javan, Bisayan, Mon, Thai, and Cambodian. Some of the missionaries tried to obtain examples of local literature, and both lay and ecclesiastical writers comment on the existence of books in Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Cochin-China. Had Pires' account of Java been published, Europe would have also known about the existence of Javanese writings. Xavier deplored more than once the absence of a native literature in the Malay language of the archipelago; this lack he attributed to the fact that the Malays had but recently learned to write their language in the Arabic script of the hated Muslims. The Europeans are almost unanimous in expressing their admiration, mixed sometimes with wonder and disgust, for the religious architecture and sculptures which they saw on the continent.

Impressed from the beginning of their adventure in southeast Asia with the universal importance of China and the Chinese, the Europeans point repeatedly to evidences of China's prominence in southeast Asia's past. The Javans, because of their skill and ingenuity, are supposed by Barros to be related historically to the Chinese. According to Burmese tradition, the origin of Burma is linked to a Chinese woman. Siam, the greatest state of the region at the beginning of the sixteenth century, continues to be a vassal of China. Cochin-China is allied economically and by marriage to Peking. Chinese products are noticed in the marts of remote Chiengmai, and the primitive Laotians conduct forays over China's borders. Halmahera, which is also called Batochina do Moro, is believed to have had early and intimate contacts with Chinese traders. Malacca was a vassal to Peking and appealed to China for help against Albuquerque. Sumatran tradition has it that the Chinese at one period controlled the commerce of the straits. Mendoza surmises that the Philippines were ruled by the Chinese before the Ming emperors decided to prohibit overseas ventures in the fifteenth century.

The Europeans show less consciousness about the impact of Hindu culture and political activity in southeast Asia. This is in part because they do not associate Buddhism with India proper, only with Ceylon; it is also because of the prominence during the sixteenth century of Muslim traders from Gujarat and Hindustan whom they often classify as "Arabs." Still they relate certain

southeast Asian customs to what they know about India: eunuchs are as important at the court of Pegu as they are at Bengal; succession in certain Sumatran ports is by assassination, similar to practices reported to be characteristic of Bengal; Klings from the Coromandel coast are highly regarded in Siam as soothsayers and sorcerers, in a number of places they note that the natives, like those of Malabar, worship each day the first thing which they see in the morning —even in distant Cambodia. While the Europeans talk mainly about the non-Muslim parts of Java, they strangely show no appreciation for Java's historical relationship to Indian culture.

The hatred of the Europeans for the Muslims and their competition with them for trade leads the writers of the sixteenth century to overestimate the relative importance of the Moors in southeast Asia. Such an emphasis was inescapable inasmuch as both groups were active in the port cities and neither was able to penetrate the hinterlands effectively. The Portuguese chroniclers almost audibly give a sigh of relief when they are able to point out that the Muslim merchants are not nearly so influential on the continent as they are in Malacca and the archipelago. The missionary writers, who are themselves propagating trade along with Christianity, see clearly that the faith of the Prophet is being extended continuously by Muslim merchants, sailors, and religious teachers. The Christian writers, both lay and ecclesiastical, almost never forget to record what they know about the introduction of Islam in each place about which they discourse. They bring out clearly that after the fall of Malacca the major centers of Islam were located in the islands of Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Moluccas. Until 1570 the Portuguese, often to the dismay of the Jesuits, collaborated in the Moluccas with the Muslim rulers of Ternate. And, it was firmly held by most of the Spaniards, perhaps as a rationale for their own military activities, that the Philippines would gradually have been taken over by Muslims based on Borneo if the Christians had not forcefully penetrated the archipelago before them. While belligerently hostile to everything Moorish, the missionaries admit grudgingly the potency of Islam as a unifying and civilizing force in the archipelago. In fact, it might be observed that the tactics followed by the Portuguese and the Christian missionaries show more than a little resemblance to the pattern of conquest, conversion, and king-making followed by the Muslims.

The continental states are depicted as having independent but similar political, social, and military systems. In all of them the king is an absolute monarch who is the proprietor of the land and the arbiter of every man's destiny. The rulers of Pegu, Siam, and Cambodia claim suzerainty over their smaller neighbors or over one another. These rulers derive most of their revenues from internal taxes and wars, though they strictly regulate and exact tribute from international trade as well. In the case of Siam, it is clearly brought out that the aristocracy is rewarded for service by grants of lands—though such rewards are never given in perpetuity The lower classes in these countries, aside from those who participate in and service trade, seem clearly to be dependent upon agriculture, especially rice cultivation. The quiet labors of peace time are frequently inter-

rupted by the numerous wars on which these rulers embark as they seek to subdue their neighbors. The continental wars, in which many Portuguese participated, clearly involve huge movements of people since everyone was liable for military service and since it was commonly the practice to raze a captured city and to depopulate it by scattering the inhabitants or by carrying them off into exile.

In religion and social usages the continental states likewise exhibit similar lineaments. They are all great, heathen states where neither the Muslims nor the Christians can make many converts. While not clear on the history or the doctrines of Buddhism, the Europeans are fully aware of its predominance and are conspicuously impressed by its magnificent temples, stupas, and sculptured images. They also understand that there exists a close association between the ruler and the religious establishment. The hierarchical organization of Buddhism, especially the existence of vast numbers of mendicant and cloistered monks who live by rule, reminds them of the religious system of Catholic Europe. Many of the Europeans credit the clergy of these countries with preserving native traditions, cultivating learning, and carrying on the works of education and social service. Still, despite the architectural magnificence of their religious establishments and their concern over what are admittedly constructive activities, the Buddhist monks are castigated for their unrelenting devotion to superstition and error. While much of this hostility was undoubtedly genuine, the reader of the European works frequently comes away with the impression that heathen practices are denounced as much out of convention as conviction.

The insular world east of Malacca has a life of its own which has little relationship, except for trade, to what is transpiring on the continent. Here there are no great, heathen states with strength enough to resist Portuguese-Christian expansion. Wherever the Europeans meet prolonged and bitter opposition, it is spearheaded (except for the defense of Mactan in the Philippines) by the uncompromising Moors. Almost universally the Moors, sometimes followed or supplanted by the Christians, occupy and control the coastal territories. The rulers of the port towns involved in the spice trade seem to live almost entirely from their levies on commerce, the sale of ship's provisions, and their profits as middlemen. In the hinterlands, which the Europeans know mainly by report, live the people who preserve the heathen past in their beliefs and practices. As a rule the primitive natives are not described as "noble savages," though Maximilian of Transylvania and Oviedo are inclined to laud the natives of Borneo, probably without basis, for their devotion to a peaceful, unspoiled life. Other Europeans, on the contrary, stress the poverty, filth, and abhorrent practices of the primitive islanders even when noting that they are sometimes friendly. The Christian writers are especially shocked by the prevalence of cannibalism in Sumatra, the Spiceries, and the Philippines. They are likewise indignant about the widespread use of poison and inveigh against other forms of treacherous behavior. Most of them are obviously awed by the vast area over which the islands lie scattered, and show special gratitude to the Malay language for giving

them a medium through which to communicate with very different peoples in so many widely scattered places. The writers actually in the field, particularly the Jesuits, seem to be overwhelmed by the diversity of human forms, colors, abilities, and languages to be found in the islands. Some of them try to record the names (ancient as well as contemporary) of towns, mountains and rivers, tribal designations, and the words for everyday items of food, shelter, and commerce. Despite such brave efforts, the Europeans, merchants and soldiers as well as missionaries, seem to be stunned by the magnitude of the task confronting them in the archipelago. Camoèns gives expression to this feeling of dismay when he sighs: "Nations of thousand names and yet unnamèd."[795]

[795] Canto X, line 126.

CHAPTER VIII

Japan

Most of what sixteenth-century Europe knew of Japan it learned through the letters, reports, and histories of the Jesuits. Viewed through Jesuit spectacles, Japan was most clearly perceived as a mission which, upon becoming fully associated with Rome, would counterbalance some of the Church's losses in Europe. Always special among Jesuit outposts, the Japan mission founded by Xavier himself promised, especially in the beginning, to yield an abundant harvest of souls. But the Jesuits soon realized that their hopes might never be realized if ordinary proselytizing practices continued to be followed. After 1580 the Jesuits in Japan forthrightly adopted a policy of promoting association and accommodation with the natives and their practices and concentrated on the conversion of leaders from all levels of society. To assure the success of such a program, the Jesuits were required to learn as much as possible about Japanese life. They often adopted native dress. Some of them studied the language avidly and intensively, and others surveyed closely the customs of their Buddhist rivals. Most of them examined and adopted as many Japanese social practices as they could reasonably accommodate to their own European background and their staunch Christianity. The investigations and records which the Jesuits compiled were designed to suit their own needs; hence they did not try to acquire systematically a scholarly knowledge of Japanese civilization. And it was the fragmentary and sparse information derived from these efforts that they relayed home. Still, as in the case of India, the rivulets of the early years joined to become a mighty river by 1600, and it is our purpose here to trace these channels of information on Japan to their numerous sources in an effort to explain how they acquired their character, depth, and color.

This chapter was presented in summary before the meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, April 12, 1960.

Japan

I

First Notices

The Greeks and Romans apparently knew nothing about the existence of Japan. References in Persian geographical writings of the ninth century to "Wakwak," an island placed to the east of Korea and China, are sometimes taken to be vague notices of *Wa-kuo* (*Wo-kwok* in Cantonese), an old Sino-Korean name for Japan. Marco Polo, who was at the Mongol court when the invasion of Japan was being planned, refers to the islands as "Cipangu," his romanization of the Chinese *Jih-pên kuo* ("Land of the Rising Sun"). Later Arabic and European writers supposedly refer to the Japanese, under one name or the other, but none of them is clear on the precise location of the insular kingdom.[1] The first definite approximation of the word Japan ("Jampon") in a European document appeared in the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, perhaps written as early as 1513.[2]

Because this earliest notice antedates the inauguration of European contacts, the name "Jampon" was certainly derived by Pires from an intermediary source. Our word, "Japan," is now presumed to be a Portuguese rendition of the Malay terms "Japun" or "Japang," which are themselves renditions of the Chinese *Jih-pên kuo* as relayed to the Malays through one of the Chinese coastal dialects (probably Fukienese).[3] The probability is that Pires heard the term from Malay traders, though it is peculiar that his contemporary, Duarte Barbosa, makes no similar, identifiable reference to Japan. Barros, who completed writing his second decade in 1549, mentions "Japões" in his discussion of the China coastal region. But, like the work of Pires, the first decade of Barros was not published or circulated until after mid-century. Barros and Castanheda, the early chroniclers of Portuguese activities in Asia, almost certainly knew more about Japan than the incidental references included in their works would lead us to believe. Their omissions may be accounted for by the fact that death overtook them before they had reached the point in their chronicles where they planned to tell what they knew of Japan. Neither Barros nor Castanheda carries his narrative down to the time of Japan's "discovery" by the Portuguese. Between 1513 and 1550 the word "Japan" in one of its numerous transliterations, strangely does not appear elsewhere in European literature or on

[1] For an exhaustive survey and critical evaluation of the supposed and real notices of Japan see Georg Schurhammer, S J, "O descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543," *Anais* (Academia Portuguesa da historia), Ser 2, Vol. II (1946), pp. 17–85.

[2] A Cortesão (ed and trans), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London, 1944), I, 131 See the same author's earlier article, "The First Account of the Far East in the Sixteenth Century—The Name 'Japan' in 1513," in *Comptes rendus du congrès international de géographie, Amsterdam, 1938* (Leiden, 1938), II, 146–52.

[3] Cortesão (ed. and trans), *op. cit* (n. 2), I, 131, n 1, also H. Yule and A C. Burnell (comps), *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1886), pp 333–34, and C. R Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan* (Berkeley, 1951), p. 14

maps.[4] Several mid-century commentators, however, quickly identified the islands of Japan, rich in gold and silver as they were reputed to be, with the "Cipangu" of Marco Polo.[5]

Pires precedes his brief description of Japan with a longer discussion of the "Lequeos" (Liu-ch'iu islanders) and "Guores," trading people from insular East Asia. It would seem that ships from Naha in Okinawa regularly traded at Malacca and that they were manned by a people called "Guores" who were possibly Japanese.[6] Presumably then much of what Pires has to say about the trading activities of the "Guores" as well as his description of Japan is pertinent here. For instance, he recounts that these "Guores" are "great draftsmen and armourers." They are also said to "make gild coffers, very rich and well-made fans, swords, many arms of all kinds after their fashion."[7] Such references were probably to goods brought from Japan to Okinawa to trade, for the Liu-ch'iuans have never yet, as far as is known, been skilled enough to produce elegant works of art.

Writing of Japan itself, Pires remarks:

> The island of Japan, according to what all the Chinese say, is larger than that of the *Lequeos*, and the king is more powerful and greater, and is not given to trading, nor [are] his subjects He is a heathen king, a vassal of the king of China. They do not often trade in China because it is far off and they have no junks,[8] nor are they seafaring men.[9]

[4] See E. W Dahlgren, "Les débuts de la cartographie du Japon," *Archives d'études orientales*, IV (1911), 13–15, who asserts that an approximation of "Japan" ("Giapam") first appeared on the Gastaldi map of 1550, Cortesão (trans and ed), *op. cit.* (n 2), p 131, n. 1, considers it "extraordinary that between Pires and Gastaldi no extant document mentions the word Japan."

[5] António Galvão, *The Discoveries of the World* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol XXX [London, 1872]), p 230, remarks that Japan "seemeth to be the Isle of Zipangri, whereof Paulus Venetus maketh mention, and of the riches thereof." It is fairly clear from Chinese sources that gold was regularly exported in about 1500 from Japan to China and for lower prices than from elsewhere. On this point see K Enoki, "Marco Polo and Japan," in *Oriente Poliano*, a collection of papers published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome, 1957), pp. 28–30.

[6] On this identification I follow Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 3), pp. 11–12 The reader should recognize, however, that it is much disputed Akiyama Kenzō [秋山謙藏] in 1928 published two articles in which he seeks to show that "Guores" was the name originally applied at Malacca and elsewhere in southeast Asia to Koreans and later to the Liu-ch'iu islanders or the Ryukyuans. See his "Goresu wa Ryukyujin de aru [Goresu は琉球人である]," *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌] (*Historical Journal of Japan*), Vol. XXXIX, No 3 (1928), 268–85, and his "Goresu naru meishō no hassei to sono rekishiteki hatten [Goresu なる名稱の發生とその歷史的發展]," *ibid*, No. 12 (1928), 1349–59 Four years later Maejima Shinji [前嶋信次] "Gōresu kō" [ゴーレス攷], *ibid*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (1932), pp 93–111, and No. 4 (1932), pp 65–87, attempts to show that the "Guores" were the Japanese Also see Fujita Motoharu [藤田元春], "Shira no shima oyobi Gōres ni tsukite," [シラの島及びゴーレスに就きて] *ibid*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2 (1936). Also see Cortesão (ed. and trans), *op. cit.* (n 2), I, notes on pp 128–29 and M. C Haguenauer, "Encore la question des Gores," *Journal asiatique* CCXXVI (1935), 67–116. Whatever the proper identification it seems clear that the "Guores" were merchants from insular East Asia who traded regularly in the southern seas.

[7] Cortesão (trans. and ed.), *op. cit* (n. 2), I, 130

[8] At the end of the century Frois reports that the Chinese and Koreans are superior to the Japanese on the sea (see below, p. 721).

[9] This misinformation about Japanese trading activities may have been a bit of intentional deception on the part of Pires' Chinese informants, who were themselves operating illegally in Malacca and

The *Lequeos* go to Japan in seven or eight days and take the said merchandise, and trade for it in gold and copper All that comes from the *Lequeos* is brought by them from Japan. And the *Lequeos* trade with the people of Japan in cloths, fishing-nets and other merchandise.[10]

Such a cursory description hardly does justice to Japan of the *Sengoku* ("country at war") epoch.[11] For the Ōnin Civil War (1467–77) inaugurated a domestic struggle which lasted for more than a century as Japan writhed in its efforts to replace the decadent Ashikaga shogunate with a new central authority. The Sengoku was consequently a period in which the *daimyo* (lords) exercised independent local power and in which certain of the more powerful lords aggressively tried to extend their sway over neighboring regions or the country as a whole. Still the Sengoku was not exclusively a period of confusion. It was also a time of construction, increasing productivity, and cultural dynamism. A large measure of stability and order was finally contrived in the second half of the sixteenth century, primarily through the ingenuity and talents of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

But this is not to say that Japan was concerned with internal political problems to the exclusion of all other matters. The marauding bands of pirates called *Wako* (from *Wo-k'ou*, the Chinese for "dwarf slaves")[12] who terrorized the maritime provinces of China and Korea were often financed and organized by the feudal chieftains of the coastal regions of western Japan as they sought to replenish their coffers through plunder. Other Japanese carried on a more legitimate trade in eastern and southeastern Asia, though apparently at irregular intervals.[13] From time to time in the Ashikaga period missions were sent to China for trading purposes until the Japanese were forbidden to trade there in 1549. Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese in the sixteenth century were not legally prohibited from going abroad. Representatives of the island kingdom made their way to all parts of the Far East, and isolated individuals even got to western Europe and the New World before 1600.

From the time of Pires to 1550 very little was communicated to Europe that went beyond the mere identification of Japan or recounted rumors of its wealth. The opulent "Cipangu" of Marco Polo certainly lured Columbus and possibly

---

who had long had connections of various sorts with Japanese traders and pirates. Cf. Boxer, *op cit* (n 3), p. 13. For a discussion of Japan's tributary trade with China until its suspension by China in 1547–49 see Y. Takekoshi, *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan* (New York, 1930), I, chap. xvii, and Wang Yi-t'ung, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368–1549* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 75–81.

[10] Cortesão (ed. and trans.), *op cit.* (n 2), I, 131.

[11] For details see G. B Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History* (New York, 1936), chap xix

[12] On the history of the *Wako* as precursors of systematic foreign trade see Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n 9), I, 342–45. Also see P A. Tschepe, S J., *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den altesten Zeit bis zum Jahre 1600* (Yenchoufu, 1907), pp. 162–307, Tsunoda Ryukichi and L. C. Goodrich (trans.), *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, Later Han through Ming Dynasties* (Pasadena, Calif, 1951), pp 129–35.

[13] O. Munsterberg, *Japans auswartiger Handel von 1542 bis 1854* ("Munchener volkswirtschaftliche Studien," Vol X [Stuttgart, 1896]), pp. 16–21.

attracted Magellan. The "first opening" of Japan by Europeans began only after 1543 when certain Portuguese seamen, three in number, were blown to Japan.[14] While Fernão Mendes Pinto was evidently not among them, he probably visited Japan shortly after they made their landfall there. Thereupon the process of "opening" Japan proceeded apace and the Jesuit missionaries soon followed in the wake of the merchantmen.

Though evidence is still lacking, it is hard to believe that the Portuguese, through their dealings with the Wako, had learned almost nothing of Japan before 1550. Further research, particularly in the Portuguese archives, may well reveal that stray mariners arrived in Japan before 1543 and that they made reports on their experiences to Lisbon. Since Pinto did not return to Portugal until 1558, and since he worked on his *Peregrinaçam* for the next twenty years, he can scarcely be considered an early informant.[15] Indeed the first detailed reports to Europe came through the Spanish rather than the Portuguese.[16] The expedition from Mexico to the Philippines under Ruy Lopez de Villalobos of 1542–44 was unable to return across the Pacific, and, as a consequence, a number of its members ultimately fell into the hands of the Portuguese who controlled the Indies. One of the captives, Garcia de Escalante Alvardo, who had been a factor in Villalobos' entourage, learned about Japan from merchants whom he met at Ternate. Later he and his companions wrote up this new information, and Escalante, who prepared the most complete of these reports, sent his narrative, after his return to Lisbon in 1548, to the Viceroy of Mexico.[17] That Escalante was able to prepare such a narrative so shortly after the "opening" of Japan adds weight, I believe, to the theory that the Portuguese already knew a good deal about Japan and bolsters the argument that the Portuguese "policy of secrecy" was applied to East Asian materials.

Escalante's narrative is based primarily upon the report of Pero Diez, a Galician from Monterrey, who had actually visited Japan in 1544. A secondhand account, Escalante's brief notice nonetheless was the first narrative distributed in the West which was based on the actual experiences of Europeans. Though

[14] There is still no complete agreement about the exact date of this event. Galvão's account in *op cit.* (n 5), pp 229–30, which gives 1542 has been the point of departure for those who maintain the earlier date I have tentatively accepted 1543 on the basis of the abundant data and cogent arguments advanced in Schurhammer, *op cit.* (n. 1), pp 87–172. The date, September 23, 1543, is also accepted by the Japanese historian, Matsuda Kiichi. See his statement in "Historical Study of the Intercourse between Portugal, Spain, and Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Resumo das comunicações* (International Congress of the History of the Discoveries, [Lisbon, 1960]), p. 165.

[15] He was used as an informant by Barros and Maffei among others after his return to Lisbon His book was not published until 1614

[16] Pigafetta (in J. A. Robertson [ed], *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta* [Cleveland, 1906], I, 89) tells of passing "two very rich islands" called "Cipangu " But probably this was a name simply taken from the world map that the Magellan navigators had in their possession. For other mentions by the Spanish see Yule and Burnell, *op. cit* (n. 3), p 344

[17] For the full account see J. F. Pacheco *et al.* (eds.), *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento . de las antiguas posesiones Españolas en América y Oceania* (Madrid, 1866), V, 117–205. For an English translation see E. W. Dahlgren, "A Contribution to the History of the Discovery of Japan," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (London), XI (1912–13), 239–60.

he is brief and somewhat inaccurate, he is better informed than Pires. Escalante writes:

From there [China] they [the Portuguese sailors or merchants] crossed over to the Island of Japan, which is situated about 32 degrees; the distance from there to Liompu [Liampo or Ningpo][18] is 155 *leguas* [leagues] in about an east-westerly direction.[19] It is a very cold country, the villages which they saw on the coast are small and on each island[20] there is a chief, but he [Diez] could not say where the king over them all resides The inhabitants of these islands are good looking, white, and bearded, with shaved heads. They are heathens, their weapon is the bow and arrow, but the latter is not poisoned as in the Philippine Islands They fight with rods with pointed spikes but they possess neither swords nor lances.[21] They read and write in the same manner as do the Chinese, their language is similar to German [22] They keep many horses, on which they ride; the saddles lack saddlebows behind and their stirrups are of copper. The working people dress in woolen clothes which is similar to that which Francisco Velasquez found in the country he visited [23] The superior classes are dressed in silk, brocade, satin, and taffety, the women have mostly very white complexions and are very beautiful, they are dressed in the same manner as the women of Castile, in wool or silk, according to their station. The houses are built of stone and clay, the interior is plastered and the roofs are covered with tiles in the same manner as in our country, and they have upper floors, windows, and galleries. Necessaries of life such as cattle and fruits of all kinds are to be found just as on the mainland. There is also a quantity of sugar.[24] They keep hawks and falcons for hunting purposes,[25] but they do not use the meat of cattle for food.[26] The country enjoys a wealth of fruit, especially melons. They cultivate the ground with oxen and ploughs, they use shoes of leather and small hats of horsehair similar to those used by the Albanians They bid each other farewell with ceremonious courtesy There is an abundance of fishing. The wealth they possess consists of silver[27] which is found in small ingots of which a sample was sent to your Highness the last time the ship arrived.... He [Diez] saw very little gold on the island but great quantities of iron and copper.[28]

[18] On this identification see below, p. 737

[19] The exact location and configuration of Japan were a source of constant confusion among Europeans until the end of the sixteenth century For a brief discussion of Japan's fortunes at the hands of the cartographers see Lawrence C Wroth, "The Early Cartography of the Pacific," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, Vol. XXXVIII, No 2 (1944), pp. 201–7, and W E Washburn, "Japan on Early European Maps," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXI (1952), 221–36

[20] Here Escalante seems to intimate that Japan is the main island surrounded by smaller islands—hence an archipelago

[21] This is manifestly untrue, for the Japanese were excellent sword-makers and armorers See Sansom, *op cit* (n 11), pp. 262–63, and Takekoshi, *op cit* (n 9), I, 247, who list some of the sword forgers and metal experts renowned in sixteenth-century Japan

[22] Curious as this may seem, several writers of this period, including Castanheda, compare Chinese and Japanese to German Perhaps this is because the belief was widespread among the Portuguese that China bordered in the west on Germany (see below, p. 752)

[23] The Zuñi Indians of New Mexico

[24] Probably incorrect Sugar was neither grown nor imported Tea leaves, persimmon juice, and rice jelly were used for sweetening See Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 249

[25] Cf B H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (6th rev ed , London, 1939), p 143.

[26] Cf *ibid*, p 17 Also see below, p 664

[27] Cf *ibid*, p 232 Silver and copper were certainly produced in quantity.

[28] Dahlgren, *loc cit* (n 17), pp 245–46.

Clearly both the Portuguese and Spanish merchants of the first half of the century were hopeful, on the basis of the stories they heard, that Japan would prove to be the realization of their dreams of Eldorado. Pires had observed that the Liu-ch'iuans traded in Japan for "gold and copper." On maps and in letters Japan was sometimes identified with the mysterious *Ilhas Argentarias* which Europeans believed lay somewhere east of China in the Pacific Ocean. As with many such beliefs, this one had in it a kernel of the truth. For Japan did export silver and copper in Ashikaga times, and in the sixteenth century a number of new mines were opened. Until Hideyoshi's time, copper was used for coinage; in the latter half of the century, shortly after the time of Escalante's writing, the Japanese began to export silver as part of a deliberate policy inaugurated by Nobunaga to accumulate and hoard gold.[29]

The next narrative on Japan prepared before the advent of the Jesuits was the document written by Captain Jorge Alvarez at Malacca in 1547 at the request of Xavier. Alvarez, a merchant, had voyaged along the coast of Kyūshū, had made an extended stay at the port of Yamagawa on the southernmost tip of Kyūshū, but had never penetrated more than nine miles inland. On his departure from Japan, Alvarez was accompanied by two servants and Yajirō, a native of Kagoshima and a fugitive from justice. Stimulated and excited by what he heard about Japan from Alvarez, Xavier forwarded the merchant's report to Loyola in Rome at the beginning of 1548.[30] Thus it became the first item of importance collected by the Jesuits for their detailed documentation on Japan compiled during the latter half of the century. Though Alvarez' account was circulated to the Jesuit houses and to important personages in the Church, it did not arouse general interest at once.[31]

Alvarez, unlike the earlier commentators, was obviously a man of education endowed with keen powers of observation. Even though his experience in Japan was limited to a few places, he stayed long enough at Yamagawa to acquire more than a superficial impression of the land and its people. He enumerates the ports of Japan which he learned about in his travels. The terrain which he had a chance to observe he describes as hilly and agricultural. He was told that in the interior one could see open country. For protection, the chiefs of the various feudatories build their fortresses about two leagues from the coast on isolated hills. The islands regularly suffer from earthquakes, hurricanes, and typhoons.

[29] On this problem see Delmer M Brown, *Money Economy in Medieval Japan, a Study of the Use of Coins* (New Haven, 1951), notes on p 61 and pp 72–73.

[30] For bibliographical details see G Schurhammer, S J., *Die zeitgenossischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarlander* (Leipzig, 1932), p 234 For summaries of the report in English see H J Coleridge, S J (trans), *The Life and Letters of St Francis Xavier* (London, 1890), II, 216–22, and Boxer, *op cit* (n 3), pp 32–36.

[31] G Schurhammer, S J , "Il contributo dei missioni cattòlici . . . alla conoscenza del Giappone," in C Costantini *et al* , *Le missioni cattòliche e la cultura dell'Oriente* (Rome, 1943), p. 114, speculates, incorrectly I believe, that it never occurred to anybody in Rome that the Japan of Xavier was the "Zipangu" of Marco Polo He avers that in Europe it was thought this was merely a report on one of the 7,448 islands which Marco Polo had said lay east of China in the sea Cf. above, p. 37.

For his more detailed reports on Japanese life and customs, Alvarez drew mainly upon his experiences at Yamagawa. Its environs are depicted as being beautifully wooded, and intensively cultivated. Horses are mainly used in farming, and "scarcely any oxen [are] to be met with."[32] Vegetables, game, and sea food are excellent and abundant; but domesticated animals—cattle, sheep and poultry—are few in number and their meat low in quality. The Japanese build their houses low and erect high fences around their fortresses to help them weather the periodic windstorms which sweep across the islands. Their houses are divided into rooms and anterooms which are never locked—evidently the author's oblique way of saying that the houses had no continuous walls or doors. The abodes of men of substance are furnished with a private well, an oven, a loom, mills for grinding grain, and kitchen gardens.[33]

The Japanese themselves are of average height, well-proportioned, and fair. They are considered to be proud and "easily offended," though apparently they were kind and liberal to strangers and curious about them—a characteristic that set the Japanese apart from many other Asiatics, including the Chinese, in the eyes of the Europeans. The extreme formality of the Japanese and their punctilious observance of every detail of propriety does not escape Alvarez' attention. Their strict rules governing relations between superiors and inferiors, their esteem for self-abnegation, their pride in self-control, and their manner of speaking almost in a whisper are remarked upon. Unlike later commentators, he states that vassals are loyal to their lord and asserts that they consider it an honor to have their sons serve in his household. While eating their frugal meals, the Japanese, like the Moors, sit cross-legged on the floor, yet, like the Chinese, eat with chopsticks from "earthenware bowls painted black outside and red within."[34] They never drink cold water and seldom eat bread. Rice wine is imbibed, "but, drunkenness is apparently unknown."[35] They are fond of music but averse to gambling.[36]

"Legally, no one can have more than one wife,"[37] even though many obviously take concubines. Adultery on the wife's part is punishable by death at her husband's hands. Good wives are held in high esteem, and are permitted "to go hither and thither as they list,"[38] a practice which clearly surprised the Portu-

[32] Coleridge (trans.), *op cit* (n. 30), II, 216

[33] This description accords in a number of points with some observations made at the end of the nineteenth century. See H. Haas, *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan* (Tokyo, 1902), I, 271, n 7. Also cf. Chamberlain, *op cit* (n 25), pp. 34–36

[34] Coleridge (trans.), *op cit* (n 30), II, 218.

[35] *Ibid.* Cf the criticism of their drunken parties in Maffei. See below, p 708. The sake which they drank was unrefined. See Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 249

[36] A number of the Jesuits, including Xavier, assert that the Japanese never gamble But this contention can hardly be maintained in the face of what the Japanese themselves say (see Takekoshi, *op cit.* [n. 9], I, 270–71).

[37] Coleridge (trans), *op cit* (n 30), II, 218. For further details and confirmation of this assertion see W E. Griffis, *The Mikado's Empire* (8th ed., New York, 1896), pp 556–57

[38] Coleridge (trans.), *op cit.* (n 30), II, 220

guese.[39] Theft, even of the pettiest sort, brings the death penalty. Prisons are unknown, for the family is held responsible for the execution of justice.[40] Slaves are permitted to the wealthy, but they are relatively few and have the right, if unhappy about their conditions of servitude, to oblige their master to sell them to another.[41] Like other observers in the Far East, Alvarez remarks in horror upon the prevalence of sodomy.[42]

It was probably in response to the probing of Xavier that Alvarez summarized in some detail his vague impressions of Japan's traditional religions. He distinguishes between Buddhism and Shintō, and makes numerous observations on the external aspects of both religions. Particularly detailed is his discussion of the Buddhist bonzes (*bōzu*)[43] and temples. Their sacred writings and many of their rites and practices, he notes, were borrowed from the Chinese. They live in communities and say office together at appointed hours. They shave their heads, keep themselves very clean, and eat nothing but vegetables. They can read and write Chinese, but are unable to speak it. There are also orders of women, many of whom come from aristocratic families. These women take the vow of chastity and live apart from the bonzes. The Buddhist priests perform obsequies for the dead and pray for the sick. Some of them beg in the streets or do menial labor. Finally, they show themselves to be curious about Christian teachings, amused at Christian images, and interested in visiting the West.[44]

"Moreover," Alvarez reports, "I saw besides another kind of priests who worship other idols and who do not belong to the same order of that land."[45] These worshippers, presumably Shintō priests, are said to keep their venerated idols in tabernacles and never to bring them out except for festivals. They dress like the laity and carry weapons. Apparently this was so for the priests officially belonged to the samurai class. They also wear "a rosary round their neck by which one can recognize them."[46] Women help the Shintō priests in their devotions, but with the bonzes the members of this sect have no relations.

[39] Even Griffis (*op cit* [n 37], p 554) in the nineteenth century remarks that "an amount of social freedom prevails among womankind in Japan that could hardly be expected in a country at once Asiatic, idolatrous, and despotic"

[40] These statements are unconfirmed in detail by other available sources, but the author seems generally to have comprehended the unique role of the Japanese family in the preservation of peace and order, the principle of collective responsibility, and the system of rigorous punishment for even petty violations See Sansom, *op cit* (n 11), pp 418–19.

[41] From the available literature on slavery in the Ashikaga period, it is impossible either to confirm or deny this statement For a few confirmatory remarks on slavery compiled from later writers see Thomas Rundall (ed), *Memorials of the Empire of Japan in the XVI and XVII Centuries* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vol VIII [London, 1850]), p 169

[42] Cf below, p. 774 for Gaspar da Cruz's remarks on this practice in China

[43] This is evidently the first time that this word was used in European writings It was hereafter adopted and is still used in European languages when referring to Buddhist priests. See Yule and Burnell, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p 79, also S R Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (Coimbra, 1919), I, 138–39

[44] Summarized from Coleridge (trans), *op. cit* (n 30), II, 220–21.

[45] As translated in G. Schurhammer, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods in Japan* (Bonn and Leipzig, 1923), p. 161

[46] *Ibid*, p. 162 and n. 3. The "rosary" of Alvarez probably refers to the neck decorations (*kubikake no maga-tama*) worn for important festivals Cf below, p. 663n.

Alverez then goes on to describe the rites followed by the Shintō devout in offering up "their intercessions for the dead and for the sick."[47] The single Shintō image that he saw he calls "ugly and badly proportioned."[48]

In a letter of January 14, 1549, from Cochin, Xavier sent to Loyola a summary narrative about Japan based on information provided by Yajirō.[49] He sent along with it a piece of Japanese writing prepared by Yajirō, who had been baptized before being sent to Goa to study more about Christianity, Portuguese, and the West. Here he translated summaries of Christian doctrine and prayers into Japanese [50] Paul of the Holy Faith, as Yajirō was known to the Jesuits, was able to furnish the Apostle of the Indies with materials to supplement and explain the careful observations of Alvarez. Naturally, Alvarez was able to report only on the externals of life in Japan; Yajirō provided further information on various topics and a bit of the internal dimension that could only come from a native and from one who had been a Buddhist, probably of the Shingon sect.[51] But, as Xavier wrote, since Paul "was not initiated in the sects as some of his countrymen who are held to be learned and since he only knew the common language,[52] on this account he related things only according to the current popular opinion."[53]

About Japanese government and political organization Yajirō gives more detail than any previous writer. "The whole island," he asserts, "is under one king," and beneath him are "about fourteen" great lords.[54] The supreme ruler is called "Voo,"[55] is of a "more noble race than the rest, and can only marry

[47] *Ibid*, p. 163 [48] *Ibid*, p. 164

[49] The text of this document was reproduced many times in the sixteenth century. It was also published by Nicolas Doll in Anton Eglauer (ed), *Die Missionsgeschichte spaterer Zeiten Der Briefe aus Japan* (Augsburg, 1795), I, 1–21 Later it was translated into English from a version of the original in the Jesuit College at Coimbra by Coleridge (trans), *op cit* (n 30), II, 208–16, it was then reproduced and translated into German, and annotated by Haas, *op cit* (n 33), I, 280–300 It should also be observed that Nicolas Lancillotto, S J, Yajirō's mentor in Goa, prepared a document called "Information on Japan" which was based on Yajirō's account It first appeared in abbreviated form in the 1554 edition of Ramusio's *Viaggi* and was later published in full in the *Nuovi Avisi* of 1562 See Schurhammer, *op cit* (n 30), p 269 Yajirō's information was also used in the earliest work on Japan prepared in Europe by the Orientalist, William Postel For a discussion of his *Des merveilles du monde* (1553) see H Bernard-Maître, "L'Orientaliste Guillaume Postel et la découverte spirituelle de Japon en 1552," *Monumenta Nipponica*, IX (1953), 83–108

[50] See Haas, *op cit.* (n 33), I, 95–96 for further details When Xavier questioned him as to why the Japanese write vertically instead of horizontally, Yajirō replied "But why don't you write the way we do Since a man's head is his uppermost and his feet his lowermost extremity it is only fitting that man writes from top to bottom" See the letter as edited in G Schurhammer and J Wicki (eds), *Epistolae S Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta* (Rome, 1945), II, 27

[51] See Schurhammer, *loc cit* (n 31), p 116.

[52] Evidently this means that he did not know the Chinese characters, but only the Japanese phonetic and syllabic writing. See Schurhammer, *op cit* (n 45), p 163, n 2.

[53] Coleridge (trans), *op. cit* (n 30), II, 208

[54] *Ibid*, pp. 208–9, for this quotation and the others in this paragraph There may have been but fourteen "great lords" in Kyūshū but there were around two hundred fiefs of various sizes and power in Japan during the sixteenth century See J Murdoch and I Yamagata, *A History of Japan* (Kobe, 1903), II, 71

[55] A representation of $\bar{O}$ (king) or *Dai* $\bar{O}$ (great king), one of the titles commonly used to refer to the emperor.

in his own family." Like the pope in Rome, the Japanese ruler has jurisdiction in "things spiritual as well as temporal."[56] But the actual government and administration of Japan is under the "Goxo"[57] who is "like the Emperor." One of his primary functions is to keep peace among the warring nobles. Though the "Goxo" has his own court and army, he can be deposed and beheaded by the "Voo." The lesser lords also have armies of their own, the least of them being able to put fifteen thousand men into the field.[58] Succession among the nobles is by primogeniture, "the younger sons having some castle allotted them for their maintenance, on condition that they maintain obedience to the head of the family."[59] The imperial succession descends to "the eldest son or to his nearest relation by the father's side," and the same procedure is followed in the house of the "Goxo." "Besides the great lords," Japan boasts "merchants and officials of every grade."[60]

According to Paul and probably with amplifications by Xavier, there are "three sorts of religious" who live a monastic life, some in cities and some outside.[61] Those who live in the cities are celibates[62] and mendicants who shave their heads and beards. They live communally, observe regular hours for prayers and chanting, and fast at frequent intervals. "These religious eat no animal food, in order to afflict their bodies and extirpate all sinful desires, and this abstinence is common to all religious." They pray in a language "not understood by the common people, just as our priests in Latin."[63] They preach frequently and fervently, for they often move "both themselves and their hearers to tears." Their beliefs include a conception of "one Supreme God, creator of all things"[64] and of immortality of the soul with independent ideas

[56] Cf the remarks in Haas, *op cit* (n 33), I, 282, n. 11

[57] Possibly a transcription of *Go-sho* ("elevated place"), a term which originally indicated the imperial palace and was then applied to the ruler himself. In the Ashikaga period this term was transferred to the emperor's generalissimos, the regent Shōguns See *ibid*, p 282, n 12

[58] "The regional hierarchies were complete but the national hierarchy was without an apex, since neither the emperor nor the Shōgun was able to enforce his will against the regional lords who were in effect autonomous princes, holding their own land, ruling their own vassals, maintaining their own armies and enforcing their own laws" (Sansom, *op cit* [n 11], p 394)

[59] It was only in the insecure conditions of Ashikaga society that the custom of primogeniture developed as the provincial lords in the absence of central authority sought to protect their lands and wealth against division by passing them on intact to their eldest sons See *ibid*, pp 354–55.

[60] Coleridge (trans), *op cit* (n. 30), II, 214

[61] Quotations in this paragraph from *ibid*, pp 210–11 Like Yajirō, the so-called "eighteen laws" of Ieyasu differentiate three types of Buddhist priests according to their varying dress (Haas, *op cit* [n 33], I, 285, N 20). Most of the missionaries of the later sixteenth century reported on four Buddhist sects the *Ikkō* who dress in gray, the *Zen* in black, the *Hokke* black on white, the *Shingon* gray on white See Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n 45), p 38, n 1 The reference to those who live outside the city may be an allusion to the *Yamabushi*, "those who sleep on mountains," a hermit group belonging to the *Shingon* sect, who were traveling soothsayers and beggars They were not celibate. See *ibid*, n 21, also Sir Charles Eliot, *Japanese Buddhism* (London, 1935), p 242

[62] Except for the priests of the Shin sect (*Jōdo shinshu*) See Haas, *op cit* (n 33), I, 285, n. 22 and Sansom, *op cit*. (n 11), p 324

[63] Probably refers to the reading aloud of the prayers written in *Bonji* (Sanskrit or Pali), a language with which many of the monks also had no familiarity See Haas, *op cit* (n 33), I, 286, n 27.

[64] Buddhism really possesses no tradition of creation comparable to the Christian or Shintō versions.

of paradise, purgatory, and hell. These black-robed priests are learned and virtuous men, except for their addiction to sodomy. But the priests who dress in grey are "persons of little learning," though they pray and fast as the others; these grey friars also live in close proximity to nuns with whom they perform antiphonal chants. The third group of clerics dress in black and "do much penance." The fragmentary character of the descriptions makes more accurate identification of these sects impossible.

The temples of all three religious groups are alike and "contain images made of wood and gilt" as well as "pictures painted on the walls"[65] They all worship one God "whom they call '*Dinchio*'[66] in their language or sometimes '*Cogi*.'"[67] Yajirō also reports that there lived once in a land beyond China, called "Chenguinquo,"[68] a king named "Sanbon,"[69] whose wife was called "Illagabuni."[70] The child of this royal couple was "Xaqua" (Buddha)[71] at whose "birth two huge winged serpents were seen to float over the palace." Upon his coming of age, Buddha's father urged him to marry. But "impressed with the miseries of life," he fled to the mountains where he lived for six years doing solitary penance. His period of contemplation over, Buddha began to preach to his fellows and soon acquired a great reputation for holiness. Under his influence the laws of his country were reformed and the people brought to God. Some of his eight thousand converts "carried his doctrines into China" from where they spread to Japan.

"Xaqua" taught his followers five moral precepts: not to kill; not to steal; not to fornicate; not to become unduly disturbed by things that cannot be remedied; and to forgive injustice.[72] In his many writings he prescribed the "manners which men ought to observe each according to his state."[73] Furthermore, "Xaqua" stressed the importance of fasting and the necessity of penance for salvation. The Buddhist priests are exhorted to visit the sick and "to bury all, poor and rich, without any difference." In Japan, the followers of Buddha, according to Yajirō, perform penance by retreating to the woods and mountains to join the anchorites there for a period of austere living, confession, and prayer.[74]

[65] Quotations in this paragraph from Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 211.

[66] Corruption of *Dainichi* ("great sun"), the Japanese name for Vairocana. See Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, 287, n. 32. *Dainichi* is particularly revered by the Shingon sect. See Eliot, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 186.

[67] Perhaps a corruption of *Go-chi* (also known as *nijorai*), the name by which the five Buddhas are known to the Shingon sect. See Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, 288, n. 33 for further discussion, also cf. Eliot, *op. cit.* (n. 61), p. 100.

[68] A primitive transliteration of *Tenjiku*, the Japanese name for India.

[69] *Jōbon Dai Ō* (Sanskrit, *Suddhodhana*).

[70] *Maya Bunin* (Sanskrit, *Māyā*).

[71] *Shaka* for Shakyamuni, Japanese for Gotama, the historical Buddha.

[72] Quotes in this paragraph from Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 211–14. The version of the Five Moral Precepts of Buddhism (*go-kai*) given by Yajirō is not entirely correct. Actually the fourth Precept forbids lying and the fifth the enjoyment of spirits. See Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, 290, n. 46. Xavier gets these right after being in Japan (see below, p. 670n.).

[73] Evidently he has here confused, as laymen in Japan are wont to do, the Confucian with the Buddhist teachings. Cf. Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, p. 291, n. 47.

[74] Further detail on these *Yamabushi* pilgrimages in *ibid.*, p. 293, n. 49. See also G. Schurhammer, "Die Yamabushis," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 206–28.

"The whole nation," Xavier reports Yajirō as saying, "prays on beads as we do." Their priests teach that there are 108 sins to which man falls prey and that "he must say a prayer against each of these."[75] Yajirō also left the impression with Xavier "that all the Japanese will become Christians, because it is written in their law and in their books that all laws are to be one." Be that as it may, it is worth noticing that Yajirō, for all his own Christian piety and enthusiasm, says nothing about the probability of the Japanese being willing to renounce their traditional religious practices upon acceptance of Christianity. Certainly, Xavier and many of those who followed him to Japan were much impressed, as apparently Yajirō was also, by the similarity between the external observances of Buddhism and Christianity, and Xavier was consequently inclined to believe that Christianity had spread to eastern Asia in the period of the primitive Church.[76]

Yajirō also provided Xavier with miscellaneous bits of information on climate, justice, resources, and everyday customs. But these materials are only incidental and add nothing to what Alvarez had already presented. The Jesuits were, however, able to obtain from Yajirō's work their first real insight into the character of Japanese government, and a few elementary notions about the externals and doctrines of Japanese Buddhism. Xavier seems not to have understood that Japanese Buddhism was but another form of the same religion existing in southeastern Asia, or at least he makes no effort in his account sent to Rome to point out how widespread Buddhism was in the East.[77] Perhaps this was because the various forms of Buddhism were so overlaid with local traditions and practices that their common elements could not readily be observed by a foreigner, or, even more likely, because Xavier himself never visited the great Buddhist states of Burma and Siam. Still, even before his own visit to Japan, Xavier and his colleagues in Europe were aware of some of the problems that a Christian mission might expect to face in Japan from Buddhism.

2

"The Best [People] Who Have Yet Been Discovered"

The Apostle of the Indies, after a hard trip from Malacca aboard a Chinese junk, landed at Kagoshima on August 15, 1549. Xavier was accompanied by Yajirō, Cosmas de Torres, and João Fernandez, and by two servants, one a

[75] Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, 295, n. 53, where the author observes that Buddhist priests in the early years of our century also identify in their teachings each of the 108 beads of the rosary with a particular weakness of the flesh. This is called *hiaku-hachi-bon-nō* in Japanese. For further details see J. M. James, "Descriptive Notes on the Rosaries (*ju-zu*) as Used by the Different Sects of Buddhists in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, IX (1882), 174.

[76] Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 215

[77] Like the Portuguese, Xavier seems not to have heard about Buddhism in India. The Jesuits first learn in detail about Buddhism from their experience in Japan and they quickly connect Japanese with Chinese Buddhism. See H. Bernard, S. J., "Hinayana indien et Mahayana japonais Comment l'Occident a-t-il découvert le Bouddhisme?" *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV (1941), 285–86.

Chinese and the other a native of Malabar. Xavier's group was accorded a warm reception at Kagoshima, Yajirō's home town and the capital of Satsuma. The Jesuit pioneer was officially received by the ruler of Satsuma six weeks after his arrival on Kyūshū. While still convinced that Japan was a promised land, Xavier wrote a long letter from Kagoshima to Goa on November 5, 1549. This first news was quickly copied and transmitted to Europe, and was circulating there in translation as early as 1551–52.[78] In 1554 it was published in the second edition of the first volume of Ramusio's *Navigationi*, after having appeared in a collection of Jesuit letters published at Rome in 1552.[79] Throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century, it was reprinted and quoted repeatedly.

Xavier's communication from Kagoshima is known to his biographers and bibliographers as his principal letter from Japan, though it is full of the generalizations that a tourist of six weeks is liable to make about any country which he has "discovered" for the first time. But it is also the work of a thoughtful, cultivated, and pious observer widely experienced in the East. "The people whom we have met so far," writes Xavier of his Satsuma experience, "are the best who have yet been discovered."[80] The Japanese are held to be superior to other "heathens," and are praised, especially for their sociability, good manners, sense of honor, good will, and lack of maliciousness. "They are a poor people in general," but no stigma is attached to poverty in their society. Rich and poor alike are treated courteously and with honor, though they never marry outside of their class. "They highly regard arms, and trust much in them," men of all classes carrying swords and daggers "from the age of fourteen onwards." They are a proud people with a strong sense of propriety and duty.

The people of Satsuma, Xavier observes, are "small eaters," though they drink more rice wine than is wise. Their diet is frugal, for they refuse to eat the animals which they raise. They satisfy the inner man with fish, rice, grain, herbs, and a little fruit.[81] Xavier thinks their diet far from pleasing, though he obviously feels that its simplicity and lack of superfluities is healthy both for the body and the spirit. They never gamble, they swear but little, and "there are many persons who can read and write."[82] Theft is unusual, for the lives

[78] See for a complete publication history Georg Schurhammer, "Der 'Grosse Brief' des Heiligen Franz Xaver, eine textkritische Untersuchung," in *Commemoration Volume· The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Professorship of Science of Religion in Tokyo Imperial University* (Tokyo, 1934), pp. 184–89

[79] This was the collection called *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo ricevuti . . da li Reuerendi Padri de la cõpagnia de Iesu .*

[80] Taken from the English translation of a lengthy extract from Xavier's letter of November 5, 1549, which appears as Appendix I in Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 401–5. All other quotations from this letter come from Boxer's translation.

[81] For more detail on diet see Chamberlain, *op. cit.* (n. 25), pp. 196–200. Also cf. Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 248–49.

[82] On the importance of the pen in Japanese culture and the long tradition of literacy see Sansom, *op. cit.* (n. 11), p. 279

of apprehended thieves "are never spared." And Xavier comments, "Never yet did I see a people so honest in not thieving."[83] While many Japanese "adore the Sun and others the Moon"[84] they are willing to listen to reasonable arguments against their beliefs and vices.

In Kagoshima the Jesuits learned "great things" of Miyako (Kyōto), "the chief city of Japan where the King and the greatest lords of the Kingdom reside."[85] And apparently it was actually a great city in the period when Xavier was writing, before the devastating wars, earthquakes, and fires, and its reconstruction in the latter half of the century had changed its face. The imperial city is "said to contain more than ninety thousand houses"[86] and "more than two hundred houses of Bonzes,[87] and of others like friars who are called *Ieguixu* [*Zen-shū*],[88] and of nuns who are called *Hamacata* [*Amakata*]." Kyōto is also portrayed as a center of learning, for it is reported to have a great university with "six principal colleges." In the neighborhood of the capital are located "other chief universities [really monasteries] whose names are these, Coya [*Kōya*], Nenguru [*Negoro*], Feizan [*Hiei-zan*], Taninomine [*Tamu no mine*],"[89] each of which attracts more than thirty-five hundred students. At a long distance from Miyako, there is the University of Bandou (the celebrated

[83] Cf. above, p 659 and below, p. 714

[84] Cf the account of these and other Shintō practices noticed by the early Jesuits in Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n. 45), pp. 35–38

[85] For a contemporary description of greater accuracy and detail see G Schurhammer and E. A Voretzsch (eds. and trans), Luis Fróis' *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)* (Leipzig, 1926), pp 234–41. On the establishment of Kyōto as the imperial capital see Sansom, *op. cit* (n 11), pp 189–93.

[86] Estimates varied among the Jesuit writers from 90,000 to 98,000 houses The latter may be a mistake for 96,000, a figure which Xavier quotes in a later letter See Schurhammer and Wicki (eds), *op cit* (n 50), II, 207, n. 90. For a discussion of the term "house" as used in Japanese statistics and for some comparative figures see R A B. Ponsonby-Fane, *Kyōto, The Old Capital of Japan (794–1869)* (Kyōto, 1956), pp 423–25 Suffice it to say that Xavier's figure, whatever it may mean, is not unreasonable At the end of the fifteenth century, Kyōto, it is estimated, had 206,000 houses or about 1,300,000 people (Takekoshi, *op cit* [n. 9], I, 256) In 1608–9 Don Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco estimates its population at 1,500,000 (see Rundall [ed], *op cit* [n 41], p. 96) Also cf. Murdoch and Yamagata, *op cit* (n 54), II, 160, n 6 None of the Jesuits gives so high a figure, most of them approximating Xavier's estimate and some of them (see below, p 677) indicating that its population declined in the sixteenth century Still, by comparison with European cities, Kyōto greatly impressed the Jesuit observers by its size Cf the population estimates of Kyōto with those for European cities in the sixteenth century Naples in 1547, the largest city of continental Europe, had 212,103 inhabitants, Venice at its peak in 1563 had 168,627 and Seville in 1587 could count only 120,319 inhabitants, Antwerp at its largest in 1560 had but 100,000, Lisbon in 1527 numbered 58,860, Rome and Paris in 1600 counted populations of 109,729 and about 200,000, respectively, London, Madrid, and Vienna had fewer than 100,000 at the end of the sixteenth century Figures on European cities are extracted from R Mols, *Introduction à la démographie historique des villes d'Europe de XIVe au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1955), II, *passim*, and from J C. Russell, *Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia, 1958), *passim*

[87] On the various temples and schools in Kyōto in the sixteenth century see G. Schurhammer, "Das Stadtbild Kyotos zur Zeit des heiligen Franz Xaver," *Anthropos*, XVI-XVII (1921–22), 147–52, 156–63, 166–69.

[88] See below, p. 715.

[89] Cf. rendition given in Schurhammer and Wicki (eds), *op cit* (n. 50), II, 208, n. 97 in which the name "Omy" is also given and identified as the Kinshō-ji monastery in the town of Kibe (also called Ōmi after the name of the province).

monastic school known as the Ashikaga *gakkō*), "the best and biggest in Japan."[90] This institution is located in Bandō (or the Kanto), "a great lordship where there are six dukes." Xavier also reports that there are other lesser universities in Japan, but that he will wait to see them before writing in greater detail.

Two things greatly astonished Xavier about the Japanese: their slight concern about "great sins" and the fact that the laity lives more morally than the bonzes. A long tradition in "vices which are against nature"[91] has undermined and corrupted the bonzes for "the most learned are the worst sinners." As an example of the uncertainty of their learned about rectitude, he cites his conversation with "Ningit" (Ninjitsu) his "great friend."[92] This old and respected priest was "unable to decide whether our soul is immortal, or whether it dies with the body." Still Xavier holds out great hope for the salvation of the Japanese because they learn "quickly prayers and religious matters." They are also full of curiosity about Christianity and the West and "are pleased and delighted" when one of their own, like Yajirō, becomes a Christian. The great difficulty is the problem of communication. "Now," grieves Xavier, "we are like so many statues among them." If progress in missionary work is to be made, "we have to be like little children [in] learning the language" and in "showing the simplicity of children devoid of malice."

Xavier sees the Buddhist priests as a possible source of difficulty for Christian missionaries. They are numerous and sinful, but held in high esteem by the laity. This is so, he believes, because of their "rigorous abstinence" from meat, fish and women, and because "they know how to relate some histories or rather fables of the things in which they believe." And, Xavier warns, "it may well happen that since they and we feel so differently about God and the method of salvation, that we may be persecuted by them with something stronger than words." Such a dire prediction was apparently not based on any adverse experiences suffered by the Christians in Satsuma during the six weeks Xavier had spent in Japan prior to writing his letter. The daimyo of Satsuma, Shimazu Takahisa, and his officials had warmly welcomed the Jesuit delegation, and shortly after Xavier's reception at court the people of Satsuma were told "that those who might wish to become Christians could do so." This "tolerance" by

[90] The Ashikaga-gakkō was a center for the study of Chinese literature and Confucian philosophy Operated by priests of the Zen sect, it was attended by some three thousand students drawn from every part of the country See Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 3), pp 39, 44 Frois later wrote (as translated in Murdoch and Yamagata, *op. cit.* [n 54], II, 154, n 3) "When the universities of Japan are spoken of, it must not be imagined that they resemble the universities of Europe Most of the students are *bonzes*, or study to become *bonzes*, and the principal end of their work is to learn the Chinese and Japanese characters They endeavor also to master the teachings of the different sects (that is, their theology), some little astronomy, some little medicine, but in the method of teaching and learning there is nothing of the strict system which characterizes the schools of Europe Furthermore, in Japan there is but one single University with a semblance of *United Faculties*, it is in the region of Bandou [Bandō], in the place called Axicanga [Ashikaga]."

[91] On the prevalence of pederasty in Japan during Tokugawa times see Yoshi S Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent* (Berkeley, Calif, 1938), II, 368–69.

[92] Frois gives further data on him in Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit.* (n. 85), pp. 6–7 He was abbot of a monastery of the Shin sect.

the lord of Satsuma was probably motivated in part by his desire for trade with the Portuguese.

Xavier remained in Satsuma until the beginning of September, 1550, where, starting with Yajirō's family, he and his co-workers made more than one hundred converts from the poorer classes. But, as he predicted, the Christians soon came under attack from the strongly entrenched Buddhists and he was finally ordered to halt his activities and leave the daimyo's territories. Possibly Shimazu was disappointed that no Portuguese ships called at his port to sell firearms. From Kagoshima, Xavier and his group directed their steps northward on the road to Miyako (Kyōto) where he hoped to get permission from the emperor to propagate Christianity throughout the entire realm. On this arduous journey the three missionaries were accompanied by Bernard and Matthew, two Japanese youths converted at Kagoshima. Their first stopping-place was on the tiny island off the northern tip of Kyūshū at Hirado (called "Firando" by the Portuguese), an important port, trading center, and leading city of the province of Hizen. There the daimyo, Matsuura Takanobu, received the missionaries cordially, for he, like his rival at Kagoshima, hoped that the arrival of the Europeans in his province would insure greater trade with the Portuguese. After three weeks of preaching and proselytizing, Xavier and the rest of his group, except for Torres, continued on the road to Miyako. Torres was left behind in Hirado at the end of October, 1550, to shepherd its little flock of converts and to face the snowy winter alone.[93]

The determined Apostle and his little crew went by sea from Hirado to Hakata ("Fakata" in the Jesuit letters or modern Fukuoka), and from thence to Shimonoseki (or "Akamagaseki" as it was called by them) on the eastern tip of the main island of Honshū. From here they proceeded by road and on foot to Yamaguchi, the headquarters of the princes of Nagato province of the Ōuchi clan and then one of the largest cities in the country.[94] Here he stayed for several weeks preaching Christian doctrine, or more accurately, reading it from the awkward translations of Yajirō. But the missionaries made little progress, perhaps because Yamaguchi was not a seaport and hence its rulers were either unaware of or uninterested in the Westerners as possible forerunners of trade.

Around the end of the year 1550, Xavier and his three companions set out for Miyako. It took them almost two months in the icy winter of Nippon to traverse the one hundred miles to the capital through a war-ridden and restless countryside. The pilgrims finally arrived at the imperial city in February, 1551, only to find that it too, like the countryside, was in wild disorder and being terrorized by marauding bands of soldiers.[95] Xavier quickly learned that the emperor was powerless to control his subjects, and hence unable, even if he had been willing, to guarantee the Christians the right to propagate the gospel in Japan. After two weeks in the turbulent capital, the weary and disappointed

[93] This account based on Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, chaps. ix–x.

[94] *Ibid*, p. 171.

[95] On conditions in Kyōto see Murdoch and Yamagata, *op. cit.* (n. 54), II, 55–56.

pilgrims started on their return trip to Kyūshū. But though Xavier had accomplished nothing, he had learned from his trip to Miyako that the daimyo were the real and only rulers of their territories and that the Jesuits would have to make their peace with them if the Cross were to be even semi-victorious in Japan.[96]

From Miyako the Jesuits went southward to Sakai where they boarded a ship that took them via the Inland Sea back to Hirado and Cosmas de Torres. Xavier, realizing now that the mendicant's garb was not respected in Japan, donned a better costume in preparation for a new approach to the daimyo of Nagato. He appeared in Yamaguchi around the middle of April, 1551, as the official emissary of the Viceroy of India and the Bishop of Goa bearing the presents and letters originally prepared for the king of Japan. It was not difficult for him in his new guise to obtain an audience with Ōuchi Yoshitaka, daimyo of Nagato. Pleased with the unusual gifts offered him, Ōuchi immediately granted Xavier the right to preach and his subjects the right to embrace the Christian teachings. After a number of fruitful months at Yamaguchi, Xavier at the end of August, 1551, learned that a Portuguese ship had arrived at Hiji, the port for Funai in Bungo. Immediately he sent Matthew, his Japanese convert, to the ship's captain, Duarte da Gama, with a letter asking for information on the ship's intended departure date. Upon learning that Da Gama planned on sailing within a month's time, Xavier and his two Japanese aides, Matthew and Bernard, hurriedly left for Bungo. Fernandez and Torres with their Chinese and Malabar servants were left behind to minister to the growing congregation of Yamaguchi.[97]

The daimyo of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, received Xavier affably and the reunion with the Portuguese gave the missionary great joy. Here the Jesuit also met Fernão Mendes Pinto who had grown rich from Eastern trade and who lent him money to build a church at Yamaguchi.[98] On November 20, 1551, Da Gama's ship weighed anchor. Aboard were an emissary from Ōtomo to the Viceroy of India along with Xavier and his two young Japanese converts. The Jesuit mission in Japan had been started, though it was not flourishing, and Xavier was on his way back to India firmly determined, after his trials in Japan, to undertake the apostolic opening of China. For he had learned from his experience of two years and three months in Japan just how important China could be potentially to the spiritual conquest of the Far East.[99]

Shortly after arriving back in India, Xavier dispatched letters to Europe telling of his experiences in Japan. These were penned in the last days of January, 1552, from Cochin, and addressed to the Society in Europe, to Loyola, to

[96] Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, 180. For a detailed account see Georg Schurhammer, "Der heilige Franz Xaver in Miyako," *Stimmen der Zeit*, C (1921), 440–55.

[97] Based on Haas, *op. cit.* (n. 33), I, chaps. xi–xiii

[98] See *ibid.*, pp. 201–2 for a short biography of Ōtomo Yoshishige and his family. For discussion of the privilege granted the missionaries to build a church see below, p. 680.

[99] Boxer, *op. cit.*, p 20.

Simão Rodrigues, and to King John of Portugal.[100] The longest and by far the most detailed is the one directed to the Society in Europe, and it was clearly intended to be circulated among the Jesuit colleges there. Upon receipt, its complete text was published in two collections of letters which appeared in 1553,[101] and in the following year it was incorporated into the second edition of Ramusio's first volume.[102] The shorter letter directed to Loyola personally was not published in Europe until 1559.[103] The letters sent to Rodrigues and to the king in Portugal were apparently not published at all in the sixteenth century.

Xavier's letter to the Society in Europe recounts some of what has already been summarized about his experiences in Japan.[104] But, unlike his earlier accounts of Japan, it deals primarily with the "false teachings" of the Buddhists, intellectual and educational life, and the disturbed political condition of the country. In some ways it is an exhortation to Europe's intellectuals and students as well as to the members of the Society urging greater interest in and support for the foreign missions. If people in Europe only appreciated the rewards of apostolic work, Xavier felt "sure that many learned men would finish their studies, [and that] canons, priests and prelates even would abandon their rich livings, to change an existence full of bitterness and anxiety for so sweet and pleasant a life."[105] In his eagerness to paint an optimistic picture and to make the task seem promising, Xavier is here guilty of minimizing the problems confronting the mission in Japan, as when he casually remarks that the Japanese language is "not very difficult to learn."[106] In other respects, too, this hortative letter is an excellent example of what the Jesuits call an "edifying missive" as distinguished from a full and frank appraisal of a situation.

Xavier characterizes the Japanese as being a people "very ambitious of honors and distinctions" who "think themselves superior to all nations in military glory and valor." They prize arms, he reports, "more than any people I have ever seen." To each other they are polite in daily intercourse, "but not to foreigners, whom they utterly despise."[107] Though they all have one sovereign, the

[100] Texts of all four appear in Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 50), II, 242–309.

[101] In the *Nouvi avisi delle Indie* . (Rome, 1553), no. 11, and the *Nuovi avisi di piu lochi* (Rome, 1553). For complete information on sixteenth-century publications of this letter see Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 50), II, 251.

[102] See G. B. Parks, *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigationi* (New York, 1955), p. 21.

[103] Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 50), II, 286.

[104] A translation into English of a substantial portion of this letter may be found in Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 331–50.

[105] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

[106] Xavier's own ability in Japanese has aroused considerable controversy, primarily because of the Church's assertion that he possessed the "gift of tongues." See Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 383–86. Cf. this assertion to his letter of 1549 where he gives real evidence of being stupified by the difficulty of the language. The best summary of the controversy is contained in Georg Schurhammer, *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Stuck Ritenfrage in Japan* (Tokyo, 1928), pp. 5–13, in which it is shown that neither Xavier nor Torres could possibly have gotten along in Japan without interpreters.

[107] Contrast this with the remark of Alvarez that the Japanese are "kind and liberal to strangers." (See above, p. 658.)

"princes have ceased to obey him" and are perpetually feuding with one another. But as a rule the people, as opposed to the bonzes and nobles, are ingenious, moderate, desirous of instruction, "guided by right reason, and . . . adorned with other eminent qualities." So, despite a number of persistent and knotty problems, Xavier esteems Japan to be "a rich and fertile field from whence copious and joyful results may be expected."

The Apostle of the Indies bears down most heavily in this letter on the religious beliefs and practices of the Japanese, and the problems which they pose for the Christian missionary. Buddhists of both sexes "profess a religious rule" and are incredibly numerous. The two main sects, one of which dresses in grey and the other in black, constantly feud with each other. "The sects prevailing in Japan are derived from China," and it is from there that the Japanese "received written traditions concerning the founders of the different sects."[108] There are two principal founders, (though founders is hardly the correct word) "Xaca" (Shakyamuni) and Amida, and there are "nine rules [or sects] for both men and women."[109] The grey bonzes "chiefly venerate Amida; the rest of the people do not leave Amida out, but render most honor to Xaca."[110] Every Japanese is free to accept whichever persuasion is to his liking, a comment which reveals once again how bound Xavier is in his thinking by the monotheistic and monistic traditions of the West.

His conception of Buddhist doctrine, though still superficial, clearly was deepened as a result of his experiences in Japan, particularly through his disputations with both the bonzes and the laity. "All these sects," he notes, "observe a wonderful silence about the creation of the world and of souls." They talk of "abodes of the virtuous and of the wicked" without making clear "by whose power . . . the wicked are cast down to hell." They limit their remarks "to holding up the example of the founders of the sects" who suffered greatly for the redemption of the evil and unthinking. Penance is not required and the laity is urged to save itself from eternal suffering by confidently placing its trust in these "holy persons."[111] Still the Buddhists all agree that five moral precepts must be observed.[112] Should these commandments be broken by secular persons, the bonzes will "make satisfaction for all the evil or inconvenience which may happen to them" providing that they are given convents, money, honor, and homage. The bonzes therefore get whatever they want "as every one believes that by their prayers souls are delivered from hell." Under such a system the rich "enjoy a greater license of sinning" while the poor "have no

[108] For the history of Buddhism's origins in Japan see J. B. Pratt, *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism* (New York, 1928), chap. xxiii.

[109] This would seem to be a reference to the following nine most important sects. Ritsu, Hossō, Kegon, Jōdo, Shin, Zen, Tendai, Hokke (Nichiren), and Shingon

[110] Amida is reverenced especially by the Jōdo and Shin sects, the Hokke (Nichiren) sect gives primacy to Shakyamuni.

[111] The Shin sect held that fasting, penance, pilgrimages, and retreats were useless. Their emphasis was upon salvation by faith alone Pratt, *op. cit* (n 108), p. 486.

[112] Xavier lists commandments against killing or eating meat, stealing, adultery, lying, and drinking wine. Cf. the earlier incorrect list as supplied him by Yajirō (above, p 662n.).

hope of escaping from hell." Women, "on account of their monthly courses," are deemed much more sinful than men. But any individual, irrespective of sex, who gives money to the bonzes, will after death "receive ten times as much in the same coin." Though the bonzes receive many alms and bequests, "they themselves never give anything to any one."

About Christian teachings Xavier notes that the Japanese are extremely curious and skeptical. On being told that God is the creator of the world and the "First Cause of all things," they remark that the Chinese "must have known it." Like many Europeans before and since, the Japanese questioned Xavier on the origin of evil in the Christian tradition: "God if He were good could never have done such a thing as create beings so evil!" The Japanese also found it difficult to accept the idea "that men could be cast into hell without any hope of deliverance." Such a doctrine apparently seemed too unmerciful and uncompromising to them. Xavier's audience was particularly horrified to learn that their ancestors, who had never had the opportunity to know God, should be doomed to eternal damnation. Could such a God be called either just or merciful?

The bonzes are described by Xavier as the greatest enemies of the missionaries and he denounces them violently for their greed and immorality. But he also admits after disputing with them that they are persons of "acute mind" and fond of studying metaphysical and religious questions. At Yamaguchi one of these learned bonzes became a convert, a remarkable fact inasmuch as most of the Japanese Christians of this time were ordinarily of common background. Xavier's scholarly convert had been for many years at the University of Bandou where a "great number of bonzes" regularly go "to study their own laws." In the monasteries the bonzes "teach letters to the girls and boys" though the aristocrats generally hire private tutors for their children. Both men and women commonly receive "a literary education," especially if they are of the noble or commercial class. In their education the men and women are taught different kinds of writing.[113] Thus it was possible for Xavier's readers to see that control of education, always of vital concern in religious contests, was at all levels firmly in the hands of the Buddhists. Little wonder that Xavier in his letter to Loyola[114] begged that learned missionaries should be sent to Japan and its universities to dispute with the skeptical men of learning there. He also asked that no one should be sent to the Japanese universities without having been interviewed, examined, and approved by Loyola himself. Even the two fathers whom he had left behind at Yamaguchi were not "fitted to be sent to the Japanese universities." Xavier had fully come to realize that he was not dealing with a primitive or unenlightened people, even though the Japanese had never before been exposed to European learning or Christian thought.

[113] Probably a vague reference to the fact that different forms of address were used by various groups in Japanese society. For more details see below, p. 714.

[114] Translated into English along with his letter to Rodrigues in Coleridge (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 30), II, 365–80.

After dispatching his letters from Cochin, Xavier and his two Japanese disciples set out for Goa. They arrived in the "Golden City" around the middle of February, 1552. Here he tended to the affairs of India, planned the dispatch of another mission to Japan, and prepared his own enterprise for entering China. He had also to make final arrangements for the dispatch of a mission to Rome which would discuss with the Jesuit General and the pope the many problems of the Eastern mission which could not be adequately explained or commented upon in correspondence. As always the mission was short of trained missionaries and money. To dramatize its activities and justify its requests, Xavier decided to send Brother Andreas Fernandes to answer questions and plead for help. He was to be accompanied by Xavier's two young Japanese converts. However, Matthew of Yamaguchi died in Goa before the mission could set sail. In May, 1552, Fernandes, Bernard, and a young Portuguese embarked at Goa for Lisbon.

On April 10, 1552, ten days before he departed for China, Xavier penned a letter[115] to Father Simão Rodrigues in Portugal outlining his hopes for the young Japanese whom he was sending to Europe:

> Matthew and Bernard, two Japanese, have followed me to the Indies, with the intention of repairing to Portugal and Italy, and particularly Rome itself, to see the Christian religion in all its majesty, and then return to their country to recount to their fellow citizens what they have found and seen. . . . I urge you to receive the two Japanese in such a way that they may learn a great many wonderful things about our churches, our universities, and the other marvels of Europe, to tell to their people at home. I am confident that they will be astonished at the wealth and power of Christians. . . . They are poor, but full of faith. . . . Japanese of noble rank feel no desire to visit foreign countries, though some of our neophytes, men of honourable position, think of going to Jerusalem. . . . I should have liked to send two of the learned bonzes to Portugal, so as to give you a specimen of Japanese intellects, as sharp and sensible as any in the world; but they being noble, and at ease, will not consent to leave their country even for a time.[116]

It was in September, 1552, that Bernard arrived in Lisbon, the first Japanese so far as we know, to set foot on European soil.[117] The trying conditions of the long sea voyage and a multitude of necessary adjustments, psychological as well as physical, had left this adventurous son of Kagoshima in poor health. For the next nine months, while he recuperated in Portugal, Bernard improved his Portuguese and made a good impression on the Jesuits by his piety, enthusiasm, and industry. He also determined at this time to work for membership in the Company, and was admitted to the House of Probation in the College of Coimbra. Bernard quickly won praise from his superiors for his intelligence, humility, and obedience, and so was granted his desired trip to Rome.

[115] Text and notes in Schurhammer and Wicki (eds.), *op. cit.* (n 50), II, 352–55.

[116] As translated in Coleridge (trans.), *op cit.* (n. 30), II, 494–95.

[117] The two best accounts of Bernard's career in Europe are J. M Cros, S. J., *Saint François de Xavier. Sa vie et ses lettres* (Paris, 1900) II, 168–74, and the more detailed article of Pasquale d'Elia, S. J., "Bernardo, il primo Giapponese venuto a Roma (1555)," *La civiltà cattolica*, Vol CII (1951), Part III, pp. 277–87, 527–35.

Accompanied by a lay brother of the Order, Bernard left Coimbra on July 17, 1554, for the arduous trek across Spain to Barcelona. Once again ill health handicapped his progress. He had to rest for extended periods both at Salamanca and Segovia. The pair of weary travelers did not reach Barcelona until about December 1. Here they got on board a ship bound for Naples, where they arrived shortly before Christmas. As in Portugal, Bernard was received by the Jesuits of Naples as a "worthy disciple of Francis of Xavier." In his replies to the questions showered upon him, he evoked the admiration of his fellows by his acumen, modesty, and fine spirit.

Bernard finally arrived at the Eternal City on January 5 or 6, 1555, almost four years after leaving Japan. He was received by Loyola and presumably witnessed the election of Pope Paul IV.[118] It may be taken for granted that during his ten months in Rome he visited the great monuments of the city, though no records of such visits have so far come to light.[119] While in Rome, Bernard began to study Latin; he apparently knew some Portuguese and a smattering of Italian. Here he met Frederick of Wirsberg, afterwards Bishop of Würzburg, to whom he gave certain writings in Japanese with Italian translations.[120] But perhaps Bernard's closest friend was his confessor, Father Pedro de Ribadeneira, the famous biographer of Loyola. To his confessor he told stories of his experiences with Xavier in Japan and of their discussions with the bonzes. Ribadeneira was so impressed with the sincere simplicity of the young Japanese that he was moved to remark in his biography of Loyola that Bernard appeared to him as a living "portrait of the Christians of the primitive Church."[121] In Rome, where all eyes were directed in 1555 toward the peace negotiations being conducted at Augsburg in connection with the wars of the Reformation, Bernard's devotion to the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist and his loyalty to the papacy seemed to augur a great future for Catholic teachings in the East.[122]

In company with twelve scholars destined for posts in Iberian schools and universities, Bernard left Rome on October 23, 1555, for his return voyage. The caravan of ecclesiastics led by Father Luiz Gonçalvez de Câmara went north through the hills of Tuscany to Genoa. In the course of this journey, Bernard, who was apparently still extremely naive in the ways of Europeans and Christians, took offense at having as one of his companions a young scholar of the Hebrew

[118] Giovanni Botero in his *Della Ragion di Stato* (Milan, 1589) writes a full generation after Bernard was in Rome. "In this connection it occurs to me, that a Japanese, called Bernardo, in finding himself in Rome when Marcellus [Pope Paul IV] was elected Pope, was walking about the city at some point of the ceremony, and said promptly that it was a good selection, and, when asked how he knew replied that the poor were rejoiced at it and were celebrating " As translated in G. A. Moore, *Practical Politics* (Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 52.

[119] D'Elia, *loc. cit.* (n. 117), p. 530.

[120] These were still available in 1568. See *ibid.*

[121] As quoted in Cros, *op. cit.* (n. 117), II, 172 For criticisms of Ribadeneira's work and his dependence upon Bernard for information on Xavier's activities see G Schurhammer, "Xaverius-forschung . . ," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 153–56.

[122] D'Elia, *op. cit.* (n. 117), p. 531.

language. The Japanese convert evidently felt that no true son of the Church should study the language of those who had killed Christ.[123] This incident was smoothed over by the leader of the group, and Bernard along with the others embarked at Genoa on November 28 for the sea voyage to Spain. Bernard returned to Lisbon shortly thereafter, and in 1557 he died at the College of Coimbra. So after his extensive peregrinations in Europe, the first Japanese to see the Christian world was unable, even had he desired to do so, to return to his native land and report on his experiences.

3

The Successors of Xavier, 1552–85

The letters of Xavier began to appear in Europe, as we have seen, as early as 1545. The Apostle's principal letter on Japan, which was reissued many times before the end of the sixteenth century, first appeared in 1552. Thereafter, and until the end of the century, the letters about Japan, usually composed either in Japan or India, occupied more space in the published collections of Jesuit letters than those about any other Asiatic country.[124] Most of these letters were originally written in Portuguese or Spanish.[125] In Europe, not long after they were received, they began to appear in general collections[126] of "Indian letters" issued in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, Venetian, Latin, French, and German. About half of the volumes of letters which appeared before 1580 were in Italian and Venetian.

Less than a decade after Xavier's arrival in Japan the Jesuits began to publish collections of "Indian letters" in Italian. In these with each passing year the Land of the Rising Sun occupied an increasingly more prominent place. Some of the earliest (the *Avisi particolari*[127] for 1556, 1557, and 1558) were printed at the Jesuit House of the Professed in Rome. Similar collections[128] were published from 1559 to 1568 by the Tramezzino Press at Venice. Italian collections

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 534.

[124] This is an estimate made on the basis of a close review of many of the collections themselves, of R. Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*, Vol. IV (Aachen, 1928), and of other appropriate bibliographies.

[125] Cosmas de Torres and Juan Fernandez customarily wrote from Japan in Spanish; the other Jesuits of the Japan mission generally wrote their letters in Portuguese

[126] No reference is made here to the letters from individual missionaries which were published in Europe.

[127] *Avisi particolari delle Indie di Portugallo Nouamente hauuti questo Anno del 1555, da li R padri della Compagnia di Iesu doue si ha informatione delle gran cose che si fanno per augmento de la Santa fede. Con la descriptione e costumi delle genti del Regno de la China, & altri paesi incognita nouamente trouati* (Rome, 1556).

[128] *Diversi avisi particolari dall'Indie di Portogallo riceuuti dall'anno 1551. sino al 1558, dalli Reuerendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu Dove S'Intende delli Paesi, delle genti, & costumi loro, & la grande conuersione di molti popoli, che hanno riceuuto il lume delle santa fede, & religione Christiana* (Venice, 1559).

devoted exclusively to the letters annually sent from Japan began to be published by Zanetti in Rome as early as 1578.[129] These compendia of "Indian" and "Japan letters" so issued were as a rule quickly republished by other printers in Italy. And it was not long before increasing numbers of them were translated into other European languages and published in northern cities like Paris, Louvain, and Dillingen.[130] Each succeeding miscellany was generally larger than the ones which preceded it inasmuch as the most important letters were reprinted each time as background to the letters most recently received. Unfortunately for their readers, the collections prepared in Italy suffered most grievously from poor translating and overly zealous censorship.

The collections of Jesuit letters published in Iberia, especially those emanating from Coimbra, sometimes paralleled in date of publication the compendia issued in Italy. Xavier's letter of 1549 from Kagoshima appeared as it had in Italy in 1552. It was then included in a small assortment of "Indian letters" published at Coimbra in Spanish.[131] Similar collections, which included significant news from Japan, appeared at Coimbra and Barcelona in 1555 and 1556, at Cordoba in 1557, and at Coimbra and Barcelona in 1562. In 1565, a collection devoted exclusively to letters from Japan appeared in Spanish at Coimbra.[132] The earliest of the great compendia of "Japan letters" and apparently the model for those which followed, it included thirty-six items beginning with the letter of Yajirō of 1548 and concluding with a letter of 1563.[133] In 1570, the Jesuits of Coimbra published in one thousand copies the first of the great Portuguese collections of "Japan letters" and evidently distributed it free of charge.[134] It contained a selection of eighty-two letters written from Xavier's time to 1566. At Alcalá, the Jesuit headquarters in Spain, appeared in 1575 a Castilian version[135] of the Portuguese *Cartas* of 1570 with additions which brought the Jesuit record in Japan down to 1571. No great collections were again published until the very end of the century; this was probably because the

[129] *Lettere del Giapone de gli Anni 74, 75 & 76 Scritte dalli Reverendi Padri della Compagnia di Giesu, & di Portughese tradotte nel vulgare Italiano* (Rome, 1578).

[130] For instance, the *Avisi particolari* of 1556 was translated in the same year into French and entitled *L'Institution des loix, coustumes et autres choses merueilleuses & memorables tant du Royaume de la Chine que des Indes contenues en plusieurs lettres missiues enouyées aux Religieux de la Compagnie du Nom de Jesus* (Paris, 1556).

[131] *Copia de unas cartas del padre mestre Francisco, y del padre mestre Gaspar, y otros padres de la Compañia de Jesus, que escrivieron de la India a los hermanos del Colegio de Jesus de Coimbra*

[132] For details see Zoe Swecker, "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East" (Ph D diss., University of Chicago, 1960), pp 247–49.

[133] This work is now extremely rare. For its contents see *ibid.*, pp. 289–91. It is entitled *Copia de las cartas que los Padres y hermanos de la Compañia de Iesus che andan en el Japon escrivieron a los de la misma Compañia de la India, y Europa, desde el ano MDXLVIII que començaron, hasta el passado de LXIII* (Coimbra, 1565).

[134] It was called *Iesus. Cartas que os Padres e Irmaos da Companhia de Jesus, que andão nos Reynos de Iapão escreverão aos da mesma Companhia da India, e Europa, desdo anno de 1549 ate o de 66* (Coimbra, 1570) Also see Streit, *op. cit.* (n. 124), IV, 415.

[135] *Iesus Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compania de Iesus, que andan en los Reynos de Iapon escrivieron a los de la misma Compania, desde el año de mil y quinientos y quarenta y neuve, hasta el de mil y quinientos y setenta y uno . . .* (Alcalá de Henares, 1575).

Annual Letters were published more regularly after 1580. In 1598, Dom Theotonio de Braganza, Archbishop of Evora and longtime personal correspondent of Valignano, had two volumes of *Cartas* published. The greatest of all the collections of "Japan letters," the *Cartas* of 1598 brought no fewer than 213 letters together, some of them as long as short books.[136] Many of these letters had appeared in the earlier miscellanies but the additions are extremely valuable for they cover the events of the critical 1580's in Japan. On the whole the Iberian collections give more accurate renditions of the original letters than do the highly censored Italian versions. It appears, however, that the Portuguese and Spanish collections were not nearly as well known in Europe generally and were rarely translated.

It is hard to quarrel with Valignano's highly critical attitude towards the early letters from Japan.[137] The modern reader of those written before 1580 gets the feeling from most of them that everything going on in Japan revolves around the Jesuits. This is particularly true of those written during the decade before Fróis arrived there in 1563. In the earliest letters only those matters receive attention which impinge upon Jesuit activities, and sometimes the writers contradict each other even on Christian successes and failures. The main topics dealt with are daily religious services, conversions, miracles, and the progress of the converts. One also finds an increased number of complaints about the hostility of the bonzes, the unsettled conditions and local wars, and the hair-raising personal experiences of the Jesuits and their converts. Torres, who seemed to suffer a great deal from poor health, as well as his colleagues, often attribute their difficulties to the work of the devil and to people possessed of evil spirits. In the letters considerable space is devoted to methods of celebrating Christian festivals and rites under the peculiar conditions obtaining in Japan. But, even so, these immediate successors of Xavier occasionally provide materials on Japanese customs, society, and political life which are of general historical interest.[138] A European, reading those letters prepared in the mission's earliest days by Torres, Vilela, and Gago, would have found confirmation, modification, and amplification of what Xavier and his predecessors had reported a few years earlier.

Japan, it is asserted, lies in the same latitude as Spain, and it is judged to be colder than Portugal. Although a mountainous and snowy land, its fruits and vegetables are not unlike those grown in the Iberian Peninsula. However, Japan is deficient in oil, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, sugar, honey, and vinegar; saffron, cinnamon, and pepper are not available there at all. Instead of using

[136] *Iesus. Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, desdo anno de 1549 atè o de 1580 Primeiro Tomo. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, & bondade da Christiandade da quellas partes, & varios costumes, & falsos ritos da gentilidade* (Evora, 1598) Vol. II of this collection is made up entirely of letters written from 1581 to 1589

[137] See above, p. 318.

[138] Appraisal is based on a thorough survey of the Portuguese collection of 1598 (see above, p. 321), on Eglauer (ed.), *op cit* (n 49), and on A Faivre (ed), *Lettres des missions du Japan, ou supplement aux lettres de S Francois Xavier* (Lyon, 1830). The letters contained in Eglauer and Faivre were published in Europe within a few years after their date of writing

salt, the Japanese season their food with barley bran.[139] They also eat bread made of barley rather than wheat. Meat and even fish are scarce by European standards, and the missionaries complain about having to live on rice, fruits, and vegetables. The island has been denuded of its forests, and even wood for heat is hard to find. References are frequent to giant groves of cedar or cryptomeria, trees which usually surrounded shrines or were used in the building of temples. But in general, Japan, though it boasts a number of silver mines, is judged to be poorer in the necessities of life than Portugal.

As a people, the Japanese remind Torres of the ancient Romans.[140] Sensitive, proud, and warlike by disposition, the Japanese show themselves in their actions to be impatient, resolute, and courageous. They quickly resort to arms to avenge the honor of their gods, family, or good name. They pay great homage to their elders, strive diligently to keep their word to a friend, and abominate infamous acts such as adultery. For offenses against honor reprisals are violent and swift, and often are directed against the family as well as the offending individual. Gamblers and thieves are executed summarily, but infanticide is tolerated, especially among the poor. Still, and despite many lapses from what the Christians considered rectitude, the Jesuit pioneers concur in the opinion that the Japanese people are knowledgeable, reasonable, and willing to learn.

The cities of western Japan clearly impressed the Jesuit observers by their size and wealth. Yamaguchi before its destruction in 1556 was said to be as large as Lisbon. Hakata, the seaport where Duarte da Gama and a Portuguese contingent wintered in 1555–56, is described as being a large and rich commercial center. Miyako, the capital city and center of learning and religion, is seen as having declined greatly in population and prestige as a result of the incessant turmoil and war in which it had been involved.[141] But it is still an impressive city to the Europeans. Sakai, just south of the capital, is described as being the best protected city in western Honshū. Like Venice, Sakai is surrounded by water, operates as a free city, and prospers from being the main trading center on the Inland Sea.

The "king" of Miyako is held by the Japanese to be holy, his feet never being permitted to touch the ground. Though universally revered, he has no political authority. Public administration, according to Torres, writing in 1561,[142] is divided into three categories. The first place is occupied by the hierarchy under the "zazzo,"[143] which controls all religious activities and

[139] A literal translation of the word used by Vilela, in his letter of April 24, 1554 (Eglauer [ed.], *op cit.* [n. 49], I, 41) By "bran" is he perhaps referring to soybean meal? For references to the soybean in European literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Yule and Burnell, *op. cit* (n. 3), p. 651 Soy was beginning to be used about this time in Japan See Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n. 9), I, 249

[140] Letter of October 9, 1561, in Eglauer (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 49), I, 227

[141] See above, p. 665.

[142] Eglauer (ed.), *op cit* (n 49), I, 228

[143] A reference to the *Zasu*, the title by which the leading bonzes of Hiei-zan were known For a discussion of their activities see J. Laures, *Die Anfange der Mission von Miyako* (Munster, 1951), pp. 35–38.

sometimes governs secular rulers as well. The ruler of Miyako, called *Vo*, confers honors and acts as the ceremonial head of state. Justice is under an administration headed by one called "Oningue";[144] but, Torres avers, the Japanese pay little attention to law and generally settle their problems by arms and power. They pay great deference to their local lords and serve them with a good deal of bowing and scraping.

The real authority is in the hands of the provincial lords (or "kings") who rule tyrannically over their jurisdictions. Acting without regard for abstract principles of law or justice, the rulers of southern Japan exercise life and death powers over all their vassals no matter how exalted their stations. Their lands are constantly restless and regularly plagued with uprisings and disorders. After the razing of Yamaguchi in 1556, Vilela reports that the King of Bungo became the greatest of the provincial lords then operating in southern Japan.[145] Five years later, Gago wrote to Goa that the King of Bungo could at will put one hundred thousand armed men into the field.[146] He was also supposed to have among his vassals, not only a number of magnates, counts, and governors, but even seigniories, who have greater wealth than any Spanish prince.[147] When one recalls that the Jesuits were freer and more successful in Bungo than elsewhere in Japan, many of their estimates of its great strategic importance, strength, and wealth become more understandable.

The class structure of Japanese society also comes in for a bit of attention, perhaps because the Jesuits initially had difficulty making converts from the upper classes. Writing from Hirado in 1557, Vilela asserts that society there is divided into three estates: the nobility who enjoy the revenues and taxes of the city, the bonzes who likewise have large incomes, and the day laborers who serve the other two estates.[148] The members of the nobility never intermarry with the serving class. Betrayal or disobedience in a vassal is followed by death. And Vilela observes[149] that when a "king" condemns one of his retainers to death a messenger is immediately sent to notify him that he must die "on this day." The condemned man then asks if the "king" will permit him to commit suicide. If he has the required permission, the retainer considers it an honor to outfit himself in his best clothes and ceremoniously disembowel himself with a dagger.[150] If he dies by his own hand, he loses no honor and his sons retain their rights of inheritance and honor. Should the "king" decide, however, that he must die at the hands of the executioner, the condemned man assembles his friends, servants, and children, arms them and fortifies his house, and

[144] Shōgun?

[145] Letter of October 19, 1557, in Eglauer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 49), I, 124

[146] *Ibid.*, I, 309 Cf. Takekoshi, *op. cit.* (n. 49), I, 271, who writes "Now [in Ashikaga times] that the estate of a lord covered several provinces, he kept some hundred thousand soldiers, and naturally great armies were necessary in fighting among the lords."

[147] Eglauer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 49), I, 309.

[148] *Ibid.*, I, 122.

[149] *Ibid.*, I, 104

[150] The Jesuits never tire of reporting on the Japanese attitude toward suicide.

generally prepares to resist the "king's" decree. The executing force then attacks the lair of the condemned man, kills off as many as possible of his cohorts, and confiscates his property. This is a dishonorable death.

Like Xavier, his immediate successors continued to have trouble mastering the Japanese language. Brother Juan Fernandez, who had been one of Xavier's companions, was considered to be "the best of ours"[151] in speaking and understanding Japanese. The Jesuit pioneers quickly realized that the Japanese wanted to hear services in their own language, and some of the more candid missionaries bemoaned in their letters to Europe their need to rely upon interpreters.[152] Balthasar Gago, who had studied Latin grammar in Lisbon with "moderate success" before he left for the East, arrived in Japan in 1553 with instructions to learn the language. He was introduced into the mysteries of Japanese by Brother Fernandez and a Japanese convert. These two worked with him closely, and helped particularly in preparing what has been called "Gago's language reform."[153] This was the recommendation agreed to by the Provincial, Melchior Nunes Barreto, to abandon the use of Buddhistic terms for "God," "soul," and similar religious conceptions and introduce into the Japanese vocabulary the appropriate Portuguese or Latin terms. He was able to arrive at such a solution to the language problem only after understanding something about both the nature of the Chinese characters, the language written by the learned in Japan, and the Japanese adaptation of the Chinese characters in the cursive form of popular syllabic writing called *hiragana*.[154] Gago learned, for example, that the Chinese characters often conveyed more than a single meaning, that the character for "soul" might also mean "devil."[155] By using the *hiragana* form of writing, he was able to get away from the problem of correlative meanings and to introduce in syllabic form new words from European languages which would not carry with them the Buddhist, Chinese, or traditional Japanese overtones. Thus he helped to avert in Japan the "term question," an issue of central importance in the "rites controversy" which developed in the China mission and in Europe during the seventeenth century.

Gago's method for handling the "term question" in Japan was relayed to the West in his letter of September 23, 1555, from Hirado.[156] To explain his point, Gago included in his letter six characters in their Chinese and Hiragana forms. To my knowledge these were the first samples of Chinese and Japanese writing

[151] Eglauer (ed.), *op cit.* (n 49), I, 43, 49, 191. But Brother Duarte da Silva and others had also learned some written Japanese At his death in 1563 he left manuscripts for a Japanese grammar and dictionary. Cf. Tadao Doi, "Researches in the Japanese Language Made by the Jesuit Missionaries in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy (of Japan)*, XIII (1937), 232.

[152] Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n. 106), p 45

[153] *Ibid*, Pt. II

[154] *Ibid*, p. 63.

[155] Though his understanding of the principle was correct, his interpretation is not entirely accurate. In modern Japanese, *tamashii*, the word for "soul," has rather the alternative meaning "departed spirits." See *ibid*

[156] Published in Europe in four collections of Jesuit letters of the 1550's and 1560's, but apparently without the characters. See Streit, *op. cit.* (n. 124), IV, 381.

to get published in Europe. But it should be remembered that earlier, Xavier had sent samples of Yajirō's writing to Europe and that Bernard wrote out samples of calligraphy in 1554–55.[157] Gago's characters were first reproduced, it would seem, in the *Cartas* of 1570.[158] While other documents in Japanese were sent to Europe, none of the accompanying letters sought to explain the nature of the language as did Gago's. Nor were any characters published in the collections of Jesuit letters besides Gago's, except for the text of the deed awarded the Jesuits by the daimyo of Yamaguchi in 1552.[159] Facsimiles of all these characters were reprinted in Maffei's book of 1571[160] though with four omissions, four characters transposed, and with a Latin rather than a Portuguese interlinear translation of the Yamaguchi grant. The *Cartas* of 1598 reproduce these characters but with one of them inverted.[161] Clearly European printers, then as now, had difficulty in reproducing the ideographs of the Far Eastern languages. Still, the Jesuits, despite their difficulties, seem to have shared Vilela's view that "the Japanese language is not impossibly difficult, at least to understand. It requires only patience and humility."[162]

Though the language was difficult, some of the Jesuit pioneers managed to use it in intellectual and religious disputations with the Buddhists.[163] The questions, doubts, and attacks of the learned heathens sorely tried the intellectual acumen and the Christian sincerity of the handful of Jesuits who sought bravely "with God's help" to overcome Satan's works in Japan. The "worship of the devil," Gago observed, "has put down very deep roots in this land."[164] Even members of the laity crassly express their skepticism as to how the Jesuits could claim to know what happens "in the other world." The Japanese are also inclined to question why a just God would keep knowledge of the "true faith" so long away from them and why He had not revealed Himself to their revered ancestors to assure their edification and deliverance. And then there are those who feel disinclined to brush aside long accepted beliefs out of deference to the demands made by the "jealous God" of the Christians. Of the strength of these traditional beliefs the Jesuits were well aware, and from the very first days they

[157] See above, p. 673

[158] *Cartas* . . (Coimbra, 1570), fols 108–18 Both sets of characters appeared in other sixteenth-century collections as well For further data see O Nachod, "Die ersten Kenntnisse chinesischer Schriftzeichen im Abendlande," *Asia Major*, I (1923), 235–73 For a readily available reproduction of some of the Japanese characters as they appeared in the *Cartas* of 1570 also see King Manuel [II] of Portugal, *Early Portuguese Books (1489–1600) in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal* (London, 1935), III, 10. Also see illustrations in this chapter.

[159] Text in Japanese with a Portuguese interlinear translation in *Cartas* . *op. cit* (n 158), fols 161–63 For a thorough analysis of this document see Schurhammer, *op. cit.* (n 146), pp 78–80 For an English translation, independent reconstruction, and commentary, see Ernest Satow, "Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, VII (1888), 139–53.

[160] See below, p. 704

[161] See Schurhammer, *op. cit.* (n 106), p 76

[162] Letter from Sakai, August 17, 1562, in Eglauer (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 49), I, 257

[163] See G. Schurhammer, *Die Disputationen des P. de Torres, S J , mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre 1551* (Tokyo, 1929).

[164] Letter of September 23, 1555, in Eglauer (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 49), I, 81.

made an effort to understand them—even if only for the purpose of being better able to refute their antagonists.[165]

The first systematic effort of the Jesuits to describe Japanese religious practices was contained in the unsigned "Summary of Errors," probably written by Gago in 1557,[166] which was taken by Nunes Barreto from Japan to Cochin and was there sent on to Europe in January, 1558, as an enclosure in one of his letters. Apparently the information it contained was not deemed fit for the eyes of the profane since it was not published in the sixteenth century.[167] Nevertheless, the probability is that this report, like many other Jesuit materials, was circulated in Europe in manuscript form. And some of the data contained in it was relayed, though in disjointed fashion, through the more general letters written by the Jesuits in Japan. Then in 1562, when he returned to India himself, Gago sent another report to Europe on Japanese religions. On many points the Jesuit observer is already clearer than he was in the "Summary" written five years before. Moreover, this report appeared in the *Cartas* of 1570, 1575, and 1598, and in Maffei's works.[168] Further material, systematically presented, may be found in Vilela's report of 1571,[169] and bits and pieces may also be located in letters dealing with a wide variety of other topics.

From these accounts it can be clearly observed that the Jesuits understood that Shintō was a native cult of ancient origin and that various of the sects of Buddhism were imported from abroad at a somewhat later date. The Shintō belief that Japan is the "land of the *kami*" and the Shintō myths of creation are given in more orderly detail than in previous accounts. The *kami*, according to the Jesuits, "were actually men of former times and natives of these kingdoms."[170] Most Japanese also "regard the sun and moon as living beings and as the most eminent Camis in existence."[171] The "Summary of 1557" lists "Five Commandments of the *kami*" which form the basis of Shintō's primitive ethical code and which evolved as a counterpart to the loftier Five Commandments of Buddha.[172] The predilection of Shintōists to animal worship is related to their worship of spirits, and Vilela comments in disgust that "unquestionably no people can be more benighted than these"[173] worshippers of spirits in animal forms.

[165] See letter of Pedro de Alcaçova of 1554 in *ibid*, p. 51.

[166] Schurhammer, *op cit.* (n. 45), p 5, suggests that Torres wrote the *Summario* or "at least furnished the material for this work to one of his collaborators Gago or Vilela." Five years later, Schurhammer, *op cit.* (n. 106), p 87, expresses it as his opinion that Gago was probably the author.

[167] Schurhammer, *op cit* (n 45), p 165, n 1, appears to indicate that it is preserved only in Spanish and Portuguese manuscript copies Also cf J Wicki (ed), *Documenta Indica* (Rome, 1954), III, 538, n 33 The probability is that Polanco, secretary to Loyola and censor of the early letters, suppressed this document as part of his policy of playing down references to Buddhism On Polanco's attitude see H. de Lubac, *La rencontre du bouddhisme et de l'Occident* (Paris, 1952), p. 67 For the relationship between Loyola and Polanco see Clara Englander, *Ignatius von Loyola und Johannes von Polanco Der Ordensstifter und sein Sekretar* (Regensburg, 1956), especially pp. 156–89.

[168] Streit, *op. cit.* (n. 124), IV, 390.

[169] See Schurhammer, *op. cit.* (n. 45), pp. 171–72.

[170] *Ibid*, p. 165.

[171] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[172] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[173] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

During the first years of their residence in Japan, the Jesuits were probably thought of by the general public as the advocates of a new Buddhist sect.[174] This was not unnatural since it was known that the Jesuits came from India and since they appeared in vestments, lived in monastic simplicity, and used words and concepts usually associated with Buddhism. Beginning in about 1555, in conjunction with Gago's language reform, the Jesuits seriously tried to let the Japanese know the differences between Christian "truth" and Buddhist "error." At the same time they began to concern themselves with understanding the "errors" being preached by the "eight or nine" sects which followed *Bupō* (Law of Buddha).[175]

The worshippers of Amida, according to the Jesuits, are divided into three subsidiary sects the members of which dress in black. Some of these bonzes, it is said, also worship certain of the kami, an observation which shows that the Jesuits clearly perceived that the shadowy frontier between Shintō and Buddhism was often transgressed and in both directions.[176] Certain Buddhists even teach that Shaka, like the kami, inhabits stones, trees, rivers, and animals. Aside from deifying nature, it is customary for Buddhists to talk of a place of rest or Heaven, of a place of torment, of the soul, and of a redeemer, "Futuqui" (*Hotoke*, a generic term for Buddhist deities).[177] Most of what was reported related to the doctrines and activities of the Zen sect, the leading, if not the largest, element in Japanese Buddhism during the Muromachi era.[178]

Like Xavier, the later Jesuits deal at length with the bonzes and their religious functions. And from their greater experience in Japan, they report at some length on various religious rituals and festivals as they saw them being enacted. The Japanese erect statues of their great rulers, Gago reports, which they worship and for which they build "very sumptuous buildings."[179] Their dead are cremated and "for the ashes a place [of worship] is constructed."[180] Representations of the kami are painted on the standards and banners which they carry into war. Vilela, writing from Sakai in 1562, comments upon how they celebrate certain festivals. He includes descriptions of several, but the one given most space is what he calls "gibon."[181] This Buddhist festival of the dead, usually called *bon*, has often been referred to by foreigners as the "feast of lanterns."

In their reports to Europe, the immediate successors of Xavier were only systematic when reviewing the religions of Japan. But a somewhat different emphasis begins to emerge from their letters after the arrival of Luis Fróis in

[174] Lubac, *op cit* (n. 167), pp. 68–70.

[175] On this term see Schurhammer, *op cit.* (n. 106), p 87.

[176] For further illuminating detail see Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n. 45), p 169, n 4

[177] Cf. the translation extracted from the "Summary" of 1557 in Schurhammer, *op. cit.* (n 106), p 69

[178] Sansom, *op cit.* (n. 11), p. 312 says that Zen Buddhism in this period "might well be described as the official if not the state religion."

[179] Schurhammer, *op. cit.* (n. 45), p. 170

[180] *Ibid.*

[181] Description in Eglauer (ed.), *op cit* (n. 49), I, 248–50 For another and shorter description see E. Kaempfer, *The History of Japan . . 1690–92* (Glasgow, 1906), III, 138. See also below, p. 716.

Japan. He had commenced his professional life by working in the royal secretariat at Lisbon.[182] In 1548 he joined the Society of Jesus and left for Goa. At this Asian crossroads he saw Chinese and Japanese merchants, and evidently came to know Yajirō before the latter returned to Japan with Xavier. Fróis was also on hand when Xavier returned to Goa in 1552 with an emissary from Ōtomo Yoshishige, the daimyo of Bungo. Though Fróis had his heart set hereafter upon carrying his work to Japan, he was required to remain in India and southeast Asia for the next decade. Finally he was dispatched to Japan, and on July 6, 1563, the thirty-one-year-old priest landed at the small harbor of Yokoseura on Kyūshū in the daimyate of the Christian, Ōmura Sumitada. By 1565, Fróis, with Luis d'Almeida, had been sent to Miyako to join Vilela and Brother Lawrence. Here, in the heartland of Japan, Fróis had an opportunity for the next eleven years to learn the language and to become acquainted with many of the leading men and ideas associated with Japanese politics, art, and religion. He continued to work in Japan and to write letters to Europe about it until his death there in 1597.

From the very beginning of his stay in Japan, Fróis wrote long and informative letters to India and Europe. He sent out at least one missive each year, and usually more, during the sixteen years before the arrival of Valignano in 1579.[183] Most of his letters known to us for the period from 1563 through 1566 were first published in the *Cartas* of 1570 and in the compilations of Maffei. Many of these same letters were republished in the *Cartas* of 1575; in the edition of 1598 may be found most of those letters written before 1580 which could not be, or simply were not, included in the earlier collections. His famous "History of Japan," the first part of which covers Christian activities there for the years from 1548 to 1578, was not published until 1926.[184] It contains additional information on Japan which supplements the materials included in the published and unpublished letters.

For the historian, Fróis' letters are particularly valuable because of the author's avid concern for concrete data and detail. Unlike many of the Jesuits, Fróis was not given to sermonizing or verbosity. In fact, the Roman censors apparently felt from time to time that his letters were too "curious" and not "edifying" enough. For, unlike some of his forerunners, Fróis made a determined effort to

[182] G Schurhammer, "P. Luis Frois, S. J , ein Missionshistoriker des 16. Jahrhunderts in Indien und Japan," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CIX (1925), 454.

[183] See Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit* (n 85), pp xix–xx, for a list of the known letters A recount has since been made (Matsuda Kuchi, *loc. cit* [n 14], p 108), and it now appears that Fróis wrote a total of 138 letters of which 103 were from Japan. Of his letters, just 62 are extant.

[184] For the German translation of this document see Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit* (n. 85) The first forty-three chapters of the second part (covering the years 1578–93) were published in Portuguese in João do Amaral Abranches Pinto and Y Okamoto (eds), *Segunda Parte da Historia de Japam* . (Tokyo, 1938) The part of the second section referring to the Japanese mission to Europe (1582–92) was published in 1943 by João do Amaral Abranches Pinto, Y. Okamoto, and H Bernard (eds.), *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592* ("Monumenta Nipponica monographs," No 6 [Tokyo, 1942]) The remaining portions (54 chapters for the years 1583–87 and 80 chapters for the years 1588–93) have not yet been published to my knowledge. Manuscript copies of the unpublished portions are available in the Ajuda library at Lisbon.

master the Japanese language and through it to penetrate the civilization of Nippon. Even before Valignano arrived in Japan, Frois had successfully begun on his own to cultivate acquaintance with people in high places by showing understanding and appreciation of the arts and achievements of Japan and by studying sympathetically all levels of Japanese society and various branches of its culture.

In his first four letters written from Miyako in 1565, all of which appeared in the *Cartas* of 1570, he tells of his trip from Hirado to Miyako and follows it with a lengthy description of the imperial capital and its greatest monuments, such as the Shōgunal palace, the Hosokawa palace, the imperial graves of Sen-yū-ji, the Zen academy of Tōfukuji, the cloisters of the Murasaki and Daitokuji, of the central temple of Amida in the upper city and many other notable buildings. These are described mainly with reference to the types of materials used and their outward appearance. Some slight attention is all he gives to matters of design and style. The New Year's ceremonies (*Shōgatsu* or the "first moon") which he saw on February 1, 1565, and his own reception by the Shōgun, Yoshiteru, on the same day are discussed in full detail by Frois. He also records his personal determination to get ahead with language study, insisting that in the Japanese capital of learning it is essential for the missionaries to be versed in native civilization and in their methods of disputation. His concluding letter tells about Yoshiteru's "murder" and his own flight from Miyako to Sanga.

Ultimately taking refuge in Sakai from the war raging in Miyako, Frois addressed his letters to Europe from the "Venice of Japan" for the next three years (1566–68). These letters are devoted primarily to the clan wars raging outside of Sakai, to missionary activities, and to his disputes with the bonzes. With the rise of Oda Nobunaga in 1568 to the post of *de facto* Shōgun peace was temporarily restored and it became possible for Frois to return to Miyako. Frois' letters of 1569, first published in the *Cartas* of 1575, tell of his interview both with Nobunaga[185] and the *de jure* Shōgun, Yoshiaki, of the building of the Nijō Palace for the puppet Shōgun, of a dramatic debate between the missionary and the Hokke zealot, Nichijo Shonin, and of his second week-long visit with Nobunaga at Gifu.[186] In conjunction with these meetings and as a result of the good offices of Wada Koremasa, a friend of Frois and an adviser to Nobunaga, the new ruler of Japan issued a rescript in April, 1569, authorizing Frois to remain in Miyako and enjoy the freedom of the city.[187]

Nichijo Shonin, irate beyond measure at the growing influence of Frois and his colleagues, soon stirred the Buddhist monks and the imperial court into action against the Jesuits. Fortunately for the Westerners, Nobunaga was a determined foe of the militant bonzes who consistently supported his political enemies. Exasperated finally by the intrigues and machinations of the warrior

[185] For an English translation of Frois' description of Nobunaga see Boxer, *op cit* (n 3), pp. 58–59

[186] For an extract from his description of Gifu castle see *ibid*, pp 62–63.

[187] Translation of the original text in *ibid*, p 61.

monks, Nobunaga in 1571 destroyed their cloister city of Hiei-zan. This event and the continuous civil disturbances which followed are the subject of Frois' letters until his departure from Miyako in 1575.[188] Most of these letters were not published in Europe until 1598, but they probably circulated widely in manuscript copies.

After leaving the capital, Frois lived in southern Japan and wrote from there about the fortunes of the mission. In a long letter of 1577 he found enough space to give a chronicle of the house of Bungo. Perhaps of most significance to the Jesuit cause was the conversion in 1578 of the daimyo of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige. Yet even when reporting on affairs so vital to the mission, Frois found it impossible to refrain from writing minute descriptions of the temples, castles, and monuments which he visited in Kyūshū.

In view of what we know of Frois, it is not astonishing to find Valignano using him as an interpreter and informant during his stay in Japan from July, 1579, to February, 1582. Of all the missionaries then working in Japan he was the best informed on the details of Japanese politics and civilization and on the inner workings of the mission.[189] And temperamentally the two men seem to have struck it off happily. Each had learned to admire Japanese culture and drew many contrasts with Europe in their observations which often reflected to the disadvantage of the West.

Valignano contends that the Japanese "excel not only all the other Oriental peoples, they surpass the Europeans as well."[190] Some of this admiration he undoubtedly derived from his association with Frois. For it should be recalled that Frois, shortly after arriving in Miyako in 1565, wrote to Europe about the Japanese:

> In their culture, deportment, and manners, they excel the Spaniards in so many ways that one is ashamed to tell about it And if those people [the Portuguese merchants] who come over from China have no such high regard for the Japanese, this is due to the fact that they mingle only with the merchants, not a very courteous group, who live on the coast and who, compared to the people of Miyako in cultivation are the lowest types to be found and are referred to here in Miyako as "wild men."[191]

Such sentiments continued to permeate the letters which Frois sent to Europe. Father Organtino Gnecchi-Soldio wrote from Miyako to Rome in 1577 in much the same vein stressing the great "natural gifts" of the Japanese and their superiority in many ways to the Europeans.[192] And likewise, Valignano's reports on Japan, which he dispatched to the West during and after his first visit there, deliberately set forth contrasts between Japanese and European practices and

[188] For an account based on Japanese sources see G Renondeau, "Histoire des moines guerriers du Japon," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, I (1957), 281–84

[189] Cf J F Schutte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsatze fur Japan* (Rome, 1951), I, 17

[190] *Ibid*, p. 127

[191] First published in *Cartas* of 1570. Translation from text as published in Eglauer (ed.), *op cit.* (n 49), II, 28

[192] As quoted in P Tacchi-Venturi, "Il carattere dei Giapponesi secondo i missionari del secolo XVI," *La civiltà cattolica*, II (1906), 150.

ideas so that people in Europe "could get a correct conception of the situation in Japan."[193]

At the suggestion of Maffei,[194] who was then busy with his own archival research in Europe for his history of Jesuit enterprise in the East, Fróis was freed of his other responsibilities and ordered in 1583 by the Jesuit General to prepare a comprehensive history of Japan and the Jesuit mission there. Like Valignano, Maffei and the Jesuits of Coimbra felt dissatisfied with the sporadic and sometimes conflicting reports which were being received in Europe. Maffei complained in his letter of 1579 to Rome that ". . . they are not very consistent or clear, at least on what pertains to general customs and administrative practices and other details." Consequently, Maffei urged that Fróis should write not only about the progress of the faith in Japan, but should also comment upon "the condition of the country and upon princes and wars that deter the mission work, and upon other matters which naturally fall within the scope of the history." Such a commentary would, Maffei believed, "give much light and satisfaction."[195]

At the time of his death in 1597, Fróis had completed 215 chapters in which he described the history of the church in Japan from 1549 to 1593. But this informative and edifying study, like those prepared by Valignano, was not published in the sixteenth century.[196] Indeed, the manuscript of Fróis' work was kept in the archives of the Order in Macao until the eighteenth century. Its existence was not known to the world of scholarship until a copy of it was discovered in 1894 in the Ajuda library at Lisbon.[197] Presumably Fróis' work was used by Valignano but by none of his other contemporaries. But much of what he had to say, as we shall see,[198] was relayed to Europe through those writings of Valignano which got into Maffei's history.

Even more recently a new Fróis manuscript has turned up among the holdings of the library of the *Academia de la Historia* in Madrid.[199] It is entitled *Tratado em que se contem muito susinta e abreviadamente algumas contradições e diferenças de custumes antre a gente de Europa e esta provincia de Japão*. This short manuscript,

[193] As quoted in J F. Schutte, "Das japanische Volkscharakter in der Sicht Valignanos," *Stimmen der Zeit*, CXXXVIII (1940), 82.

[194] See above, pp 325–26 and below, pp 687–88.

[195] As quoted in Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit.* (n 85), p. viii.

[196] For discussion of Valignano's *Summaria* see above, pp. 256–57. Valignano sought to bring together Jesuit knowledge of Japan in a history which he began writing during his third visit to Japan in 1601. Only the first book of this projected five-book study was completed. So far it has not been published, though manuscripts of it are preserved in the Ajuda library at Lisbon and in the British Museum. For a discussion of these manuscripts and of Valignano's intentions see F J Schutte, S. J , "Valignanos Japangeschichte, Bemerkungen zu Form und Inhalt," in *Analecta Gregoriana* ("Series Facultates Missiologicae," Section A, No 2), LXXII, 109–40

[197] It was first brought to general attention by Father Joseph Marie Cros, S. J., *op. cit.* (n 117), II, 39–40.

[198] Below, pp. 803–5.

[199] It has been critically edited and translated into German in J F Schutte, S. J (ed), *Luis Frois, S. J., Kulturgegensatze Europa-Japan (1585)*, ("Monumenta Nipponica Monographs," No. 15 [Tokyo, 1955])

apparently prepared in 1585 in connection with Frois' work on his history, lists in distich form those contrasts between everyday life in Europe and Japan which Frois found most striking. Here we see the Jesuit working almost as a modern student of cultural anthropology might approach a problem in comparative cultures. The differences are stated succinctly, the contrasting elements stressed, and no effort is made to give a historical explanation of why the Japanese behave as they do. The result is that Frois presents a series of contrasts on morals, behavior, customs, and techniques which are of value as sources to the students of both Japan and Europe interested in the social history of the sixteenth century. But this work, like Frois' history, is not referred to by his contemporaries and no other copies of it are known to exist. It would therefore appear, particularly when it is compared with his history, that it was drawn up for his own use Or it may have been composed to help instruct the missionaries new to Japan on some of the differences in living with which they would be confronted. It is possible that Valignano suggested that Frois should draw up such a list, since the Visitor's predilection for contrasting Chinese with Japanese, Japanese with Indians, and Indians with Europeans is well known.[200]

Since Frois impressions sifted back into Europe through his own letters and the writings of Valignano and his companion, Father Lourenço Mexia, it might not be amiss at this point to sample a few of his amusing and illuminating distichs.

Most people in Europe grow tall and have good figures; the Japanese are mostly smaller than we are in body and stature.

We consider it a mark of uncleanliness and a defect in upbringing to wear long fingernails; the Japanese nobles, men and women alike, now and then wear their nails as long as hawk's claws.

We look upon it as an indiscretion or buffoonery for a person to wear gay-colored clothes; with the Japanese it is a common custom to have all colored clothes, except for the bonzes and old people who have withdrawn from the world.

The women in Europe do not go out of the house without their husbands' permission; Japanese women are free to go wherever they please without the husband knowing about it.

With us it is not very common that women can write; the noble ladies of Japan consider it a humiliation not to be able to write.

In Europe the men are tailors, and in Japan the women.

Our children first learn to read and then to write; Japanese children first begin to write and thereafter to read.

We believe in future glory or punishment and in the immortality of the soul; the Zen bonzes deny all that and avow that there is nothing more than birth and death.

Our churches are high and narrow; the Japanese temples are broad and low.

We figure, taking night and day together, on a day of twenty-four hours; the Japanese divide the day into six hours.

We bury our dead; the Japanese cremate most of theirs.

Our ordinary food is white bread; that of the Japanese is unsalted, boiled rice.

[200] See Schutte, *loc cit.* (n. 196), I, 361–64.

People in Europe love baked and boiled fish; the Japanese much prefer it raw.

We wash our hands at the beginning and at the end of the meal, the Japanese, who do not touch their food with their hands, do not find it necessary to wash them.

We fight on horseback; the Japanese dismount when they go into battle.

We mount a horse with the left foot first; the Japanese with the right.

We study various arts and sciences in our books; they spend their whole lives acquiring understanding of the inner meaning of their characters.

Our paper is only of four or five types; the Japanese have more than fifty varieties.

We clean ink from our pens on black cloths; the Japanese suck it off with their mouths and so clean it.

Our roofs are covered with tiles; the Japanese mostly with boards, straw, and bamboo.

We consider precious stones and decorations of gold and silver as being valuable; the Japanese value old kettles, old and broken porcelain, earthenware vessels, etc.

In Europe the streets are low in the middle, so that the water can flow off them; in Japan they are high in the middle and low by the houses, so that it flows off alongside the houses.[201]

4

A Japanese Mission in Europe, 1584–86

Shortly before leaving Japan, Valignano conceived, probably in October, 1581, of sending a mission of Japanese to Europe.[202] This dramatic project was clearly aimed at strengthening the Jesuit mission in Japan and recruiting more support for it in Europe. To 1580, Japan, as seen from Europe, had remained the trade monopoly of the Portuguese and the religious monopoly of the Jesuits. The letters written by a full generation of missionaries, when coupled or contrasted with the reports of the Portuguese merchants, had whetted a desire among Europeans to have more direct knowledge of natives from the Land of the Rising Sun.

With the ascent of Philip II to the Portuguese throne in 1581, concern grew in Europe over the future of the Portuguese empire and its various adjuncts. The Protestant powers of the north feared with reason that the union of the two Iberian crowns, no matter what Philip II promised to the contrary, would necessarily bring their two great overseas empires together. There were many in Catholic Europe, including both the Portuguese and the Jesuits, who felt uncertain as to what the new dispensation might mean for the established order in overseas regions like Japan. Still, the majority of Iberians and Catholics

[201] Cf these comparative distichs of the sixteenth century with those compiled under the rubric "Topsy-turvydom" in Chamberlain, *op. cit.* (n. 25), 508–10.

[202] This and much of the data which follows is taken either from the introduction or text of Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard (eds.), *op cit* (n 184), who have reproduced, introduced, and annotated Frois' account of this mission. For its relation to Frois' history of the Church in Japan see above, p. 683 For a detailed and profusely illustrated chronicle of their tour see Hamada Kōsaku [濱田耕作], *Tenshō ken-ô shisetsu-ki* [天正遣欧使節記] (Tokyo, 1931).

probably felt that the union of Spain and Portugal would produce a world-wide dynastic empire overshadowing in strength and wealth the empire of Charles V and assuring for Catholic Europe both secular and religious dominion over the entire overseas world. It was while this optimistic view of the future still prevailed in Catholic Europe that the Japanese envoys traveled there.

Specifically with regard to Japan, there was good reason for optimism. The Jesuits' old enemies, the bonzes, were on the defensive everywhere as Japan's secular rulers eliminated them from the political arena. In a single generation a handful of Jesuits had made 150,000 converts[203] to the teachings of Christ, and had founded 200 churches and two seminaries; a haven for European missionaries and merchants had mushroomed at Nagasaki; the rulers of Arima, Ōmura, and Bungo had accepted baptism; and Nobunaga, the new ruler of central Japan, had shown friendship to the Christians. Many of the conversions, it is true, had been made *en masse* within the few years immediately before Valignano's arrival. But there was certainly no reason for the European public at large to suspect that the Visitor was not entirely pleased with the condition of Christianity in Japan. In what could be gleaned from the reports of Fróis and the letters of Valignano, the Japanese seemed to be lacking only the Christian revelation to have one of the most advanced civilizations on earth. The earliest of the composite Annual Letters, as they began to be published in Europe after 1580, did nothing to unsettle the convictions of those who foresaw the imminent conversion of the whole of Japan.

Perhaps the best evidence we have for Europe's interest in Japan is to be found in the receptions accorded the four youthful Japanese legates. They had left Nagasaki along with Valignano in February, 1582, just about four months after he had conceived the idea of sending out such a mission. The four young lords—Mancio Itō, Michel Chijawa Seiyemon, Julien Nakaura, and Martin Hara—were between fourteen and fifteen years of age when they departed. Youths of this age were sent because they were thought to be more adaptable and better able to stand the rigors of the lengthy and tiring round-trip journey. Ito and Chijawa, strictly speaking, were the accredited delegates to Rome; the two other young noblemen were evidently sent along as companions and as emissaries to Spain and Italy. They were all relatives and vassals of the Christian daimyo (Ōtomo, Ōmura, and Arima) of Kyūshū and converts themselves. They were accompanied by a Japanese friar, Jorge de Loyola,[204] and two Japanese servants.[205] This party, shepherded by Valignano, Father Nuño Rodrigues and Father Diogo de Mesquita, arrived in Macao on March 9, 1582, and was not able to leave for Malacca until the very last day of the year. At

[203] Detailed breakdown of this figure may be found in the Annual Letter for 1582 The appropriate portion is translated in O. Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan* (New York, 1909), I, 91–92.

[204] See J F. Schutte, "Christliche Japanische Literatur, Bilder, und Druckblatter," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, IX (1940), 271

[205] For their names see J. F Schutte, *Alexandro Valignano, S. J., Il cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone* (Rome, 1946), pp. 35–36, n. 5.

Macao a Chinese servant was added to the party. On February 4, after a few days' rest at Malacca, the embassy departed for India.

The four youths from Kyūshū were not, it should be remembered, the first Japanese to visit the West on official missions. When Xavier returned to India from Japan in 1551, he was accompanied by an emissary of the daimyo of Bungo to the viceroy of India. Other Japanese had also made the trip to Goa before, and, as we have shown earlier, Bernard, one of Xavier's disciples was in Rome a full generation before Valignano's group reached there. But certainly no Japanese emissaries to Europe, either before or since,[206] aroused comparable interest or enthusiasm. Landing at Lisbon in August, 1584, two years and six months after leaving Japan, the young emissaries from Kyūshū spent the next twenty months on a triumphal tour of Portugal, Spain, and Italy.

Frequently the question has been raised about Valignano's motives in sending such a mission to Europe. The Jesuits and other Catholic writers have generally insisted that the objectives of the mission were purely religious.[207] Certain other authors have contended that it was Valignano's ambition to develop with the help of the mission direct commercial and political relations between Japan and Europe.[208] It was not until quite recently that Valignano's own statement of his objectives became available. These are contained in the letter of instructions which he prepared in Goa on September 12, 1583, upon relinquishing leadership of the mission for the European part of its tour to Father Nuño Rodrigues. According to the Visitor's instructions:

> The ends being sought by this trip of the youths to Portugal and Rome are of two types. The first is to obtain the cure which, in the temporal and spiritual spheres, is required in Japan. The second is to reveal to the Japanese the glory and grandeur of the Christian religion, and the majesty of the princes and lords who have embraced this religion, and the greatness and richness of our kingdoms and cities, and the honor and power exercised within them by our religion. Thus, these Japanese youths as eye-witnesses and persons of known quality, will be able, after they have returned to Japan, to recount what they have seen and thus provide in Japan the influence and authority which will best help expedite our affairs.

[206] It may be of interest to observe that several of the best studies of this mission produced in recent times were clearly stimulated by the Iwakura mission of 1873 Iwakura found some Japanese letters in the archives of Venice which first whetted his interest. It was at his suggestion and encouragement that a member of the reception committee, Guglielmo Berchet, prepared and published his "Le antiche ambasciate giapponesi in Italia," *Archivio veneto*, Vol. XIII, Pt. 4 (1877), pp. 245–85. Berchet did not investigate the archives of Rome, this task was first undertaken by Murakami Naojirō who published the results of his labors in *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], Vol XIV, No 3 (1903), pp. 231–47, 350–61.

[207] Cf. L. Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (London, 1930), XX, 459, n. 1. See also P. Mitsukuri, "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der japanischen Christen im 17. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXVII (1901), 193 For another similar Japanese viewpoint see G Prunaj's review of Kawazoe Shigehiro's book on *Ito Mancio* (Miyazaki, 1932), the leader of the mission, in *Bullettino Senese di storia patria*, New Series, IV, 283–84.

[208] Especially Berchet, *loc. cit.* (n. 206), p. 255. For the importance of trade to the maintenance of the mission in Japan see Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 3), pp. 117–21, and his more recent work *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1959), p. 39.

In order to obtain this first end, it appears essential that the Japanese be introduced to His Majesty and His Holiness and to some Cardinals and many of the lords of Europe in such a fashion that when they see them and discourse with them they will realize that they are youths of ability and rank. Thus they will no longer consider as inventions and falsehood what the Fathers have written about this subject.[209] And thereby we will be able to stimulate these Princes to aid Japan. Therefore that is why it appears advantageous for these youths, whose rank is so honorable and elevated, to go there as envoys of the king of Bungo and of the king of Arima and of Don Bartolomeu,[210] and to make a visit in their names to his Majesty and to acknowledge their obedience to His Holiness, and to ask them to help in the propagation of our holy faith and in the conversion of Japan. . . .

In order to achieve the second end which we aspire to, it is necessary that these youths be treated well and received kindly by the said lords, and that they comprehend the greatness of our states as well as the beauty and richness of our cities, and the prestige which our religion enjoys in all of them. And for this purpose, it will be wise at the court of His Majesty, in Portugal and in Rome, and in the majority of the cities through which they journey, that they be shown all extraordinary and great things, such as buildings, churches, palaces, gardens and similar places, as well as silver objects, rich sacristies and other things which will contribute to their edification, but without having them either see or know about other things which will give them a contrary conception.[211]

Irrespective of whatever else may be inferred from Valignano's instructions, it is clear he intended that the Japanese youths should be closely supervised during their visit to Europe. It would seem that they were not to learn anything of Christian divisions and especially nothing about Protestantism. Their tour was to be carefully chaperoned and of limited duration so that they would receive only the best possible impression of Catholic Europe. At all times they were to be in the company of a priest and a friar and were to have no unsupervised contacts with outsiders. Wherever possible, they were to be lodged in Jesuit houses. Nor were they to be kept in Europe too long for they would then have too much opportunity "to see and learn about matters upon which a wrong construction might be placed if they were learned about in Japan."[212] To say the least, these were unusual restrictions to place upon four envoys who were nominally the official representatives of their lords to the court of Spain, Italy, and the Vatican.[213] But, as we shall see, Valignano's instructions were followed to the letter by the Jesuits responsible for conducting the tour. Father Diogo de Mesquita, their interpreter, was with the Japanese along every step of the way from Japan to Europe and back again.[214]

Upon arriving in Lisbon in August, 1584, the Japanese were given quarters in the Jesuit house there. Apparently they attracted relatively slight public

[209] Cf. above, pp. 318–19.

[210] Christian name of Ōmura Sumitada.

[211] Extracted and translated from J. A. Abranches Pinto and H. Bernard, S. J., "Les instructions du Père Valignano pour l'ambassade japonaise en Europe," *Monumenta Nipponica*, VI (1943), 395–97.

[212] *Ibid.*, p. 401.

[213] Cf. *ibid*, p. 396, n. 47.

[214] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 393, and Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard (eds.), *op cit.* (n. 184), p. xxv.

attention during the twenty days of their first stay in the city on the Tagus, perhaps because its residents had seen enough of foreign faces to be nonchalant about newcomers. Still their costumes were curious enough to cause some comment as they went out in the city to various receptions. Here they were received by Cardinal Albert, Philip II's governor of Portugal, the Archbishop of Lisbon, and Luis de Granada, the famous Spanish author. In Lisbon's environs they commenced their sight-seeing tour of Europe by visits to the Carmo in Lisbon, the Ajuda palace, Belém, and Sintra. And here they began to record their impressions of Europe in the diaries which they kept throughout the whole trip.[215]

On September 5, 1584, they set out on their journey to Rome preceded by Father Nuño Rodrigues who went on ahead to announce their coming. Their first stop was at Evora, an old Roman city and the center of life in Portugal's Alentejo region. Here the Japanese youths received the kind of welcome ordinarily reserved for the highest dignitaries of church or state Dom Theotonio de Braganza, the correspondent of Valignano and archbishop of Evora, awaited them in his cathedral.[216] The immense crowd attending the high mass sung by the archbishop himself was moved by the impressive piety of the four young converts. In the evening the archbishop entertained at a banquet where he was presented with some of Valignano's writings. Then, Dona Catherina, the archbishop's sister-in-law, being anxious to see the Japanese, invited them to the Braganza residence at Villa-Viçosa and showered them with gifts. Fascinated by their clothes, she had a Japanese costume made for her own son,[217] and she even toyed with the idea of introducing Japanese kimonos as festival costume in Portugal. From this Portuguese village, the visitors crossed over into Spain and made their first extended stay at Toledo, where, on October 1, 1584, a great reception was held for them presided over by Archbishop Gaspar Quiroga.

From the old capital of Spain the Japanese then journeyed on to Philip II's new capital at Madrid where they arrived on October 20. Here Martin Hara fell ill and was attended by four of the leading physicians of Spain Meanwhile the other Japanese were visited by some of the city's leading dignitaries. Philip II received the four Japanese in audience on November 14, 1584 at Madrid. A great assemblage of people from all over Spain was then in the capital, because the reception of the Japanese followed a ceremony of swearing allegiance to the crown prince. The envoys, dressed in native style,[218] were conveyed from the Jesuit house to the audience in royal coaches. The king received them standing in

[215] These diaries, along with the record kept by Father Mesquita, provided the raw material for the account of the embassy which the Jesuits later prepared and printed in Macao See J Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko* (3d rev. and enlarged ed., Tokyo, 1957), p. 11

[216] In 1598, it was Dom Theotonio de Braganza who sponsored the publication of the famous collection of *Cartas* published at Evora

[217] L. Guzman, *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus, para predicar el Sancto Euangelio en la India Oriental, y en los reynos de la China y Iapon* (Alcalá de Henares, 1601), II, 233

[218] Their costume is described in vivid detail in *ibid*, II, 236–37.

the midst of his family, thus following a custom reserved for audiences granted to great ambassadors or papal legates. Once the proper ceremonies were observed the king embraced the emissaries and their servants. An exchange of gifts took place, followed by the presentation of their letters of credence.

Mesquita presented the king with a letter from the archbishop of Goa and three chapters from Valignano's treatise on Jesuit activities in the East. These chapters describing China, its customs, greatness, and good government, were based, according to Valignano, on materials extracted laboriously from Chinese writings.[219] The king also appears to have received a series of folding screens on which a map of China had been painted.[220] The Japanese apologized that their presents had had to be collected on short notice and hence were not as numerous or as interesting as they might otherwise have been. Nevertheless, the king received an assortment of small objects, one of which was a bamboo desk that Nobunaga had presented to Valignano. Apparently the king was quite delighted with the gifts, treated the Japanese with unusual kindness, and asked them questions about Japan. He was also quite taken by their official letters, observing that they were read from the top down and asking that they be read aloud to him in Japanese.

During the remaining days of their stay at Madrid, the Japanese were received by noted churchmen and the head of the Inquisition. They also had an interview with the French ambassador who told them about the greatness of his king and invited them to visit France. Empress Marie of Austria, the king's sister and widow of Maximilian II, also had the emissaries call on her and showed interest in samples of their writing. And at the request of the Jesuits, who were following instructions to show the Japanese the great edifices of Europe, Philip II arranged a visit to the Escorial. The monks at this famous monastery showed the emissaries "a book with the letters of many different nations, even those of the Chinese."[221] Since there was no sample of Japanese writing in the book, they wrote in it a brief statement on the object of their embassy.[222]

While preparing to depart from the capital, the embassy received from Philip II a bequest of money, a nice coach, passports, and letters of introduction to various people.[223] From Madrid the Japanese wended their way to Alcalá de

[219] Pinto and Bernard, *loc. cit.* (n. 211), p. 398 The envoys probably had in their possession as well the *Sumario . . de Japon* which Valignano had completed at Cochin before their departure for Europe. Cf the discussion in José Luis Alvarez-Taladriz (ed), *Alejandro Valignano, S. I , Sumario de las cosas de Japon (1583) Adiciones del Sumario de Japon (1592)* ("Monumenta Nipponica Monographs," No 9 [Tokyo, 1954]), I, 178–80.

[220] Possibly this was the map used by Luis Jorgé de Barbuda in preparing his map of China which appeared in Ortelius' *Theatrum mundi* See below, p 818

[221] Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op. cit* (n. 184), p. 164

[222] Their statement is reproduced in Juan de San Jeronimo "Libro de memorias deste Monasterio de sant lorençio el Real," in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de España* (Madrid, 1845), VII, 395

[223] The king wrote to the magistrate of Murcia and the port authorities of Alicante and Cartagena to make certain that they would be assigned a first-class vessel for their sea voyage to Italy He also gave them a letter to his ambassador in Rome. See Guzman, *op. cit.* (n. 217), II, 238–39.

Henares, arriving at this university town and center of Jesuit activities on November 26. Here they attended the public defense of two doctoral dissertations. The Christmas holidays were spent at Murcia, an episcopal see and silk-producing center twenty-five miles inland from the Mediterranean coast. After resting at the Jesuit house until after New Year's Day, the Japanese pushed on to the seaport of Alicante. While they waited here for passage, they had an opportunity to see a part of the "Invincible Armada" which Philip was building. Finally on April 7, they embarked for Italy. After various vicissitudes at sea, including a forced stop-over at Majorca, they disembarked at Leghorn on March 1, 1585, three years and ten days after their departure from Nagasaki.

Leghorn belonged to the domain of Francesco dei Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was interested in the spice trade and corresponded with Filippo Sassetti in India.[224] The emissaries therefore journeyed to Pisa where he was then in residence to pay their respects to him. As for Francesco, he was both pleased and honored to have the privilege of being the first Italian prince to receive them. His famous wife, Bianco Capello, embraced the young Japanese who were again dressed in their native costume for the official reception. In return for his kindness, the Japanese presented the Grand Duke with an "inkpot" made of very shiny and odoriferous black wood, and "a piece of this same wood" (possibly camphor-wood). They also gave him "two pieces of paper made from the bark of a tree" inscribed with the Japanese names for God and the Virgin Mary. Other small gifts were:

> Two other pieces of paper made of such soft cane that no one is able to understand how they are able to write on it; a cocoon as big as a man's head; a garment made according to their custom; and two or indeed three stones as thin as our razors about which they say that after using them the hair does not grow back any more.[225]

Clearly the Japanese had come unprepared, as they said in Madrid, to present lavish gifts to the European princes.

But the trinkets presented to the Grand Duke apparently pleased him. He entertained the envoys with all sorts of festivities, including a hunting party. He provided them with an armed escort to Florence where they were lodged for five days as his guests in the Pitti palace. They were received and entertained by members of the Florentine nobility, the papal nuncio, and the legate of Venice. After marveling over the monuments of Florence, the Japanese left the Arno valley on March 13 and took the road to Siena. Here they were also given the hospitality of the town and received by its leading dignitaries. As elsewhere, the curious who assembled remarked on their physical features, costumes, and frugality at the table. A Siennese contemporary almost in shock observed that they "never drink wine, but always water [tea perhaps!]: cold in the morning and

[224] See above, pp. 475–77

[225] G Berchet, "Documenti del saggio storico sulle antiche ambasciati giapponesi in Italia," *Archivio veneto*, Vol. XIV, Pt. 1 (1877), pp. 150–51. The author of this notice also comments on the beardless faces, small but well-proportioned figures, tiny hands, and flat noses of the Japanese youths.

hot in the evening."[226] Still the oenophiles of Tuscany, to use the words of L. A. Muratori, received them "with honor and politeness."[227]

In Rome, meanwhile, news of the embassy's progress through Tuscany prompted Pope Gregory XIII to dispatch couriers northward asking that the Japanese appear at the Vatican as quickly as possible. They had been awaited there since the previous November. The pope, whose health was failing, evidently was afraid that he might not live to greet them. An honor guard was sent to meet the Japanese at the frontier of the papal states and escort them safely to Rome. Their train, according to contemporaries, was often accompanied by as many as a thousand curious onlookers.[228] On the evening of March 22, the Japanese entered the Eternal City and made their way through a curious throng to the Jesuit House of the Professed where they were received by Jesuit Father General Claude Acquaviva. After a solemn *Te Deum* was sung, the youths from Kyūshū, one of whom was ill, were permitted to get some much-needed rest.[229]

Pope Gregory XIII, whose personal interest in the Jesuit enterprise in Japan was well known,[230] was frankly eager to receive and welcome the young envoys. On March 23, 1585, the Japanese were officially invited to appear at a public consistory. Mounted on black palfreys and wearing their native costumes, the Japanese made their solemn entry from the Villa of Julius III in the company of a troop of Swiss guards. As they passed through the throngs to the Castle of St. Angelo, comments on their physical features, strange dress, and proud demeanor could be heard on all sides. The cannons of St. Angelo fired a salute and all the bells of Rome tolled out their welcome. Upon arriving at the Vatican, they were offered refreshments and then conducted to the Sala Regia where the pope and the cardinals awaited them.

Only three of the four envoys participated in the ceremony, for Julian Nakaura was the victim of a violent attack of fever. The leader of the group, Mancio Itō, was conducted to the papal throne by two archbishops. Two other archbishops accompanied Michel Chijawa Seiyemon as he followed Itō to make his obeisances. Martin Hara and two bishops came last. Their obeisances made, Pope Gregory XIII bade the youths rise and he embraced them. Next, their letters of credence, written in words of gold, were handed to Antonio Boccapaduli, the Secretary of Briefs. Then Itō delivered a short speech in Japanese. Both the letters and the speech were translated into Latin and Italian by Father

[226] See the letter of Marcantonio Tolomei as reproduced in G Sanesi, "I principi giapponesi a Siena nel 1585," *Bullettino Senese di storia patria*, I (1894), 126.

[227] *Annali d'Italia* . . . , Vol. X, Pt 2 (Rome, 1754), pp. 309–10; citations under the year 1585 describe the reception tendered the group by Popes Gregory and Sixtus.

[228] Guzman, *op cit.* (n 217), II, 246.

[229] On the Rome visit see especially Francesco Boncompagni-Ludovisi, *Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi a Roma (1585–1615). Con nuovi documenti* (Rome, 1903). For a shorter and more recent discussion see P. d'Elia, "I primi ambasciatori Giapponesi venuti a Roma (1585)," *La civiltà cattolica*, CIII (1952), 43–58

[230] Above, pp. 294–95

Mesquita. With the opening formalities over, the Japanese took their place in a tribune to hear the official speech of welcome.

The Latin address was delivered by Gaspare Gonsalves (called Consalvi in the Latin writings), a Portuguese Jesuit and a humanist educator of some renown. Gonsalves began:

> The island kingdom of Japan is, it is true, so far away that its name is hardly known and some have even doubted its existence.[231] In spite of this, those who know it set it before all the countries of the East, and compare it to those of the West, in its size, the number of its cities, and its warlike and cultured people. All that has been lacking to it has been the light of the Christian faith. But when not so long ago, the Gospel had made its way there with the authority of the Holy See, it was received, by the help of God, as in the case of the ancient Church, first by the lower classes and then little by little by the nobility as well, and at length, under the happy and golden rule of Gregory, by the sovereigns and princes [232] Thus the Pope, while laboring with all his might for the restoration of the Catholic religion in those neighboring countries which have been shaken by error,[233] has seen the faith take root and grow in far distant countries as well. This consoling fact, which hitherto had been known to him only by report, he can now touch with his own hand and make known to all the world.[234]

Gonsalves then went on, in good humanistic style, to compare the visit of the Japanese to the embassy of Indians that Emperor Augustus had received in ancient Rome. But, as he pointed out, the Indians came to obtain a treaty of friendship while the Japanese envoys were there to acknowledge their obedience to the Holy Father. He concludes with a paean of praise to the accomplishments of Gregory XIII and expresses the hope "that the Christians of Japan would become more than men could number." In the short address of the official spokesman, Antonio Boccapaduli, which followed, the pope's hope was expressed that the example of the Japanese would lead other kings and princes to renounce error and to acknowledge their devotion and obedience to the universal church.

Once the public ceremonies were over, the Japanese dined in the papal apartments with Philippe Boncompagni, Cardinal de Sisto. In the afternoon they had a private audience with the pope at which Father G. P. Maffei, the historian of the Jesuit missions, was present.[235] The pope received them kindly,

[231] It would be interesting to know who these people were who doubted the existence of Japan

[232] Somewhat misleading, since it was then accepted only by three Japanese daimyos Still it is well to keep in mind that in Europe of this period, where the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* was still generally adhered to, it was of utmost significance to his hearers that Japanese lords and princes had become converts to Christianity.

[233] The Margrave of Baden, a new convert from Protestantism, was in the audience

[234] For the Latin text see G. P. Maffei, *Opere omnia latine scripta* (Bergamo, 1747), II, 340 It was translated into Italian and French during 1585 and various editions of it appeared in a number of European cities (see Streit, *op. cit* [n 124], IV, 439–44) The English translation given above is from Pastor, *op cit.* (n. 207), XX, 462.

[235] Pastor, *op cit.* (n. 207), XX, 464, asserts that Maffei acted as their interpreter for this audience. This he probably derived from the editor's introduction to Maffei, *op cit* (n 234), I, xxvii. I know of no contemporary account which indicates that Maffei was able to speak Japanese. Perhaps they spoke with Maffei in Portuguese. It is much more likely that Mesquita, as always, acted as their interpreter.

and presented each of them with three outfits of European clothes. Apparently their native costumes were beginning to cause laughter among the populace. The pope showed himself to be deeply disturbed over the illness of Julien Nakaura, and thereafter inquired repeatedly after his health. To commemorate the occasion, Gregory ordered that a medal be struck bearing the inscription: *Ab Regibus Iaponio[rum] Prima ad Roma[num] Pont[ificem] legatio et obedienta 1585.*[236]

The Japanese, in their turn, presented to the pope two folding screens with pictures of Azuchi, Nobunaga's residence, painted on them. These Nobunaga had given to Valignano in 1581. The screens, along with a writing desk of ebony, also presented by the mission, were added to the Vatican collection. After these interviews, the pope bestowed numerous other favors upon the young emissaries. He paid for their lodgings and provided them with pocket money. Since it was Lent, he ordered that they should be sent choice fish from time to time. His own physicians were assigned to attend Julien Nakaura.

In the days that followed the Japanese looked over the city with its multitude of churches and monuments. They were received by the cardinals and the foreign ambassadors stationed in Rome. Through these gentlemen and others, information was sent to the various courts of Italy about the envoys. Alessandro Benacci, emissary of Bologna, reported that "in their manner they are cultured, courteous, and modest."[237] He also noted that they knew Portuguese well, a small amount of Spanish, and bits of Italian and Latin. When they eat, Benacci observed, they use "certain sticks of wood as white as ivory, a palm in length, which are held between the fingers of the right hand, and with which they dextrously seize whatever sort of food they wish, even if it is far away and not very firm."[238] He also records that they know how to dance and that "they know how to perform on the cymbals, the guitar, the lyre, and have these instruments with them."[239] They also learned to play Trucco, an Italian game where one dislodges the ball of his opponent. Clearly the Japanese youths, despite their widely proclaimed piety and impassivity, were capable in Benacci's eyes of fitting into secular society.[240]

While the envoys took in the sights of Rome, the health of the eighty-year old pope was rapidly failing. On April 10, 1585, he died, and the Japanese were thereafter privileged to witness the ceremonies surrounding the obsequies of a

[236] See Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op. cit.* (n. 184), p. 161, n 594. Translated it means. "In memory of the first embassy and obeisance from the kings of Japan to papal Rome (1585)."

[237] Berchet, *loc. cit* (n. 225), p. 152

[238] *Ibid*, p. 153.

[239] *Ibid* Evidently the Japanese had more than a passing interest in music Upon their return to Japan in 1590, they performed on Western instruments for Hideyoshi and sang for him. See P. F. X de Charlevoix, *Histoire du christianisme au Japon* (Liége, 1855), II, 36.

[240] On the more religious aspects of their stay in Rome see Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op. cit* (n 184), pp 207–8, and G Schurhammer, "Die erste japanische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Europa," *Die katholischen Missionen*, XLIX (1921), 217–24.

pope and the election of his successor. When Sixtus V ascended the pontifical throne, the Japanese were present as honored guests at most of the ceremonies. The frescoes illustrating Pope Sixtus formally taking possession of the Lateran palace show the Japanese in the throng of onlookers. Shortly after his coronation, Sixtus honored the envoys by making them Knights of the Golden Spur. A few days later in the great Hall of the Capitol, in the presence of the Roman Senators, they were elected Roman Patricians and received a scroll which entitled them to all the privileges of patricians including the right "to bequeath the title . . . to their sons, their nephews, and to all their posterity."[241]

Accompanied by a papal guard and followed by a cheering crowd, the envoys left Rome on June 3, 1585, to begin their long trip back to Japan. Carrying letters from the new pope to their lords, the youthful envoys proceeded towards Genoa via a circuitous route. Valignano had wanted them to see much of Italy, especially Naples and Venice. Disturbed political conditions prevented them from visiting the south of Italy. A lack of time, and perhaps the absence of instructions from Valignano, kept the envoys from accepting the invitations to visit the courts of the king of France, the duke of Savoy, and the emperor. So upon leaving Rome they proceeded in a northeasterly direction towards Venice, the Sakai of Europe. On their way to the city of canals, they passed through and visited some of the leading towns and landmarks of eastern Italy.[242]

On their way to Loreto on the Adriatic coast, the Japanese visited Assisi where they viewed the relics associated with the life of St. Francis. They also passed by Macerata, the home town of Father Matteo Ricci, the great founder of the Jesuit mission in China. As they moved northward along the Adriatic coast from Loreto, they left mementos of their visit in the form of salutations written in Japanese on slips of paper. From Rimini they proceeded inland to Bologna where they took part in the Corpus Christi day procession. At Ferrara they were entertained in the duke's villa; upon leaving, the Japanese presented their host with a sabre which had once belonged to the "king" of Bungo. Here they got aboard a gaily decorated craft which took them down the Po River to the Adige and then into the Gulf of Venice on June 25, 1585.

The Queen City of the Adriatic received them with great acclaim and played host to them for the next ten days. Their receptions elsewhere in Italy had been described for the Seigniory by the Venetian emissaries, and so even before their arrival the Senate had decided to entertain them in "truly extraordinary style."[243] They were met on June 25 by Venetian dignitaries just outside Chioggia. Escorted by Filippo Cappello, the Podesta, the Japanese' vessel entered the lagoons leading into Venice. A passage was marked for their entry

[241] As quoted in G. Tucci, "Japanese Ambassadors as Roman Patricians," *East and West* (Rome), II (1952), 68.

[242] For a map showing their progress in Italy see Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op cit* (n 184), pp. lvi ff.

[243] See Berchet, *loc. cit.* (n. 206), p. 266

by lines of naval vessels decked out in full dress which fired salutes as they passed by. At the island of S. Spirito, a few miles from Venice, they disembarked to receive official greetings from thirty Senators attired in ceremonial red togas. The spokesman of this delegation welcomed them formally to the Republic, and invited them to proceed into the city in rich barks sent out for their use by the Doge. Accompanied by flotillas of smaller craft and gondolas, they slowly moved toward the city. Their official bark stopped long enough at St. Mark's Place to let the multitude on shore have a look at the strangers from afar. The flotilla then moved up the Grand Canal to the Jesuit house. Here they were received by the dignitaries of the church and the foreign ambassadors resident in Venice.

In honor of their coming, the traditional procession of the Apparition of St. Mark had been postponed for three days. After a few days' rest, on June 29, the Japanese, dressed in their native costumes, went back down the Grand Canal to St. Mark's Place. Accompanied by thirty Senators, they proceeded to the Doge's Palace for their official reception by Doge Nicolas da Ponte, the Council of Ten, and other leading lights of the Republic. After the first formalities were over, the Doge invited the Japanese to sit, two on each side of him, on the ducal bench. With Mesquita acting as interpreter, they thanked the Doge for his hospitality and presented him with two rich Japanese costumes, a sword with a hilt of gold encrusted with pearls, and a dagger.[244] The next day they participated in the solemn procession which annually commemorates the "pious theft" of the body of St. Mark from Alexandria. The Apparition ceremonies of 1585 in which the Japanese were honored are among the richest and most splendid on record.

The Japanese were also busy sightseeing during the ten days of their stay in Venice. Costantino Molin was appointed by the Senate to be their guide. They visited the churches, schools,[245] famous bell-towers, the whole of the Doge's palace, the armory of the Council of Ten, and the Treasury of St. Mark's. The textile workshops and the glass factories of Murano were opened to them and displays were put on for their benefit. They attended a nocturnal fishing party on the Lido and were then entertained with an open-air musicale and fireworks exhibition. To commemorate the visit, the Senate engaged the famous artist, Tintoretto, to paint the portraits of the four Japanese. Unfortunately, however, he finished only the portrait of Mancio Itō. Meanwhile a commemorative document was prepared in Italian and Japanese to which the four envoys affixed their written seals or *kaki-han*.[246]

[244] These gifts were later deposited in the hall of the Council of Ten where they still could be seen as late as 1773. They have since disappeared, and so far as is known no record remains of them. See *ibid.*, p. 268.

[245] For a copy of one of the inscriptions recording their visit see G. Tassini (ed.), "Le iscrizioni della Confraternita di S Maria della Carità," *Archivio veneto*, XII (1876), 118–22.

[246] For the text of this document in Italian and in English translation see E. M Satow, "The Origins of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XVIII (1890), 136–39.

Leaving Venice on July 6, the envoys carried letters to the rulers of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, then under Venetian control, ordering that the Japanese should be well received.[247] In Padua they visited the university and the famous botanical gardens. At Vicenza they were entertained at the newly completed Teatro Olimpico, the work of Palladio; and a fresco, which may still be seen, was painted in the theater showing the Japanese in Western clothes witnessing a performance.[248] In Verona the envoys were shown the famous Roman amphitheater, attended services in the twelfth-century cathedral, and watched a military review. To the sound of an artillery salute they entered Mantua on July 13 for a five-day visit. Here they were housed in the castle built for the Gonzagas while they toured all the city's great monuments and watched a mock naval battle on the lake. They presented to their host a large Japanese sword known as a *katana*. Their visit to S. Benedetto di Polirone was recorded in a Latin inscription carved into the monastery's wall.[249] Later Itō, as leader of the mission, sent a letter of thanks from Milan to the ruler of Mantua. This was written entirely in Japanese and accompanied by an Italian translation.[250]

The trip of about 100 miles from Mantua to Milan took the Japanese a little more than one week. On the way they stopped at Cremona and heard mass at the Cathedral celebrated by Cardinal Sfondrato, later Pope Gregory XIV. After two more halts, the envoys arrived in Milan on July 25. As usual they were received and banqueted by the dignitaries of the city and shown the sights. Though the archives of Milan contain only incidental references to the mission,[251] it appears that sketches of them were made which were used for the engravings prepared in Augsburg in 1586.[252] Leaving Milan on August 3, accompanied by a Swiss guard, they traveled via Pavia to Genoa. Here they were formally received by the Doge on the eve of their departure. After being in Italy for more than five months, the Japanese embarked at Genoa on August 8 for the return by sea to Spain. But long after leaving Italy they continued writing letters from Barcelona, Lisbon, Goa, Macao, and Japan to their genial Italian hosts.[253]

[247] For the text see Berchet, *loc cit* (n 225), pp 174–75.

[248] See illustrations in this chapter.

[249] Reproduced in Berchet, *loc cit* (n 225), p. 175

[250] See illustrations in this chapter

[251] Cf. Berchet, *loc cit* (n 225), p 177.

[252] See Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op cit* (n 184), p 243, n. 852 Also see illustrations in B Gutierrez, *La prima ambascieria dei Giapponese in Italia* (Milan, 1938).

[253] Copies of some of these are in Berchet, *loc cit.* (n 225), pp 179–84 For additional examples see the three letters reproduced in Murakami Naojirō's [村上直次郎] article in *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], Vol. XII, No. 4 (1901), pp 496–504, the letter to Venice as published by Tsuboi Kumazō [坪井九馬三] in *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], No 5 (1901), pp 616–20, and Mancio Itō's two letters to the pope from Goa and Macao, written on the return voyage, as published by Kōda Shigetomo [幸田成友], in *Shirin*, [史林], Vol. XVI, No. 2 (April, 1931), pp. 81–91. See also the summary of their European impressions published at Goa in 1588 and entitled *Oratio habita a Fara* [Hara] *D. Martino Iapomo, suo & socioru nomine cum ab Europa rediret* . . . This last work, which I have not seen, is cited in Laures, *op. cit.* (n. 215), pp. 29–30.

The Japanese made the port of Barcelona on August 16 and remained there for almost one month. A long halt was necessary to let Julien Nakaura recover from an illness which struck him upon arriving in Spain. About their reception here practically nothing is known. Mancio Itō evidently took advantage of the respite from traveling to write letters of thanks to his hosts in Italy. His letter penned in Barcelona to the Duke of Ferrara is still to be seen in the state archives of Modena.[254] In the first week of September they journeyed on to the old monastery town of Montserrat where they spent three days. Then they went on to Monzon where Philip II had been spending the summer. The king again gave them an audience and learned about their visit to Italy.[255] From here they went on to Saragossa where the Cortes was then in session. At Alcalá de Henares next they were entertained at a banquet "a la manière romaine" and at a theatrical performance. On a quick trip through Madrid they made their formal adieus. At the beginning of October they were back in Portugal again.

They first stopped at Villa-Viçosa and then went on to Evora. Here they were feted for nine days by their old friend, Archbishop Dom Theotonio,[256] by the Duke of Braganza, and by Francisco de Mascarenhas, but lately retired as Viceroy of India. At the University of Evora they listened to learned dialogues and were otherwise entertained. Leaving Evora, they traveled northward in Portugal as far as Coimbra. Here at the heart of the Jesuit missionary system for the East they spent the Christmas holidays of 1585 in the college overlooking the valley of the Mondego. After the first of the year they left Coimbra for Lisbon. On the way they stopped to see the famous Gothic abbey of Batalha and the Cistercian monastery of Santa Maria in the nearby village of Alcobaça. Upon returning to the capital, they paid their respects to Cardinal Albert and said farewells to their friends. After one false start at the end of March, their ship finally sailed out of the Tagus on April 8, 1586, for the long return trip to Japan.

Whatever influence the envoys may have had upon the progress of Christianity in Japan, there can be no question about the impact which they made in Europe. Their visit was the subject of much talk, many letters by a vast circle of correspondents, and no fewer than fifty-five publications.[257] Many of these were, it is true, merely translations of the Latin account of their reception in Rome at the

[254] D'Elia, *loc. cit* (n. 229), p. 56, n. 12.

[255] There is some question about the date of this audience Pinto, Okamoto and Bernard (*op. cit.* [n 184], p 246) put it around September 9 A letter by Antonio Raniero from Monzon (September 21, 1585) to the Jesuit General evidently places the royal reception on September 19 See the citation in J. F. Schutte, "Der Lateinische Dialog 'De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romam Curiam' als Lehrbuch der japanischen Seminare," in *Studi sulla chiesa antica e sull'Umanesimo* (Rome, 1954), p. 257, n. 50.

[256] In gratitude to Dom Theotonio for his devotion to the Japan mission, Valignano sent him copies of the books that the Jesuits began to print in Japan in 1592. Laures, *op. cit* (n. 215), pp. 16–17.

[257] This figure is based on a count of the entries relating to the embassy in Streit, *op cit.* (n 124), Vol. IV, in the *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog (1542–1853)* (Japaninstitut of Berlin [Kyoto in 1940]), and in H Cordier, *Bibliotheca Japonica* (Paris, 1912).

public consistory held by Pope Gregory XIII.[258] Even before the end of 1585 the proceedings of that memorable day were being circulated in at least five Latin, five French, five Italian, and one German version. These were produced in places as widely separated as Rome, Lyons, Liége, Dillingen, Prague, and Cracow. In the writings on Japan which appeared over the next several decades, considerable space was allotted by European authors of many nationalities to the mission and its meaning for Europe.[259] Even in countries which it did not visit, the mission had the effect of immediately stimulating interest in Japan. In the French geographical books which appeared before 1610 the foreign embassy most frequently discussed was the Japanese mission to Rome.[260] In Paris, Blaise de Vigenére, noted translator and secretary to King Henry III, gives the itinerary of the embassy, along with a brief discussion of the nature of Chinese and Japanese writing in his *Traicte des Chiffres, ou secretes manieres d'escrire* (1587).[261]

The Protestants, too, reacted to the great propaganda triumph achieved by the mission. The author of a *Flugschrift* in German written in 1585 complained that the emissaries, who had come from so far, were not permitted to travel "to Germany and Saxony" where they might have learned something of the true light of Christ as understood by the followers of that "dear man of God, Dr. Martin Luther." This anonymous pamphleteer goes on to argue that Japan, with its independent traditions, would find Lutheranism more congenial than Catholicism. The Japanese merchants, in particular, like those in France and the Netherlands, would find to their liking the Lutheran belief that "good works" are "neither necessary nor of any use" in winning salvation. He also remarks that since the Japanese lack the "oil, wax, and . . . bells [?]," necessary to the performance of Catholic rites, they would be glad to know Christians who abominated all such "superstitions." Nature itself, he concludes, has conspired to make Japan into a land most agreeable to the spread of the "true gospel." To my knowledge this is the first call to Protestants to compete with the Jesuits in the Far East.[262]

Among the Catholics of Switzerland, the mission also made a profound

[258] *Acta Consistorii publica exhibiti a . . . Gregorio Papa XIII. regum iaponiorum legatis Romae* . (Rome, 1585). This was summarized in English by Purchas and published in 1625 See the reproduction in the convenient compilation of Cyril Wild (ed.), *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan* (Kobe [1939]), pp. 30–34

[259] See Guido Gualtieri, *Relationi della venuta degli Ambasciatori Giaponesi a Roma sino alle partita di Lisbona* (Rome and Venice, 1586), G P Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Florence, 1588), the work by Hendrik van Cuyck, Bishop of Roermund, called *De trium regum Japaniorum legates* (Antwerp, 1593), Guzman, *op cit* (n. 217), II, 125–295.

[260] G. Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris, 1935), pp. 110–12.

[261] Cf Nachod, *loc. cit.* (n. 158), p. 263.

[262] This *Flugschrift* is reproduced in part and commented upon in Gottfried Kentenich, "Eine japanische Gesandschaft in den papstlichen Stuhl im Jahre 1585," *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage no 212 (September 14, 1905), pp. 508–11. Also see *Zeitung welcher Gestalt . . etlich. Konig und Fursten auss Japonia ihre Abgesandten des Glaubens halben gen Rom geschicket haben Mit kurtzer Beschreibung derselben jetzt gemeldten Land . Auch eines evangelischen Manns Censen und Urtheil was von solcher Schickung zuhalten sey* (1585).

impression. Peter Canisius, whose earlier interest in Japan we have mentioned,[263] in a sermon on December 21, 1585, held up the piety of the Japanese as an example to the parishioners of Fribourg.[264] In Lucerne meanwhile, the municipal secretary, Renward Cysat, began in 1585 to compile all the material he could find on Japan. A man of cosmopolitan interests, Cysat was a close friend of Father Martin Leubenstein, the rector of Lucerne's Jesuit college. It was apparently through Leubenstein, who at one time hoped to go to Japan as a missionary, that Cysat obtained copies of some Jesuit letters. These he used as the basis for a book that was first published at Fribourg in 1586, and is entitled *Warhafftiger Bericht von den neuerfundenen Japponischen Inseln vnd Konigreichen auch von anderen zuvor vnbekandten Indianischen Landen . . .*

Cysat's book opens with a lengthy dedication to his brother-in-law, Ludwig Pfyffer, the uncrowned "king" of Switzerland, military hero, and friend of the Jesuits.[265] After noting that the great strides taken by the Jesuits in Japan were no secret to anyone, Cysat continues:

> Likewise it is no secret, but known everywhere, and especially through the published books describing the coming to Rome of the Japanese royal emissaries last spring of the current year 1585 after so long and far and dangerous a voyage, there according to ancient custom to prostrate themselves and to acknowledge as true Christians their obedience to the supreme head and bishop of the universal church of God . . . .
>
> Meanwhile there came into my hands a small book published in this very year at Rome in the Italian language which tells and includes in the form of a letter or dispatch all sorts of accounts and of the happy progress of Japanese Christianity as it had spread down to the year 1582. From this book and letters, I derived such comfort, delight, and joy that I disregarded all other work in progress and readied this for the press in the hope that such a version of this work would be well worthwhile and so that this sincere history and these accounts might be brought to light and publicized to the great benefit of many people. . . . For these reasons I have finally let myself be persuaded to translate the above-mentioned epistle into our ordinary tongue and to append as an introduction a short abstract of materials on Japan which I have collected from many writings.[266]

Though Cysat does not cite his sources with greater specificity, it is clear from reading the 107 pages of his description of Japan that he probably had numerous copies of the earlier Jesuit letters at his disposal as well as the Annual Letter published in 1585 which he cites. For example, it is certain that he knew about and used some version of Da Costa's work on Japan and Maffei's collection of

[263] See above, p. 319.

[264] As quoted in Pinto, Okamoto, and Bernard, *op. cit* (n 184), p. 267, n. 887

[265] J Beckmann, "Der erste Japandruck in der Schweiz," *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, XXV (1939), 150.

[266] *Lettera annale delle cose del Giapone del M D. LXXXII* (Rome, 1585). He is here referring to an Annual Letter written by Father Gaspar Coelho from Nagasaki. Another German translation of it appeared in 1585 at Dillingen. See Streit, *op cit* (n. 124), p. 446

letters which were appended to it.[267] On the basis of such materials Cysat sought to present a systematic survey of Japan. His account deals with its location, the livelihood and clothes of its inhabitants, administration, customs, and mainly with religious practices, monastic institutions, and ecclesiastical buildings. From the detail given in his description of architecture it is obvious that he knew Fróis' letters. He also describes how the Japanese make tea[268] and how they drink it from small porcelain cups. And in this connection he comments on how rare and costly "porcelana" was in the Europe of his day. Cysat's narrative description is followed with a short lexicon of Japanese words and place names arranged alphabetically according to their romanizations. In many cases the definitions give illuminating detail.[269] His description of "Anan" (Hainan Island) is one of the earliest to appear in European literature and one of the few contemporary accounts which relates Hainan to Japan.[270] The conclusion of the introduction is phrased as a prayer of thanksgiving for the divine gift of Japan to Christianity at a time when Europe itself was divided into opposing religious camps of "thankless Jews," sectarians, and heretics.

All of this material the author intended as background to his translations of Coelho's letter of 1582, of the letters of the Japanese princes to the pope, of the Gonsalves speech, and of his own short description of the mission's reception in Rome. This is followed by a sample of Japanese writing taken directly from one of the editions of Maffei's *Rerum a Societatis Jesu in Oriente gestarum. . . .*[271] Cysat here translates Maffei's interlinear Latin translation of the Japanese into German, though he is also aware of the fact that the original translation was the Portuguese version which appeared in the *Cartas* of 1570. This collection of characters is followed by a translation of Valignano's letter from Goa of

[267] See below, p. 706.

[268] For a brief history of tea citations in Western literature see Yule and Burnell, *op cit* (n 3), p. 689. Cysat probably took his account from a letter in Maffei's book IV written in 1564 by Luis d'Almeida

[269] For example, about Nara he comments "a renowned city, has an admirably solid and beautiful castle situated on a high hill, the whole cut out of rocks, and also several splendid and costly churches" (Renward Cysat, *Wahrhafftiger Bericht von den neuerfundenen Japponischen Inseln . . .* [Fribourg, 1586], section after the introduction)

[270] A longer and entirely independent description, also published around 1586, presumably in Spain, was prepared by one of a party of Franciscan missionaries shipwrecked on Hainan in 1583. It is a rare item which may be found in the British Museum, and is entitled *Libro y Relacion de las grandezas del Reyno de la China Hecho por un frayle descalço de la Orden de Sant Francisco, de seys que fueron pressos en el dicho Reyno, en la isla de Haynam, en el de 1585* Another short account of Hainan of about the same time appeared in Juan González de Mendoza, *History of the Great and Mightie Empire of China*, edited by G. Staunton (London, 1854), II 303–4 Cysat obviously did not know of these accounts which appeared at about the same time as his own and which treated Hainan in relation to China

[271] Cf. below, p. 706 Like Maffei, Cysat does not present an accurate rendition of the Japanese document of 1552 giving the Jesuits a land grant at Yamaguchi As indicated above (p 680), this document was first printed in Europe in the *Cartas* of 1570 Nachod, *loc cit* (n 158), p 241, n. 6, mentions Cysat's rendition, but does not show clearly that it was derived from Maffei rather than the *Cartas*. A bibliography of the documents is included in Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n. 106), p 76, but Cysat's book does not appear in it.

December 28, 1583.[272] The remainder of the book deals with other matters and so is of no concern here.

After publishing the first edition of his book, Cysat apparently continued to collect news of Japan, perhaps with the idea of revising or amplifying his original work.[273] So far as we know his book went through three editions, two in 1586 and the final one in 1592.[274] Into the second edition Cysat inserted a woodcut map of Japan, the first to appear as part of any European publication.[275] His map is particularly interesting in the context of this work because it was apparently produced exclusively from information obtained from the Jesuit letters.[276] Another representation, possibly prepared at Florence in 1585, previously existed in manuscript [277] At Milan in 1589 Urbano Monti prepared a map of the world on which Japan is shown, and on which the cartographer mentions his indebtedness to the mission of 1585 and cites the names of Valignano and Mesquita as his authorities.[278] In these cases it was the interest created by the mission which apparently stirred the Europeans to try their hand at depicting Japan cartographically.

That the legates put Japan on the map for most Europeans is beyond doubt. During the twenty months of their triumphal tour, they visited around seventy different towns and cities in three countries, and several they visited more than once. They were received as official legates of their daimyos by the Regent of Portugal, the King of Spain, two popes, and the doges of Venice and Genoa. In every town, large and small, they excited the interest of the leading ecclesiastical and lay figures, and were treated as conquering heros. All along their route they were forced to make their way through throngs of spectators, to eat their meals in public from time to time, and generally to be on display. Stories about them quickly reached towns and countries which they did not actually visit. Finally, the record of their visit was preserved for posterity in correspondence, books, paintings, maps, and inscriptions. Their persons, gifts, and samples of writing all helped to make Japan more real for Europeans. For the Jesuits,

[272] Valignano's letter was also translated from the 1585 edition of *Lettera* cited above (n. 266)

[273] Beckmann, *loc cit* (n 265), p. 155 See also B. Hidber, "Renard Cysat, der Stadtschreiber zu Luzern," *Archiv fur schweizerische Geschichte*, XX (1875), 21–22

[274] Streit, *op. cit* (n 124), pp. 452–53, 469

[275] See illustrations in this chapter

[276] Cf Mikinosuke Ishida, "A Brief Note on the Two Old European Maps of Japan Recently Discovered," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 261 It seems to me that George Kish, "Some Aspects of the Missionary Cartography of Japan during the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi*, VI (1950), 46, strains too hard to connect this map with Japanese originals. Comparison of Cysat's map with the manuscript maps of Florence and Madrid show, I believe, very few affinities. The repetition in place names may simply indicate a common source.

[277] That it was prepared at this date is the opinion of Sebastiano Crino, "La prima carta cartografica inedita del Giappone portata in Italia nel 1585 e rinvenuta in una filza di documenti riguardanti il commercio dei Medici nelle Indie Orientali e Occidentali," *Rivista marittima*, X (1931), 257–84. Also see below, p. 710.

[278] See Kish, *loc. cit.* (n. 276), p. 46.

one great result of the visit was the papal bull recognizing their exclusive right to carry on missionary work in Japan.[279] This right was shortly confirmed by Philip II who quickly sent instructions to the viceroy of Goa to inform Macao, Manila, and Japan of it and to see to the bull's enforcement.

5

Maps, Histories, and Polemics in Europe, 1585–1601

In Europe, during the fifteen years after the reception of the Japanese legates there, the presses poured out an avalanche of Jesuit material on Japan and the mission. General histories also became more numerous. Their histories, like their letters, were intended by the Jesuits to be both "edifying and curious." In addition, the histories were clearly designed to set the record straight, insofar as that was possible. Peter Canisius and Jeronimo Nadal had called as early as 1555 for Latin editions of the letters so that they could more readily be circulated in northern Europe. The first of the Jesuit histories dealing with Japan, that of Da Costa-Maffei, appeared even before the arrival of the mission in Europe. In Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Florence, 1588), which was published shortly after the Japanese legates left Europe, it is Book XII which is mainly concerned with Japan. This account, and the other references to Japan scattered throughout the book, is heavily indebted to Valignano's *Historia*. Maffei treats Japan in two ways: he provides a general description (pp. 480–502) and a briefer account (pp. 543–55) of the mission's successes prior to Valignano's arrival in Japan in 1579. For our purposes it is his picture of Japan which is most important, for it brings to the attention of the European public the viewpoints of Valignano.[280] And, in this connection, we must recall Valignano's debt to Fróis. In fact, Maffei's narrative, being almost a direct translation of Valignano's, exhibits most of the characteristic features of the early Fróis letters. That is to say he presents a clear exposition of Japan in the era of Nobunaga. Like Valignano, Maffei emphasizes institutions and mores. He gives only relatively slight attention to the size of cities, number of converts, and the architectural features of Japanese houses, palaces, temples, and fortresses. There are only incidental references to Japan's history; the reader, in other words, is not able to derive much feeling from Maffei about the dynamic character of

[279] For the text of the bull, *Ex pastorali officio* (January 28, 1585), and a discussion of its implications see E. M. Satow, *loc. cit.* (n 246), pp. 141–43. Actually the bull was published by Gregory XIII three months before the Japanese arrived in Rome. Father Rodrigues apparently went on directly to Rome to work for the publication of the bull which guaranteed the Jesuits in their monopoly.

[280] For Maffei's dependence upon Valignano and for some examples of how his account of Japan parallels the one given by the great Visitor, see Alvarez-Taladriz (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 219), pp. 197–200.

Japanese society. The stress is upon the contrasts between Japanese and European ideas and practices, obviously for the edification of Maffei's European audience.

No work available in Europe before Maffei's sought to bring out so explicitly the differences, minute and great, between Japanese and European practices and values. Some of his contrasts might have been taken directly from Fróis' distichs[281] had he had them at hand. For example, he notes such minor differences as the fact that Europeans admire white teeth while the Japanese blacken theirs for beauty's sake (p. 486).[282] On differences in character there is an abundance of material. In adversity and tribulation the Japanese, unlike the Europeans, show incredible control of their emotions. The Japanese have a highly developed sense of honor and propriety. Their children speak quietly, are moderate in their demands, and mature in behavior. The people in general are acute, sagacious, and well disposed by nature. In fact, "they surpass in judgement, docility, and memory not only the oriental but also the occidental nations" (p. 488). These traits are as characteristic of peasants and children as they are of the nobility. The lowliest farmers are almost civilized in their habits, highly vigorous and talented, and possess facial features which are not crudely rural. The children learn to read and write Latin much more quickly than European schoolboys.

Poverty is widespread in Japan, but it is not dishonorable. Nor does it lead to slothfulness and filth in daily life. The poorest people work with great industry, pay strict attention to personal cleanliness, and keep their houses orderly and spotless. Rich and poor alike bear personal discomforts with great equanimity. Even disastrous earthquakes, like the one in 1586 described by Fróis in his letter to Europe,[283] could not shake their poise. From childhood the Japanese of all classes are taught to endure hunger and cold, and to live in Spartan simplicity. In their personal relationships even the lower classes are extremely polite with each other. Angry outbursts or violent displays of emotion rarely trouble the serenity of life. Street brawls and domestic quarrels are not as common as they are among other less disciplined peoples. Common thievery and pilfering are almost unknown. Guests are treated with great consideration and cheerfulness. Business and social transactions are conducted according to established customs and often through third parties. The adherence to form and convention is so universal that it would almost seem that all Japanese were trained in the same school. More than any other nation the Japanese act by precept and reason.

But the picture painted in Maffei's book is not all glowing. There are darker aspects of the Japanese character which contrast sharply with the many bright spots. Their faults are attributed to the evil influences of the bonzes and the troubled conditions of a country in civil war, as well as to Japan's ignorance of Christianity. Maffei deplores the addiction to unnatural vices, and concludes that such practices were introduced to Japan by an evil bonze. The disloyalty of

[281] Cf. above, pp. 687–88

[282] For the history of teeth blackening see Chamberlain, *op. cit* (n 25), pp. 62–63.

[283] Letter from Shimonoseki of October 15, 1586, in *Cartas* (Evora, 1598), II, 184–86.

vassal to lord, particularly apparent in the sixteenth century, is considered to be a defect of character which weakens the political and social fabric and leads to war. The basic reason for such general disloyalty is the refusal of the local lords to acknowledge the supreme authority of the emperor. Related to their lack of loyalty is a tendency among the Japanese towards dissimulation, ambiguity, and lack of openness in their dealings. This makes them hard to understand, trust, or to feel sympathy for. The Japanese are bellicose and inhumane. A lord may kill a vassal on the spot for the slightest offense. No respect is shown for the rule of law or other abstract principles of justice. The master may decide arbitrarily the fate of any of his vassals, no matter how elevated his rank. In the family the father hands out arbitrary justice, and even the mother ruthlessly exterminates her young when they are not wanted. Individuals are inhumane to themselves; this is illustrated by their readiness to commit suicide ceremoniously. And finally the Japanese spend far too much time in drinking and partying, such affairs sometimes lasting for several days on end. Still, with all their faults, the Japanese will readily take up Christianity for they are a people who are essentially ruled by reason and who possess a strong desire for the true religion.[284]

It was not possible for Maffei to know when he published his book in 1588 that Hideyoshi had banned the Jesuits from the country just one year earlier. The published letters from Japan had of course contained references to the persecutions suffered by the Jesuits and the Japanese Christians at the hands of the bonzes and unfriendly daimyo. But even Valignano, when he left Goa for Japan on April 13, 1588, with the Japanese envoys, had not yet heard of Hideyoshi's change of attitude. The Visitor learned this bad news only on his arrival at Macao on July 28, 1588.[285] In the meantime Pope Sixtus V in 1588 elevated the Jesuit province of Japan to a bishopric. Fróis' letter of February 20, 1588, from Arima detailing the persecution being suffered by the Jesuits, was first published at Lisbon in 1589.[286] In the following year it was printed in Antwerp, Dillingen, and Rome. At Madrid in 1591 a collection of letters from Fróis, Organtino-Gnecchi, Coelho, and Duarte de Sande was published under the title *Relacion de una gravissima persecuciō, que on tyrano de los reynos de Iapon, Ilamado Cabucodono, ha levātado contra los Christianos. . . .*[287] At about the time when this book

[284] For additional material on Japanese character see Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, *Il carattere dei Giapponesi secondo i missionari del secolo XVI* (rev ed., Rome, 1937)

[285] A. Kleiser, "P. Alexandre Valignani's Gesandtschaftsreise nach Japan zum Quambacudono Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1588–1591," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 77, he may have learned of this from the letter of May 10, 1588, sent by representatives of the Christians of the Five Imperial Provinces to the General of the Society in Rome For the edited text of this letter see Matsuda Kiichi [松田毅一], in *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], Vol LXVIII, No 9 (1958), pp 959–73.

[286] Streit, *op cit.* (n. 124), IV, 459.

[287] *Ibid*, pp. 468–69. In 1591 the daimyo of Arima sent a letter to Cardinal Antonio Carrafa (1538–91) to thank him for his hospitality to the young emissaries and to report on their safe return In this letter he mentions the difficulties being experienced by the Jesuits and indicates that Valignano had left for the capital to take up the matter with Hideyoshi. For the text of this letter see Hamada, *op. cit.* (n. 202), pp. 73, 411–21.

appeared the king of Spain was receiving complaints from the Philippines and Japan about the behavior of the Jesuits toward the Franciscans and the Spanish merchants. But certainly the king could not have been overly concerned about the deteriorating situation in the Far East; after the defeat of his great Armada he had much graver problems facing him in Europe.

The last decade of the sixteenth century offered to the curious reader in Europe a wide variety of publications on Japan and a lot to think about in relation to the future of Christianity there. Aside from the collections of Jesuit letters, crowned by the great *Cartas* compendium of 1598, efforts were made on the part of European scholars in several branches of learning to bring Japan within the bounds of their knowledge. Not all of the collectors and chroniclers were as renowned as Hakluyt, De Bry, and Linschoten, the great compilers of travel literature whose works appeared in this decade.[288] The Jesuit Humanist and student of America, José de Acosta, incorporated material on Japan and Buddhism into his *Natural and Moral History of the Indies* which appeared at Seville in 1590.[289] In "The First Book of Relations of Moderne States," an anonymous manuscript work clearly prepared in the last decade of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there is included a brief but incisive description of "The Kingdome of Japonia."[290] While this account is based upon Jesuit and Spanish sources, its author makes a few unsound assertions which are widely at variance with what had been directly reported about Japan.[291] Scholars like Antonio Possevino, the Jesuit diplomat, and Giovanni Botero, the accomplished Italian political theorist and social thinker, incorporated substantial accounts of Japan into their large, general works.[292] The biography of Pope Gregory XIII published by Antonio Ciappi in 1596 included a woodcut of some Jesuit establishments in Japan and another on the pope's reception of the Japanese legates. But probably the greatest achievement of this decade was the production and publication of the map which first correctly located the Japanese islands between 30 degrees and 40 degrees north latitude. This Portuguese map, usually attributed to Luis Teixeira, was printed by Ortelius in 1595 and thereafter it became the model for most Western maps of Japan.[293]

The European maps of Japan prepared before 1590 were generally primitive

[288] See above, pp. 212–17.

[289] For discussion see Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 132), pp. 272–75

[290] Reproduced in Rundall (ed.), *op. cit* (n 41), pp 3–14.

[291] For example, he alleges that the Japanese are slothful and negligent and that "they are far from all avarice" (*Ibid*, pp. 4, 5.) He also has very little understanding of the nature of the Japanese language (p. 7).

[292] See A. Possevino, *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de ratione studiorum* . . (Rome, 1594), pp. 588–663, and G. Botero, *Le relationi vniversale . . . divise in tre parti* . . . (Vicenza, 1595), Pt. I, pp 227–30; Pt II, pp. 97–100, Pt III, pp. 106–7, 137–46, and in Pt I see the map of Asia, including Japan, inserted between p 116 and p. 117. On Possevino's sources see Streit, *op cit* (n. 124), IV, 258.

[293] *Iaponiae insulae descripto. Ludoico Teisera auctore. Cum Imperatorio, Regio, et Brabantiae privilegio decennali, 1595.* On the back of the map there is a short Latin description of Japan which Ortelius took from Maffei. For a discussion of Teixeira's work see A Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses* (Lisbon, 1935), II, 265–76, and Kish, *loc. cit.* (n. 276), pp. 40–44. See illustrations in this chapter.

even in outline. On the map published by Ramusio in 1554, "Giapam" was shown as *one* island. Some later maps began to show the three islands of Honshū, Shikoku, and Kyūshū. Diogo Homem's map of 1558 puts the islands into fairly accurate relation to the continent and gives good detail on the coast of Kyūshū.[294] Fernão Vaz Dourado, who had probably spent a period in the East during his early years, included in his atlas of 1568 the first special and independent map of Japan. For the most part it seems that subsequent maps depended heavily upon the Jesuit letters for their place names and political divisions. Sketch maps of Japan, now to be found in Florence and Madrid, were evidently modeled on Japanese maps.[295] The Florentine map was possibly prepared in 1585 by a member of the mission to Europe;[296] the Madrid sketch was prepared in Manila about the same time and then sent to Europe. Both sketches seem to have Japanese maps of the *Gyogi* (the name of the inventor of cartography in Japanese lore) type as their common source. Both sketches contain the names and boundaries of the sixty-two political units (*kūni*) into which Japan was then divided. In the preparation of his map it is possible that Teixeira either used a Japanese original similar to that from which the sketch maps were drawn, or had another sketch no longer known, or himself knew the sketches of Florence and Madrid. It is also possible that he had available the sketches of the Portuguese cartographer Ignacio Morera (or Montera) who first went to Japan in 1584.[297] The similarities between the manuscript maps and his map as published by Ortelius are striking even though Teixeira probably modified his representation by reference to other maps previously produced in Europe.[298] At any rate the publication of Teixeira's map integrated Japanese and Western cartographic conceptions and laid the basis for more accurate and detailed cartographical work.[299]

For the educated European living at the very end of the sixteenth century, maps and a library of books about Japan were available in Latin and in the major vernaculars of the Continent. But still it would have been difficult for the layman, even were he as talented as a Possevino, to obtain a coherent and consistent picture of Japan from these representations. With the publication in 1588 of Maffei's history and its compendium of selected letters, the reading public of the sixteenth century had at hand a comprehensive Latin summary of the Jesuit missions in the East which was both factually reliable and stylistically

[294] Washburn, *loc. cit.* (n. 19), p. 234 Also see Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica* (Lisbon, 1961), II, 13–15

[295] *Ibid.*, III, 7. Kish, *loc. cit.* (n. 275), p. 45 Cf above, p. 705 See also Hirosi Nakamura, "Les cartes du Japon qui servaient de modèle aux cartographes européens an début des relations de l'Occident avec le Japon," *Monumenta Nipponica*, II (1939), 100–123.

[296] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota (*op. cit.* [n. 294], II, 127–28) believe that it should be dated prior to 1582. They argue on "logical" grounds that it was probably prepared in Japan and brought to Europe by the legates of Kyūshū.

[297] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[298] Kish, *loc. cit.* (n 276), p. 46.

[299] For an evaluation of Teixeira's work which emphasizes his place in the continuous Portuguese tradition see Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit.* (n. 294), III, 65–66.

pleasing. Unfortunately, however, it carried the story of the Jesuits in Japan only to 1573. None of the other compendia which appeared before the end of the sixteenth century was as comprehensive or reliable as Maffei's. And none published in the sixteenth century presented anything like a general survey of the earth-shaking events of Hideyoshi's regime (1582–98). The death of Nobunaga and the rise of Hideyoshi, the banning of Christianity in 1587, and the troubles between the Jesuits and Franciscans in Japan had to be learned about exclusively from discrete reports or polemical tracts.

The unification wars of Hideyoshi, his organization of the central administration, his suppression of brigandage and piracy, his comprehensive national land survey, his land tax reform, and his extensive building program are all mentioned though, often admiringly, in the Jesuit letters written after he was elevated to the office of *kampaku* in 1584.[300] The Jesuits, especially Fróis, dwell at length on Hideyoshi's wealth and his lavish expenditure of it. His transfer of daimyo from one fief to another, his revenues from confiscations and the semi-annual gifts required of the daimyo, and his determination to expand Japan's foreign trade are also observed and commented upon in the letters written before the persecution of 1597. His erection of Ōsaka as a great trading center, the rise in the general standard of living, and the growth with unification of a national culture can all be gathered from perusal of the letters written between 1585 and 1597. Yet, while the Jesuits admired Hideyoshi's resoluteness, administrative skill, and statesmanship, they remained highly critical of his personal life and distrustful of his motives.

Such matters had to be gathered in Europe from the collections of letters and were not presented in any systematic account until the appearance at Alcalá de Henares of Luis de Guzman's work in 1601. Though little of what he has to say is new, Guzman in his *Historia de las missiones* . . . provides a narrative which gives the reader a feeling that the Japanese are a real and a plausible people. Unlike Maffei's, his account is continuous and centered on Japan more than on any of the other areas of Jesuit enterprise. The last one-third of Part I and all of Part II in this monumental work are concerned with Japanese affairs. Moreover, he is not as anxious as Maffei and Valignano to compare and contrast for the edification of Europe. Perhaps this is because he is writing at a time when the Christians were having difficulties in Japan and were consequently less optimistic about the future of Christianity there. More than any of his predecessors Guzman is successful in organizing the available materials on Japan[301] into a readable, factual narrative and with only relatively few digressions devoted to preaching or moralizing. Like his predecessors, Guzman, probably because he lacked the material, has little to say about Japan's history before the sixteenth century. He does have, perforce, a much greater sense of the dynamic quality of Japanese life. To put it simply, his work synthesizes better than any other

[300] For internal reforms see especially the letters of Fróis (February 20, 1588) and Coelho (February 24, 1589) in the *Cartas* of 1598, Pt. II, fols. 187–225, 258–62.

[301] For some of his sources see above, p. 328.

single work what Europe knew of contemporary Japan and the Japanese by the end of the sixteenth century.

His general description (Vol. I, pp. 305–413), which precedes the chronological account of Jesuit activities from Xavier to 1599, is short but useful. Japan is a nation consisting of a number of islands which are united politically and culturally. Its exact size is not accurately known, some say it extends two hundred leagues, other say four hundred, depending upon, as he assumes, how many islands are included in the reckoning. This island kingdom is mountainous and not nearly as fertile as Europe. It has rain enough to produce what is needed to feed the population; if wars did not continually disrupt the countryside Japan would produce even more food. In the fields of Japan wheat, barley, millet, and rice are cultivated. Its trees yield almost all the fruits known to Europe plus some native to Japan. The Japanese breed sheep, hogs,[302] oxen, and horses; in their mountains live wild boars, deer, rabbits and diverse other animals. Pheasants, ducks, geese, chickens, and doves fatten in their fields.[303] Fish abound in their rivers and streams as well as in the bays and gulfs of the surrounding seas. In some of the mountain ranges gold and silver are mined as well as iron and other metals. These mines operate continually and produce metals in good quantity.[304]

Originally Japan was ruled, asserts Guzman as he makes one of his rare excursions into history, by a single monarch. This unidentified early emperor had two agents who acted as viceroys (regents) in the management of his estates and were called "Cubos" (*Kubō*, another word for *Shōgun* or generalissimo).[305] According to the Japanese histories, asserts Guzman, about five hundred years ago one of these "Cubos" killed the other, confiscated lands, took over the reins of government, and finally assumed the title of "Iacata" (*Yakata*) or king.[306] He then proceeded to reorganize the country and to

[302] "Till recently the Japanese had neither pasture meadows nor farmyards Sheep and pigs were unknown .. Sheep, which cannot live on the coarse grass of the Main Island, have been introduced into Yezo .. " (Chamberlain, *op cit* [n 25], p. 17). Engelbert Kaempfer, writing at the end of the seventeenth century observed "Sheep and goats were kept formerly by the Dutch and Portuguese at Firando [Hirado] where the kind still subsists .. They have but few swine, which were brought over from China, and are bred by the country people in Fisen [Hizen], not indeed for their own use, which would be contrary to their superstitious Notions, but to sell them to the Chinese, who come over for trade every year, and are great admirers of Pork, tho' otherwise the doctrine of Pythagoras, about the transmigration of Souls, hath found place likewise in China" (*op. cit* [n. 181], I, 195–96).

[303] "Wild Fowl, tho' naturally shy, are in this populous country grown so familiar, that many kinds of them might be rank'd among the tame" (Kaempfer, *op cit* [n 302], I, 204–5).

[304] For a full discussion of mining and minerals see *ibid.*, pp 164–76.

[305] Cf. the account in Murdoch and Yamagata (*op cit* [n 54], II, 10, n. *b*) of the history of the word *Shōgun*. *Kubō* or *Kubō-sama* was not an official title, but a term frequently used by the common people (see Griffis, *op. cit* [n. 37], p 196, n. 1).

[306] Apparently a reference to the rise of the Minamoto at the end of the eleventh century and their conflict for power with the Taira in the twelfth century In 1192 Minamoto Yoritomo was formally invested with the title of *Shōgun* and his military government was called the *Bakufu*. A similar account of Japanese history is included in the manuscript work, "The First Booke of Relations of Moderne States" as published in Rundall (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 41), pp. 8–9.

divide it into sixty-two "kingdoms" and a like number of "kings" who resemble the counts and dukes of Spain.[307] However, in the ensuing centuries this organization did not remain unchanged. Some territories were expanded and others reduced in size, as the various "kings" fought with each other.

Despite such changes, Japan is still divided, reports Guzman, into three main sections, but it now includes sixty-six "kingdoms."[308] For Kyūshū (the word itself means "nine provinces") he lists nine "kings" and talks about the shifts in their relative strength during the course of the sixteenth century. Of the four "kings" of Shikoku (the word itself means "four countries") the ruler of Tosa is the principal one. The third section or the main island (Honshū) includes forty-seven "kingdoms" which he proceeds to list. Six smaller islands, such as Amakusa, are also "kingdoms" to Guzman. He notes that the names of the "kingdoms" are not always reported in the same way because it often happens that the "kingdoms" are known by the names of their principal cities. On the main island five of the provinces are grouped together under the general designations "Tença" (*Tenshi*) or "Guoquinay" (*Go-Kinai*), because this is where the emperor resides.[309] The most important of these central provinces is Yamashiro, where the great city of Miyako, the court, and the main religious centers of the country are situated.

Over these sixty-six "kingdoms" the emperor (*Dairi*) has no real power. He retains his ancient dignity, however, and is universally revered. His main function is to confer titles. Some are awarded for meritorious service in war; others are apparently bought. Since the Japanese are so covetous of honors and titles, they offer annual presents, some in money, to the emperor. The titles bestowed upon them appear in their signatures in the form of letters or characters. Other customs and traditions of the Japanese are peculiar and quite different as a rule from those observed in Europe. Guzman makes some of the same cultural comparisons pointed out by earlier Jesuit writers: in Japan it is a mark of gentility to cut off the hair; instead of hoarding pieces of gold the Japanese treasure antique swords and teapots; they loathe beef[310] and eat rice and fish; ordinary houses in Japan are constructed of wood, while fortresses and palaces are usually built of stone. Still, even though they are addicted to strange habits, the Japanese are considered to be first among all the Oriental peoples, having a great capacity for understanding, showing themselves to be ingenious in learning new ways

[307] He is mistaken in attributing the provincial division to the Minamoto As early as the beginning of the eighth century there were sixty-two provinces in Japan, by the early ninth century they numbered sixty-six. Guzman possibly did not include the four provinces of Shikoku, thus arriving at just sixty-two provinces For the modification made in this system by the *Bakufu* see G B Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, 1958), pp. 68–69

[308] For a map based on the Jesuit reports see the one folded into Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 3).

[309] *Go-Kinai* means "August Home Provinces" and was so called because it had originally been the imperial domain See Murdoch and Yamagata, *op cit* (n. 54), II, 2, n. 2 For an almost identical description see Rundall (ed), *op. cit* (n 41), p. 3

[310] "Oxen and cows serve only for ploughing and carriage. Of milk and butter they know nothing" (Kaempfer, *op. cit.* [n. 181], I, 194–95).

and languages, and in usually being governed in their actions by reason and experience.

The Japanese language is difficult and rich, having advantages over both Greek and Latin in its abundance of synonyms and in its expressions of propriety and elegance.[311] Effective use of the language requires breeding and a fine sense of rhetoric, for some words are appropriate only in addressing the nobility, some only when dealing with commoners, others only for the young, and still others just for the old.[312] Two alphabets complicate the language still further: one with single letters (*kana*), the other with characters like those of the Chinese. The mode of writing is ingenious and requires great craftmanship. Because a whole "European" word is rendered by just one Japanese character, and because there are fewer characters in a Japanese sentence than there are words in a European sentence, an idea expressed in Japanese characters takes up less space than its European counterpart. Like his predecessors, Guzman comments then at length on the national character of the Japanese, referring to their numerous rituals, their modesty and gravity, their imperviousness to hot and cold, their abhorrence of stealing and gambling, their willing obedience to superiors, and their quiet acceptance of adversity.

The people of Japan, presumably like their contemporaries in Europe, may be divided into two general types—secular and religious. At the top of the secular estate are the "Icatas" or "kings" who have large holdings and great power. The rest of the land is distributed among their vassals, the "Conixus" (*daimyo*), who are similar to counts and dukes, and the *Tonos* or minor lords.[313] The "king" keeps control over part of his territory, assigns the rest to the "Conixus," who in turn retain a certain amount and parcel out what remains to the *Tonos*. The latter must provide soldiers, and since this is a tightly knit hierarchy, the raising of armies is accomplished quite easily. Each lord has absolute and final authority over his vassals, even to imposing the death sentence. Upon becoming old, and before death, the lords give over the government of their estates to their sons over twenty years of age. Then Guzman concludes his analysis of secular social structure by making a few brief references to the remaining classes: merchants, craftsmen, officials, laborers, and farmers.

The religious groups of Japan are diverse and numerous. The bonzes, who resemble Christian priests, are organized into something resembling a hierarchy. The supreme priest, "Iaco," must test and confirm each new sect which arises. He selects the "Tundos," who are similar to bishops and archbishops, and confirms those chosen as superiors to govern the principal monasteries. The bonzes have many great universities in which they study their doctrines.

[311] Guzman seems to have taken this from a letter of Lourenço Mexia from Amakusa written on January 6, 1584. Since the only place where this is published is in the *Cartas* of 1598, I am led to believe by this and other evidence that Guzman used the *Cartas* as a source

[312] Not only distinctive "words," but almost a completely different language is used by the Japanese in their modes of address. For a modern appraisal of these "courtesy forms" see Kazuhiko Sano, "Die Hoflichkeitsformen des Japanischen," *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV (1941), 327–50.

[313] In modern Japanese *Tono* has come to mean "Mr."

Bandou is the largest of these, but from three to four thousand students study at each of the four other institutions. Just as the sects of Japan are many and different, so do the bonzes differ in their dress and ceremonies. Foremost among the duties of the bonzes is that of presiding over the interment of the dead. In their monasteries they sing in chorus and read at prescribed intervals. Ordinarily they preach with great show from an elevated place like a pulpit, garbed in silk and holding a golden fan in their hands. Often the sons of the rich and noble become bonzes.

Of the sects there are two main types: those which deny eternal life and those which acknowledge it. The sects which deny eternal life, are known as "Xenxi" (*Zen-shū*);[314] they appeal to those who want to sin freely. Their bonzes have a certain way of meditating as they seek to find peace from their sins The teachers of Zen each day assign their disciples some points on which to meditate. In their rich temples the followers of Zen worship idols (*kamis*) who represent great warriors of the past. Of those who believe in life after death there are two main groups. The first of these is the "Xodoxius" (Jōdo-shū or "men of paradise")[315] which worships the idol called Amida about whom a "thousand lies" are told. One of these fables alleges that Amida was the son of the king of the Levant who did such penance for his wife when she died that he accumulated enough merit for his followers to be saved simply by invoking his name.[316] Since it makes salvation so easy, this sect is extremely popular throughout Japan. Its priests walk the streets ringing a bell for alms and earn substantial sums of money by making paper clothes to sell.[317] The second sect which believes in life after death is called the "Foquexus" (*Hokke-shū* or *Nichiren*) and it has five different words for salvation. Its beliefs are derived solely from the book "Foque" (*Hokke*). The Hokke believers are as stubborn as Muslims in holding their false beliefs, and they refuse to follow the dictates of reason. Their chief idol is called "Iaca" (Shaka or Shakyamuni).[318]

From these three principal sects, other groups broke off. Often new sects were founded by bonzes who developed new ceremonies in their monasteries for worshipping the idols. For instance, it was a bonze who founded the sect called "Icoxus" (*Shingon-shū*), a term meaning men with but one heart and face.[319] This group is held in high esteem by the Japanese. So many people participate in its annual festival that ordinarily many of them are killed in the

[314] A modern bonze, G. Hosaka, professor at Kamazawa-Daigaku, comments "Paradise is the world itself—we are in it since it is here that the essence of Buddha is to be found There is no future life." As quoted in E Steinilber-Oberlin, *The Buddhist Sects of Japan* (London, 1938), p 150.

[315] *Jōdo* really means "Pure Land" (*ibid.*, p. 185)

[316] According to K. Okamoto, a Jōdo bonze "To realize one's salvation it is only necessary to pronounce the name of Amida-Buddha with a sincere faith in his redemptive power" (*ibid*, p 187).

[317] Presumably these were used by the faithful to clothe their idols

[318] This sect claims just one text, the *Lotus of the Good Law* (*Hokke-kyo*), as its only truth Nichiren, the founder of the sect, called for a movement "Back to Shaka" Like Guzman, Chamberlain (*op. cit.* [n. 25], p 79) has no hesitation in calling Nichiren the "most bigoted" of the sects.

[319] Actually Shingon means "True Word." This sect is, in fact, older than either the Zen or Jōdo sects.

crush. Among the disciples of "Iaco" (Shaka) there was a famous bonze, more devil than man, who was called "Cambadagi" (Kōbō Daishi). He taught people to worship their own devils and told them how to make their devils enter the bodies of other people. Upon approaching his end, "Cambadagi" asked to be closed into a cave. One thousand years after his enclosure, tradition in Japan has it, an erudite man will appear at the cave to dispute doctrine with him.[320] The cave is at "Coya" (Mount Kōya). The followers of "Cambadagi" founded many other sects. One of the most renowned of these followers was "Cacubao" (*Kakuban* or *Kōkyō Daishi*) who founded *Negoro* a sect evidently named for the monastery of Negoro in Kii.[321] Another evil sect is that called the "Iambugis" (*Yamabushi* or "soldiers of the mountains"). Its monks, when they are not engaged in witchcraft or some other devilment, make pilgrimages to the highest crags in the land where they worship their idols. Along the way these soldier-monks terrorize the populace. Many others of these lesser sects are rich in land and extremely bellicose.

In Japan monasteries and temples are numerous. According to the Japanese historians, the emperor ordered that the most important bonzes from all the sects should congregate on the mountain range of "Frenoxama" (Hie-no-yama or Hiei-zan).[322] They were then given a stipend of 200,000 ducats per year to attend the idols. Here they built rich monasteries, temples, seminaries, and a headquarters for the supreme bonze. Many of these establishments were destroyed by war, but more than five hundred of them still remain, including a temple where the "kings" worship which houses an idol of gold that has three heads and forty arms. Another great religious center is the city of Nara. The people of Japan regularly make pilgrimages to its famous temples and idols—to the temple of the "Daybut" (*Daibutsu* or Great Buddha) with its metal idol covered in gold, and to the temple of "Cobuquiri" (*Kūfukuji*). In the city of Miyako, too, rich monasteries and temples are to be found everywhere.

The Japanese honor their idols and their dead at many festivals held throughout the year. One celebrated in August is highlighted by a solemn procession led by silk-covered carts filled with child choristers and followed by the officials of the city.[323] The idol and, it is said, the idol's concubine are carried at the end of this procession. At another festival of July 29 the idol is carried on horseback through the streets and followed by singers, bonzes, and sorceresses dressed in white.[324] A third festival held annually in March honors the idols of war. On this occasion

[320] After having finished his earthly work in 825, Kōbō-Daishi is said to have insisted that he be buried alive He is thought still to be living in his grave and will not stir from it until Miroku, the future Buddha, appears on earth. See Steinilber-Oberlin, *op. cit* (n 314), p. 97.

[321] Negoro, the headquarters of Shingi or reformed Shingon, was a great economic, military, and political power until it was destroyed by Hideyoshi in 1585 See Eliot, *op cit* (n. 61), p 245

[322] In 788 the first temple was built on these hills northeast of Kyōto The early Jesuits in Japan reported that before its destruction by Nobunaga in 1571, the cloister city included as many as three thousand edifices.

[323] Probably a reference to the Gion festival held annually in Kyōto For a lengthier description see the account by Frois in Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit* (n 85), pp. 136–37

[324] Probably the festival honoring the *kami* annually celebrated in Sakai See *ibid.*, pp. 137–38

the people skirmish with each other using rocks, arrows, and swords as their weapons.[325] Many are killed in these imbroglios, but no punishment is meted out to the killers. Consequently many people use it as a way of revenging themselves upon their enemies.

In their obsequies for the dead, the Japanese follow various rites at which the bonzes officiate. Those who can afford it have processions, cremate their dead, and preserve the ashes in urns. The poor are buried at night.[326] In August each year a festival is held in memory of the departed souls [327] The people go into the countryside to eat and chat with the dead, and to invite them to return home. Upon returning to the city at nightfall, they entertain the departed with lanterns and food. The next day they return to the country in company with the spirits and mount lights on the highest hills to comfort the departed ones. Upon returning home, they put rocks out on the roofs to catch any mischievous spirit who may be hiding there instead of having returned to its infernal abode. After dwelling at some length on these and other "errors" of the Japanese, Guzman concludes his background discussion and proceeds with his lengthy narrative describing the Christian penetration of Japan from Xavier through the death of Hideyoshi.

Around the turn of the century numerous other works began to appear in Europe dealing with the sufferings of the Christian martyrs crucified at Nagasaki in 1597.[328] These were followed by a series of polemical works in which the Franciscans vehemently attacked the Jesuits for their determination to retain their monopoly in Japan. When Pope Clement VIII in 1597 reaffirmed the privilege granted to the Jesuits in 1585 by Pope Gregory XIII, the wrath of the Franciscans knew no bounds. Three Franciscan friars, all of whom had been in Japan at the time of the crucifixions, signed a written oath after their return to Manila in 1597 charging the Jesuits with intriguing to obtain the expulsion of their Order. Christian charity, however, moved the friars to admit that "although the Jesuits wanted all the other religious to leave Japan, they did not think that the tyrant [Hideyoshi] would go so far as to inflict the death penalty on them as he did do. . . ." [329] Finally, to bring peace to the mission, Pope Clement VIII opened the gates to all, but prohibited missionaries from entering China and Japan except by way of the Portuguese Indies.[330]

[325] This is the festival of Hachiman, the Buddhist form of *Ojin*, the patron of warriors or god of war. Schurhammer, *op cit.* (n. 45), p. 78 tells of the festival of Hachiman celebrated at Funai in Bungo, but he does not tell of the mock battle.

[326] For a recent account of old burial customs in Japan see W H. Erskine, *Japanese Customs, Their Origin and Value* (Tokyo, 1925), chap. vi.

[327] For a modern authoritative account of the Bon festival see Ensho Ashikaga, "The Festival for the Spirits of the Dead in Japan," *Western Folklore*, IX (1950), 217–28.

[328] For example, see Francisco Tello, *Relacion que embio de seys frailes espanoles de la orden de S. F. que crucificaron los del Japon, este ano proximo passado de 1592* (Seville, 1598). Translated into German and published in Munich in 1599

[329] As quoted in Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p 421, n 7.

[330] For a discussion and text of the *Onerosa pastoralis* see Leo Magnino, *Pontificia Nipponica. Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici* (Rome, 1947), pp 62–67.

Marcelo de Ribadeneira, one of the oath-taking friars, had prepared a work in Manila which he brought to Europe in 1600 and published at Barcelona the following year.[331] It is entitled *Historia de los islas del archipielago Filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochin-China, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon*.[332] Almost one-half of its 725 pages is given to the Franciscan mission in Japan and the martyrdoms. The first of his chapters on Japan gives a brief description[333] to "satisfy the general desire" of the customs and religious practices of "the gentiles of those remote kingdoms." On Japan itself there is very little new material in Ribadeneira. Like the works of many of his colleagues in Europe, the object of his polemical piece is to explain why the Franciscans had been banned from Japan while the Jesuits were still permitted, even though extra-legally, to continue their work there.

That the Jesuits were sensitive to the criticisms circulating in Europe about their activities in Japan is clearly brought out in the appendix which Guzman felt obliged to add to the end of his second volume.[334] Upon finishing his history of the mission, Guzman reports that he saw two works, whose authors he does not want to name, which falsely impute certain motives, desires, and actions to the Jesuits. Should these be true, then some of what he said in his history must certainly be taken as false. Therefore to validate his own work, he feels obligated to list and refute these allegations. According to Guzman the critics said that only one of the legates sent to Rome was of noble birth; that the purpose of the visit was to obtain the apostolic brief of 1585 specifically excluding other religious from Japan; that in obtaining this brief the cause of Christianity in Japan suffered a blow for the Jesuits deprived the converts of experienced priests and instead relied on neophytes; that the Jesuits wanted to retain the monopoly to keep all the religious revenues for themselves; that they did not want witnesses to their unwarranted concessions to converts; that the Jesuits had a low regard for the other Orders and let it be known to the Japanese; that Jesuit practices, both with regard to their converts and the Franciscans, had led to a decline in the faith; that by their machinations the Jesuits contributed to the loss of the "San Felipe" and the martyrdoms; and finally, that they were acting as disloyal subjects of the king of Spain in trying to keep Japan to themselves.

To these allegations Guzman gives lengthy replies. Valignano, according to

[331] Some bibliographers incorrectly give the place and date of publication as Rome, 1599. It would seem that this information refers only to the last section of the book (pp 712 ff) which was originally published separately in Madrid and Rome in 1599. This bibliographical problem is discussed in Lorenzo Perez, O. F. M., "Los Franciscanos en el Extreme Oriente," *Archivum franciscum historicum*, I (1908), 541, n 1 Also see remarks in Ribadeneira's work on pp 712 and 725. My references are to Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *Historia de los islas del archipielago Filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochin-China, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon* (Barcelona, 1601)

[332] A modern version with the same title edited by Juan R de Legísima, O F. M , was published at Madrid in 1957 The introduction and bibliography are extremely helpful, but it lacks extensive textual documentation.

[333] Ribadeneira, *op. cit* (n. 331), pp 349–98.

[334] Guzman, *op. cit* (n 217), II, 645–712.

Guzman, sent the embassy not to get the papal brief but to ask the pope whether, since Japan needed more missionaries, the other Orders should be admitted. The pope and Philip II both decided that it was not yet time for bishops and mendicants to begin working in Japan. Gregory XIII made this decision in the hope of preserving a uniformity of approach and doctrine so as not to confuse the neophytes or to weaken the primitive church Moreover, if too few non-Jesuits worked in Japan they would possibly do more harm than good; if a large number appeared there they would cost too much to be supported and might arouse the suspicious Hideyoshi about the ultimate intentions of the Christians. The legates sent to Europe are shown by detailed references to be related to the "kings" of Japan. The request for a papal decision was not motivated by the appearance in the summer of 1584 of the first Franciscan to reach Japan, for the news could never have reached Rome and been acted upon by January, 1585, the date of the papal brief. This date is also used to prove that the embassy could not have requested the brief since it was proclaimed three months before the arrival of the legates in Rome.[335] To refute the charges that the Jesuits were financially motivated, Guzman quotes the Constitutions of the Society which forbid the Jesuits to receive offerings for their religious ministrations. To clear his fellows of the charges that their trading activities could not stand investigation, Guzman gives an extremely detailed account of some of their financial dealings. He refuses to admit the justice of the charge that the Jesuits were carrying "accommodation" too far, and cites the refusal of the Jesuits to convert any who refused to live monogamously as the best example of their close adherence to Christian precepts. He refers to the warm reception given the first Franciscans to land in Japan as evidence of the Jesuit regard for other Orders. The Jesuits can not be held responsible for the loss of the "San Felipe" or for the martyrdoms, inasmuch as their offers of aid and mediation were not taken up and their warnings not respected. Hideyoshi crucified and burned Franciscans, not because of Jesuit machinations, but because of their public preaching, his own interest in subjugating the Philippines, and his fear that they were the advance agents of a Spanish conquest. Finally, the Jesuits in their weak position, were not able to advance the standard of the king of Spain to Japan without hopelessly jeopardizing the cause of Christianity in Japan. Much has been written on all of these points and others since Guzman prepared his Appendix, but to Europe at the end of the sixteenth century it was perfectly clear from the accounts of Ribadeneira, Guzman, and others that the Europeans themselves with their internecine quarrels had weakened what had given promise of becoming the most successful Christian mission in Asia.

The events of the last decade of the sixteenth century also focused Europe's attention upon Japan's neighbors. Something was known vaguely about Korea

[335] Any reader of the Jesuit materials knows that Valignano and others had long been advocating the declaration of a monopoly in their letters to Europe. For example see the Visitor's letter of August 15, 1580, from Arima to Dom Theotonio de Braganza in *Cartas* (Evora, 1598), Pt. II, fols. 478–79.

long before Hideyoshi's army disrupted *The Land of the Morning Calm* (Chosen). As early as 1554, Lopo Homem's planisphere[336] produced in Lisbon showed the peninsula, but left it unnamed. On Fernão Vaz Dourado's map of 1571 the peninsula is designated as "Core," evidently from the Japanese *ko-ri*. In the Jesuit letters, Korea was first mentioned in connection with its role as intermediary in the transmission of Buddhism to Japan.[337] Gaspar Vilela, the founder of the church at Miyako, wrote from Cochin to Europe on February 24, 1571:

> Ten days journey from Japan[338] lies the kingdom of Korea, where I have been wanting to go for the last four years. It is the chief land of Great Tartary and one is supposed to be able to reach Upper Germany from there.[339] The people are white in color Because of the wars going on in that region it was impossible for me to go there, even though I wanted to. From this country one can go to Peking where the king of China lives.[340]

Though he never realized his ambition to go to Korea, Vilela in another letter of 1571 reported that he had learned from the Japanese that the people of "Coray" are a warlike, bearded people who are great horsemen and who spend much of their time hunting tigers and lions.[341] Then in 1578, Domingos Monteiro, a Portuguese captain sailing from Macao to Japan, was caught in a typhoon. His vessel was nearly wrecked off the wild coast of Korea. After lengthy deliberations with the crew, Monteiro decided not to tempt fate by going ashore, for the people of this "island" were reported to be "barbarous and inhuman" Tartars.[342] Antonio Prenestino, a Jesuit from Calabria, who was aboard the vessel, recorded this experience in a letter sent from Japan to India, dated November 8, 1578. This document was forwarded to Europe, though it is not known exactly when, and was published in the *Cartas* of 1598.[343]

As early as 1586, Hideyoshi had revealed to Coelho and Fróis his intention of attacking China through Korea and this information was duly relayed to Europe.[344] In the Annual Letters written in 1590, 1591, and 1592, Korea is given more than passing attention as it gradually was forced to yield up its seclusion and appear for a period in the international limelight. The relationship of Korea to Japan, China, and the "Tartar" regions is clearly brought out, and it is known that Korea is divided from China by a broad river. Even so, some

[336] Reproduced in Cortesão, *op cit* (n 293), in collection at end of Vol. II

[337] Fróis' *History of Japan* as edited by Schurhammer and Voretzsch, *op. cit* (n. 85), p 123

[338] An estimate that he adjusts himself in a later letter to a journey of three days Actually the sea passage from Japan to Korea, then as now, would have taken only a few hours

[339] Cf with Cruz's geographical information, below, p. 753

[340] As quoted in J Laures, S J, "Koreas erste Beruhrung mit dem Christentum," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, XL (1956), 178

[341] *Cartas* (Evora, 1598), I, 319

[342] The Europeans knew, or thought they knew, that a Portuguese junk had earlier made port in Korea and that it had been received with great hostility Also see Boxer, *op cit* (n 208), pp 38–39.

[343] It is also incorporated in Fróis' *History of Japan* under the date 1578 See Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit.* (n 85), pp. 504–11 Cf Streit, *op cit* (n 124), IV, 425

[344] See Murdoch and Yamagata, *op. cit* (n 54), II, 305

of the maps prepared in Europe late in the century still showed Korea as an island. Korea's traditional vassalage to China is recognized, and the Koreans are thought "to follow Chinese custom in law, dress, institutions, and government."[345] Though the Koreans are reputedly braver than the Chinese, their armed might is presumed to be inferior to Japan's. Both the Chinese and Koreans are considered to be superior to the Japanese on the sea "because of the large size and the strength of the ships . . . [they] put to sea."[346]

The first European to visit Korea, Father Gregorio de Cespedes, arrived there in company with a Japanese friar on December 27, 1593.[347] He had been requested by the Japanese Christians to join them in Korea as their spiritual adviser in the field. On his way to Korea, De Cespedes was forced to seek a haven on the island of Tsushima and was probably the first European to land there and report its existence. Although De Cespedes wrote two letters from Korea,[348] he speaks only of the intensely cold weather he experienced there and did not like. In the Annual Letters for 1594, 1595, and 1596 no mention is made about De Cespedes' tour of duty in Korea or about the country itself. They are mainly concerned with the progress of the war and with the Korean prisoners sent to Japan. Apparently the only contemporary to write about De Cespedes' activities was Guzman, who used the Spanish archives of the Society of Jesus, now lost, in the preparation of his book.[349] During his eighteen months in Korea, De Cespedes appears to have spent most of his time among the Japanese. His acquaintance with Koreans, like those of his fellow Jesuits in Japan, was apparently confined to prisoners, some of whom were actually taken to Japan. In fact, De Cespedes on his return to Japan took a young Korean boy with him. This lad, like many other Korean captives, was baptized by the Jesuits with the idea that he should later return to Korea as a Christian missionary.[350]

The fullest but not necessarily the most accurate account of Korea is to be found in Guzman's work.[351] Peninsular Korea is bound on the west by China, on the north and northeast by the Tartars and by the "Orancays" (tribes north of the Tumen?). He believes that a part of the kingdom, "Coray-san," is an island.[352] The Koreans pay annual tribute to China and fight sporadically with

[345] As quoted in Gerald Moser, "Portuguese Attempts at Opening Korea," *Korean Survey*, IV (1955), 5 These letters of Fróis are also abstracted in English in Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (Glasgow, 1904), XI, 422–41

[346] This was written by Fróis in 1592, evidently a few months before the defeat of the Japanese navy at the hands of Admiral Yi Moser, *loc. cit* (n 345), p 5

[347] The Jesuit historians usually say that he arrived there in 1594. Here I am following Ralph M. Cory, "Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Cespedes, Korea's First European Visitor," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVII (1937), 9

[348] Translated in *ibid*, pp. 38–45.

[349] *Ibid*, p. 15. Since De Cespedes was a Spaniard, it is not surprising that materials on his activities were more accessible in Spain than elsewhere.

[350] For this young Korean's subsequent activities see *ibid.*, p 23 For the Christianizing of Korean slaves in Japan see Laures, *loc. cit.* (n 340), 188–89

[351] See *op. cit.* (n. 217), II, 501–2.

[352] Teixeira on his excellent map of Japan published by Ortelius in 1595 shows the whole of Korea as an island.

their other neighbors.[353] Insular Korea is mountainous, but the mainland is flat and fruitful. The Koreans grow rice, fruits, and a great abundance of honey (perhaps sugar). Their houses they cover with tile. Inland they are said to have rich gold and silver mines. The people themselves are white, docile, ingenious, and strong. Their king, respected by all, lives in a capital city which is studded with many palaces. The kingdom is carefully guarded against foreigners, and overseas trade is not permitted. Guzman also has much to say about the war in Korea, the various efforts which the participants undertook to arrive at a negotiated settlement, and of the Jesuits' continuing interest in Korea as a road to China.[354]

The Liu-ch'iu chain, including Formosa, was known by report to Pires when he wrote his *Suma oriental* in about 1515. After the Portuguese became more active off the China coast, they undoubtedly heard much more about these islands and it is probable that some Europeans even touched upon them before 1550.[355] Rutters prepared between 1550 and 1570 show these islands, and the Ilha Formosa (Portuguese for "Beautiful Island") is made larger than the other islands and given the Portuguese name by which it is still known. The maps of the Diogo Homem type, prepared after 1558 on the basis of cartographic materials made available by people who had actually worked and traded in the East, show Formosa quite clearly. The shape of Formosa, however, is utterly fantastic, since the navigators, it seems, then knew only the northern half of the island.[356] Like the Portuguese sailors, the Jesuits in Japan soon learned to fear the Liu-ch'ius and Formosa as hazards to navigation.[357] The first recorded visit of a European to Formosa tells of the shipwreck of André Feio on its western coast in 1582.[358] A decade later, Father Juan Cobo died on Formosa's inhospitable shores after being shipwrecked there on his voyage from Japan back to the Philippines.

By the time of Cobo's death it had become apparent to the Spanish authorities in Manila that occupation of Formosa by a hostile power, presumably Japan,[359] could menace the commercial and military security of the Philippines. An

[353] Border difficulties in the north was characteristic of most of Korea's history, particularly after the Mongol invasion Even while preparing for Hideyoshi's onslaught, the Koreans had to keep an army on their northern borders See H B Hulbert, *The History of Korea* (Seoul, 1905), I, 344–45

[354] The Jesuits in Japan hoped to approach Peking directly through Korea (Guzman, *op cit* [n. 217], II, 626–28)

[355] Cf. notices in G. Schurhammer, *op. cit* (n 30), I, nos. 1195 and 3973, and Cortesão, *op cit* (n. 293), Vol. II, Plates 14, 17, 19, 22–23, 27–28, 51.

[356] Dahlgren, *loc. cit.* (n 4), p. 26.

[357] See Fróis' account in Schurhammer and Voretzsch (eds), *op cit.* (n 85), p 211 For a highly fanciful description of "Liquio" see Vilela's letter of 1571 in *Cartas* (Evora, 1598), I, 321. For a highly realistic discussion of Formosa's relation to navigation as a typhoon center on the route from Macao to Nagasaki see the rutter of the "Santa Cruz" for 1585–86 as reproduced in Appendix II of Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 3).

[358] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 3), p. 130.

[359] Hideyoshi made no secret of his plan to conquer and annex Formosa. See Giuliana Stramigioli, "Hideyoshi's Expansionist Policy on the Asiatic Mainland," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 3d ser., III (1954), 196.

attempt was therefore made in 1593, while Hideyoshi was occupied in Korea, to launch a military drive against Formosa. But the Spanish ships were forced by storms to turn back to the Philippines.[360] The Spanish continued, however, to cherish hopes, not to be realized for another generation, of establishing a base on Formosa as a take-off point for their missionary and military drives towards southern Japan and Fukien province in China.[361] Thus, before 1600 the strategic position of Formosa in the international relations of the Far East was beginning to be understood in Europe, even before the Westerners had successfully penetrated its shores.

News of a vast land to the northeast of Japan called "Gsoo"[362] (Yezo or the Hokkaidō) was first relayed to Europe in 1548 or 1549 from India by the Italian Jesuit, Nicolo Lancillotto.[363] Though his manuscript was probably circulated, Lancillotto's material on Yezo was not actually published until 1906.[364] The Italian Jesuit tells us that he learned about the people of Yezo from Yajirō. They are white, wear long beards and bobbed hair. They are large in stature, fight courageously, and have no fear of death. In war they fight as fearlessly as "Germans." The Ainu are known to the Japanese by the piratical raids they make upon Japan's coastal towns. The presence of such materials in Europe and Portugal may help to account for the accurate representation of Yezo which appears on the planisphere of Bartolemeu Velho dated 1561.[365] Most striking is Velho's success in depicting the placement of Yezo in relation to Japan and the continent and in giving the island something approaching its proper size and configuration. The first phase in the uncovering of Yezo to the West concludes on an amusing note. In 1564, the Portuguese Jesuit, Manuel Teixeira, writing from Canton, tells of hearing from a Japanese about a people who are reputed to be more warlike than the Japanese and who are so presumptuous as to call their island "Yesu."[366] However, their use of the name "Yesu" may well be a sign, he thinks, that they know and revere the true Jesus. Hope lingers long and travels far!

More precise information on the Ainu was gathered by Fróis in Miyako and dispatched to Europe in his letter of February 20, 1565. He reports that the Japanese tell about a large country situated three hundred leagues to the north of

[360] See G. F. Zaide, *The Philippines since Pre-Spanish Times* (Manila, 1949), p 289.

[361] Cf the letter from Japan written *ca.* 1597 by Brother Martín de la Ascuncion giving his views on the occupation of Formosa for missionary purposes See Father Pablo Pastells (ed.), *Francisco Colin, S J, Labor evangelica* (Barcelona, 1904), II, 98–99.

[362] Probably Lancillotto had written "Esoo," the "G" perhaps being a copyist's or editor's error See Doroteo Schilling, O F M., "Il contributo dei missionari cattolici nei secoli XVI e XVII alla conoscenza dell'isola di Ezo e degli Ainu," in C. Costantini *et al.*, *Le missioni cattoliche e la cultura dell' Oriente* (Rome, 1943), p. 143, n. 14.

[363] For text see *ibid*, pp 143–44, also see G. Schurhammer, "Der erste Bericht uber die Ainu in Nordjapan," *Die katholischen Missionen*, LIV (1926), 233.

[364] In A T Pires, "O Japão no seculo XVI," *O Instituto*, LIII (1906), 766.

[365] See the map in Cortesão, *op. cit* (n. 293), II, plate 22, and for discussion pp. 240–41. Also consult Kish, *loc. cit.* (n 276), pp 30–33

[366] First printed in the *Cartas* of 1570 and then reprinted in the *Cartas* of 1598 (I, 145–46). See Streit, *op. cit.* (n. 124), IV, 517.

the Japanese capital. Its inhabitants are said to be hairy savages who dress themselves in animal skins, wear immeasurably long beards and enormous mustaches, and are much addicted to strong drink.[367] They have no religion, worshipping only the sun. In war they fight ferociously, but know so little about medicine that they wash out their wounds with salt water. Dressed for battle they wear a mirror[368] on their breast and tightly bind their swords to their heads with the hilt reaching down as far as the shoulder. They trade with the Japanese at Akita, a great city in the "kingdom" of Dewa in northern Honshū. Only a few Japanese travel to Yezo because they are afraid of being killed by the "hairy savages."

Frõis' letter dealing with the Ainu was published in the *Cartas* of 1570, and then was given much greater circulation by being included in Maffei's book published in 1588.[369] Father Gaspar Vilela in his long letter of 1571 from Goa to the Benedictine convent in Aviz, his native city in Portugal, repeats many of the stories told earlier and adds a few new comments and speculations about Yezo and the Ainu. The extension of Yezo is reportedly very great and he has heard it said by Japanese merchants that it extends eastward as far as New Spain. The Ainu are quite different from the Japanese and speak a language that is not the same as Japanese. The people are barbarous like the savages of Brazil, though he admits that he has not seen any natives of Yezo. Though Vilela's letter was probably circulated earlier in Portugal, it was first published in the *Cartas* of 1598.

A full score of years was to pass before the Jesuits learned more about Yezo. It was on the occasion of Valignano's reception by Hideyoshi in 1591 that the Jesuits first had an opportunity to meet and question an Ainu. A professional cosmographer, Ignacio Morera da Virigue,[370] who was in Valignano's entourage, had an opportunity on this occasion to hear at first hand about the geography of Yezo from a native who was then at the *Taiko's* court. Nothing was published in sixteenth-century Europe, as far as is known, about this experience. But in the Roman archives of the Society of Jesus there exists an anonymous Latin manuscript dated 1591, evidently prepared by a Jesuit, entitled "De Yezorum insula."[371] The map of Yezo, perhaps the work of Morera or a Jesuit, is no longer attached to the manuscript. The text itself avers that the island which the Japanese call Yezo is referred to by the natives as

[367] For a similar description written in the nineteenth century see Griffis, *op. cit.* (n 37), pp. 30–33, for a more detailed and authoritative account see J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan* (New York, n d).

[368] Old Japanese mirrors were circular and usually made of brass or some other metal Hence they might well have served as breastplates.

[369] *Op. cit.* (n. 259), pp. 853–54.

[370] See Schilling, *loc. cit* (n. 362), pp. 148, 152. The same Morera da Virigue may have been the cartographer of the Florentine map prepared in 1585. See Cortesão, *op. cit.* (n 243), II, 362–63. The connection, however, is tenuous. See Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit* (n. 294), II, 127–28. See above, p. 710

[371] See Schilling, *loc. cit.* (n 162), pp 148–50, 152. Also see Leo Magnino, "A contribuiçao dos Portugueses para o conhecimento da ilha de Ieso no Japão no século XVI," *Actas* (International Congress of the History of the Discoveries, Lisbon, 1961), III, 317–25.

"Ainomoxori" (Ainumoshiri). The Ainus, it is said, sail to a certain other island located to the north and west which they call "Rebincur" (Rep-un-quar, or Sakhalin in the Ainu language), the first reference in European writings, so far as I know, to Sakhalin. Of the Ainus themselves it is said that their bows are shorter than those of the Japanese. In fact, the Ainus in many of their customs are held to be closer to the Tartars of northeastern Asia than to the Japanese even though they live geographically closer to Japan. Some of the Jesuit information on Yezo was also incorporated at about this same time into the description of Japan which was a part of the "First Booke of Relations of Moderne States."[372] Despite the availability of such information in Europe, the Portuguese cartographer, Luis Teixeira, on his otherwise excellent map of Japan published in 1595, just mentions the existence of Yezo in the legend.

Nothing more is heard from the Jesuits about Yezo until the annual letter of 1596 written by Fróis. In 1599 this account was printed in collections appearing in Rome and Mainz.[373] From the Mainz version in Latin, Hakluyt translated into English the material on Yezo for his *Navigations* (1600). From these publications both southern and northern Europe learned by the end of the sixteenth century that Kakazaki Yoshihiro, daimyo of the Tsugaru region of northern Nippon, ruled over Yezo as a vassal of Hideyoshi,[374] and that his son was a baptized Christian. The "Tartars" of Yezo were also described as "a most barbarous kind of people" who "live by hunting and fishing, and neglect husbandry."[375] They trade by bartering "fishes, the skins of beasts, and certain herbes of the sea" for cloth, weapons, and other instruments Unlike later commentators, Fróis does not report that the islands stretching north and east from Japan are rich in gold and silver.[376]

". . . the missionaries [in Japan] were certainly keen and intelligent observers of the mundane life that went on around them," writes Professor C. R. Boxer.[377] Not all students of Japan agree with this appraisal. Some dismiss the Jesuits as "poor observers,"[378] and others ignore their letters and histories because of religious bias or because of their inability to read the languages in which they were published. But serious Western historians of Japan from Engelbert Kaempfer to Sir George Sansom have been fully aware of the importance of these letters for the reconstruction of one of the most complex and important chapters in Japanese history—the *Sengoku Jidai* or the age of the country at war. Murdoch, more than any other general historian of Japan, combed a substantial number of letter collections and examined most of the

[372] See Rundall (ed), *op. cit.* (n 41), p 8.

[373] The versions printed in Mainz were in both Latin and German

[374] On this episode in the history of Yezo see J A Harrison, *Japan's Northern Frontier* (Gainesville, Fla , 1953), pp. 7–8

[375] Quotations from Hakluyt, *op cit* (n 345), XI, 441–42

[376] Cf. Harrison, *op cit* (n 374), p 147. On the mythical islands of gold and silver which were supposed to lie in the Pacific consult Wroth, *loc cit* (n 19), pp 207–10.

[377] *Op. cit* (n 3), p 50.

[378] Richard Hildreth, *Japan As It Was and Is* (Tokyo, 1905)

secondary accounts written by later Jesuits about their colleagues of an earlier day. Murdoch also pointed out early in this century (1903) that "collation of Japanese authorities with the letters of the Jesuits and other contemporary European documents serves to show that native writers are far from accurate in the data they give regarding early foreign intercourse."[379] Leading Japanese historians of the twentieth century (Anesaki, Murakami, Kōda, and Matsuda) have likewise learned to collate their sources with the Jesuit materials, and in recent years some of the Jesuit letters and other writings have been translated into Japanese and published in Japan.[380] The Jesuits of our century, Schurhammer[381] especially, have contributed notably to the scholarly apparatus which now enables scholars to use the letters more effectively than ever before. To date, however, no general historian writing on Japan in a Western language, has to my knowledge seen fit to comb the Jesuit sources as Murdoch did more than half a century ago.

The other Western materials relating to sixteenth-century Japan cannot compare in number or quality to the Jesuit sources. The first notices of Japan from Portuguese traders were neither numerous nor accurate. It would seem, however, that much more reliable information must have existed in Portugal than we now know about. Still, in the very nature of the relationship which came to exist between the Japanese and the Portuguese, it was not necessary for the traders to understand much about either the Japanese or their country. The Portuguese, like Xavier, first saw the Japanese in the marts of southeastern Asia. Their first reports on "Cipangu," reputedly a land of gold, must certainly have been classified as state secrets in Lisbon. Once the Portuguese began to trade directly with Japan they took over the carrying-trade between China and Japan. Hence there were not many direct exchanges of commodities between Japan and Europe. No more than a handful of Portuguese were actually involved directly in the Japan trade and very few, if any, other Europeans were permitted by the Portuguese to reach Japan. And finally, once the Jesuits began to write about Japan, there was no reason for Europeans of the latter half of the century to encourage the presumably less literate and more poorly informed merchants to record their experiences. It was only after 1585, as criticism of the Jesuits and their monopoly of Japan mounted, that the Franciscan and official Spanish reports from the Philippines begin to cast general doubt upon the veracity of the Jesuit correspondents. But, as we have shown, the Jesuits, particularly those like Valignano who were actually working in the

[379] Murdoch and Yamagata, *op. cit.* (n 54), II, 41.

[380] Among the most important Jesuit works translated were G Gualtieri's account of the embassy to Europe (see Laures, *op cit.* [n. 215], item no. 176), the *Cartas* of 1598, which were translated piecemeal between 1926 and 1943 and this entire set of translations is now being prepared by Murakami Naojirō (details in Laures, *op cit.* [n 215], item no 232); and a Japanese translation of Guzman's *Historia de las missiones . .* appeared at Tanbaichi in 1944–45 (details in Laures, *op. cit.* [n 215], item no. 254). For an evaluation of the importance of the European sources by a Japanese scholar of today see Matsuda Kiichi, *loc cit* (n 14), pp. 166–67.

[381] For fifty years (1907–57) of the vast Georg Schurhammer bibliography see *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXVI (1957), 422–52.

Far East, were just as aware as their enemies that many of their letters and histories were misleading, badly informed, and biased. Still, for anyone interested in writing the history of Japan in the Sengoku era, the Jesuit materials with all their limitations are indispensable sources.

From the materials surveyed in this chapter, it is apparent that sixteenth-century Europe learned of Japan primarily through literary sources. Not as many items of trade or art were linked to Japan as they were to India and China. Though the Japanese were not expressly forbidden to travel or trade abroad, apparently very few, except for pirates, took advantage of their freedom until the last generation of the sixteenth century. In the Portuguese trade reports there are many more references before 1550 to the Chinese and the products of China than to the Japanese and their products. Still, the Jesuits, like the Portuguese before them, began collecting material on Japan before Xavier arrived there. The reports of Yajirō, an escaped criminal of Kagoshima, and of Alvarez, a Portuguese merchant, provided Europe with its first substantial notices of Japan.

The mystery of Japan was soon dispelled by the circulation and publication of the Jesuit letters. It was only a matter of a few years after Xavier landed at Kagoshima before the "Cipangu" of Marco Polo began to be identified with Japan. Maps, like the one published by Ramusio, began shortly after mid-century to show a territory called Japan, and by 1561 the first independent map of Japan was produced. As early as 1554–55, people in Portugal, Spain, and Italy were able to see a living representative of Nippon in Bernard, the young convert whom Xavier sent to Europe. The Jesuit letters, written by Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish members of the Order were circulated to Jesuit houses all over Europe. Selections from this mass of correspondence then quickly appeared in print, especially in the *Avisi particolari* prepared in Italy. By 1565 the first of the great Iberian *Cartas* appeared, to be followed by those of 1570, 1575, and 1598. The first synthesis based on the letters was put out by Maffei in 1571. This work, built on the original Portuguese manuscript of Da Costa, was published in Latin, presumably to enable the learned of all Europe to have official word on the state of the Jesuit mission in Japan. Those histories which were modeled on Maffei's first effort are valuable as source collections, but probably less so than the *Cartas*, inasmuch as they were edited and selected for the purpose of presenting an edifying overview of Jesuit achievements. For a much larger segment of the European public the Christian victories in Japan were brought to life by the triumphal tour of the emissaries in 1584–86. Accounts of their visit were circulated far and wide in printed books and pamphlets, and Maffei's principal work on the missions published originally in 1588 was reprinted many times before the end of the century. Translations of the Annual letters from Japan into Latin and northern European vernaculars became more numerous than ever after the embassy had dramatized the successes of the mission in Japan. Even the Protestants began to take notice of the Jesuit successes and to call for a Protestant effort.

The historian today who uses the Jesuit letters as sources must constantly keep in mind that they originated as reports and appeals from men in the field who were trying to deal with pressing daily problems. Not all the letters should be considered of equal value, no matter how well intentioned or motivated the author claims to be. Nor, I believe, is Frõis, for example, to be trusted at all times to the same degree. Even he changes his story as to why Hideyoshi decided to ban the Jesuits in 1587. The Italian letters published in the sixteenth century suffered especially from the overly zealous pen of the Roman censors. It is obvious from what we know now that the Jesuits had a much clearer idea of the doctrines and strength of the Japanese religions than they were willing to admit in print during the sixteenth century. Polanco and other European censors seem to have been determined not to let the European public know too much of Shintō and Buddhism and of their hold upon the Japanese. The Annual Letters, inaugurated in 1581 on the insistence of Valignano and designed to appear in print as official annual reports, follow a much more obvious line than the earlier letters, or than those which were prepared for the exclusive use of the Society and the hierarchy. Like the history of Maffei, they stress those qualities of the Japanese which could be used most readily to edify the European reader.

Even with all these reservations and qualifications, it is nevertheless remarkable how constant and consistent the Jesuits are from Xavier to Guzman in their assessment of the Japanese character. They regularly admire the Japanese for their courtesy, propriety, dignity, endurance, frugality, equanimity, industriousness, sagaciousness, cleanliness, simplicity, discipline, and rationality. The social organization of Japan is regularly praised for its control of petty crimes such as thievery and vandalism and for its ability to preserve the serenity of life by the respect accorded to established customs and conventions. But the admiration of the Jesuits is not unqualified.[382] Almost all of those who write at length about the Japanese deplore their addiction to sodomy and suicide, the disloyalty of vassal to master, their dissimulation, ambiguity, and lack of openness in their dealings, their bellicose nature, their inhumane treatment of enemies and unwanted children, their failure to respect the rule of law, and finally their unwillingness to give up the system of concubinage. But then, as the Jesuits often said, one could hardly expect perfection in a people which had not had the benefit of the Christian revelation!

In their specific references to mundane matters, the Jesuits show themselves to be most impressed by the size, wealth, and architectural masterpieces of the Japanese cities. From their descriptions of the civil wars and of Japanese government and administration, and from their detailed sketches of leading political figures, the careful reader of the sixteenth century or today is able to get a real

[382] Even so great a scholar as Sir George Sansom has gone astray in his estimate of the Jesuit letters from Japan when he states categorically, "Nowhere is there to be detected in the Jesuit letters any feeling of racial or cultural superiority" (*The Western World and Japan* [New York, 1950], p. 174). I would agree with him on the absence of felt racial superiority, but absolutely deny that the Jesuits, especially Cabral, had no sense of cultural superiority.

feeling for the dynamic character of life in Japan in the Sengoku era. No European could conclude from what he read that Japan's was a stagnant or static society. Guzman's treatment of the fundamental changes inaugurated by the wars and reforms of Hideyoshi and Nobunaga gives his reader a real sense of the evolutionary character of Japanese society and of its ambition and willingness to expand beyond its insular boundaries. However, it is most disappointing to find that even such ordinarily well informed observers as Fróis and Valignano have very little sense of Japan's history before the sixteenth century.

Because the Jesuits penetrated Japan more deeply and effectively than any other part of eastern Asia, they were able to relay to Europe details about Japanese life and culture which are more perceptive than those which they furnish about other Asian countries. In their concern to learn the language, the Jesuits relayed to Europe not only an elementary knowledge of Japanese, but also some material on the peculiar nature of Chinese. Once they were equipped with enough of the language to converse on diverse subjects, they learned through the Japanese about Korea, Tsushima, and Yezo. Hainan, the Liu-ch'ius and Formosa, however, became known in Europe incidental to the shipwrecks which occurred off their shores. By 1600, both Japan and its environs appear in Europe on world maps, in cosmographies, and in the great travel collections of De Bry, Hakluyt, and Linschoten. So, just about a half century after its "discovery," most learned Europeans could have known that Japan, a land previously little more than a legend, was a united nation with an independent culture which rivaled and even excelled in some ways the greatest states and cultures of Europe.

CHAPTER IX

China

Europe's conception of China in the prediscovery era was derived primarily from the testimony of the land travelers and from Mandeville's romantic peregrinations. The impression transmitted by these literary works was sharpened and given a measure of substance by the growing realization in Europe that a people and a civilization existed in the most distant East which was able to produce silks and porcelains that could not be successfully imitated in Europe. Still the outlines of this portrait continued to be badly blurred by a veneer of legend and fable. Indeed, it would require almost the entire sixteenth century before a clearer and more precise image of China would emerge from the blending of the newer view with the adumbration inherited from the past.

Only hazy glimpses of China can be caught from the commercial, travel, and official reports that were circulated in Europe during the first years of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese pioneers in India heard vague rumors of "white visitors" who had appeared on the Malabar Coast at irregular intervals some eighty years before. Confirming reports reached Europe in the first decade of exploration about the spectacular voyages to the Indian Ocean and to Africa of the early Ming adventurers.[1] But Da Gama and his immediate successors were far more interested in spices and gold than in the commodities of Chinese provenance that they found in the marts of southwestern India. Still they brought back to Lisbon samples of the silks and porcelains of China

This chapter was presented in summary before the International Congress of the History of the Discoveries in Lisbon in 1960 My paper, along with the commentary of Dr Francisco Tenreiro, is published in *Actas* (Lisbon, 1961), IV, 279–306

[1] For a discussion of Ming expansion and withdrawal see Jung-pang Lo, "The Decline of the Early Ming Navy," *Oriens extremus*, V (1958), 149–57. Also see C R Boxer, "Notes on Chinese Abroad in the Late Ming and Early Manchu Periods Compiled from Contemporary European Sources, 1500–1750," *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, IX (1939), 448–49.

which were then exceedingly rare in Europe and expensive even in the bazaars of India. Weak as these earliest stimuli evidently were, it did not take long for King Manuel I of Portugal and his enterprising aides to seek more detailed information about the Chinese.

In 1508 Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was sent out from Portugal to reconnoiter Malacca and he was given the following instructions:

> You shall ask after the Chijns, and from what part they come, and from how far, and at what times they come to Malacca . . . and the merchandise that they bring, and how many of their ships come each year, and regarding the form and type of their ships . . . and if they are wealthy merchants, and if they are weak men, or warriors, and if they have arms or artillery, and what clothes they wear, and if they are men of large build . . . if they are Christians or heathens, if their country is a great one, and if they have more than one king amongst them, and if any Moors live amongst them or any other people that are not of their law or faith; and, if they are not Christians, in what do they believe and what they adore, and what customs they observe, and towards what part does their country extend, and with whom do they confine.[2]

To begin providing the answers to these questions, the Portuguese were to find, would require most of a century.

I

Behind the Portuguese Curtain, 1520–50

After the Portuguese captured Malacca in 1511, it was not long before limited commercial intercourse between the Chinese and the Portuguese began. Lusitanian adventurers and traders soon began to explore, sometimes on their own and sometimes in company with Chinese, the routes over sea and land from Malacca to South China. Most of the pioneer Iberians to visit the China coast sailed there in junks, and the merchants among them were quick to learn that there could be "as great profit in taking spices to China [from Malacca] as in taking them to Portugal."[3] Still the porcelains and silken cloths continued

[2] As quoted in J M Braga, "The Western Pioneers and Their Discovery of Macao," *Instituto Português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No 2 (September, 1949), p 60. See also the remarks of Giovanni da Empoli, written from Cochin to Florence on November 15, 1515, as quoted in D Ferguson, "Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, Written in 1534 and 1536," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), 423–24. Both of the prisoners' letters were actually written in 1524 (see below, n. 14) Empoli's letter was probably circulated in Italy around the time it was received there, though it was not published until after mid-century when it appeared in G B. Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1550), Vol. I, fols 156–58.

[3] As quoted in Ferguson, *loc cit* (n 2), p 423, from the letter of Andrea Corsali written in Malacca on January 6, 1515 Corsali's letter was first published in Florence in 1518, but was brought to general attention only after mid-century when it appeared in Ramusio's collection.

to reach Lisbon, and Jorge Alvarez, who made the first recorded Portuguese visit to China in 1514, also began to purchase new and more practical commodities, such as tung oil, to sell in Europe.[4] But Portugal's growing understanding of the vagaries of Eastern trade and the news of its merchants' efforts to penetrate China were not officially relayed to the rest of Europe in these early years.

The Portuguese "policy of secrecy" was only one of the curtains screening China off from Europe's view; the Chinese themselves contributed to Europe's ignorance by a policy of exclusiveness of their own devising. The Chinese sailors and merchants, whom the Portuguese met in Malacca, were there illegally from the viewpoint of Peking. In the Ming code (1397–98) of the Hung Wu emperor the sons of Han had been forbidden in the interests of national security to go abroad either by land or by sea, and beheading was officially ordained for those who left the country and divulged information prejudicial to the security of the state. The proscriptions of the first Ming emperors against venturing abroad were soon disregarded by their successors. In the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the eunuch Cheng Ho and other naval commanders led a series of official expeditions to the south and west; Chinese traders, the "white men" known in Calicut and Ceylon, contemporaneously visited many of the major ports of the Indian Ocean. The establishment of the city of Malacca by an independent sultanate undoubtedly owed a great deal to the actions of the Chinese navy which used its strategic port as an overseas base.[5] China's overseas enterprises were officially called off in 1433, and in subsequent years, by a series of imperial edicts reinstating the earlier Ming policy of isolation.[6]

Peking thereafter used its navy to defend its coastal cities against the activities of the Japanese, native, and (later) Portuguese pirates. The resurgence of the Mongols was, however, Peking's paramount problem in the sixteenth century.[7] Consequently, it was upon the threatened land frontiers to the north that Peking focused its attention, and the navy and the coastal defenses of southern China were allowed to fall into disrepair and decay. At no time in the sixteenth century was Peking able to enforce successfully its policy of isolation or to maintain strict peace and order along its southeastern coast.

The declining prosperity of maritime China in the Chia-ching period (1522–66) coincided with the cessation of official trading activities of the Portuguese at Canton and with the expansion of illicit overseas trade and piracy. Although the central government held firmly to the principle of isolation, certain of the ports, especially in Kwangtung and Fukien provinces, needed

[4] See Braga, *loc. cit.* (n 2), p. 61, also see below, p. 834, for the use that the Portuguese later made, in imitation of the Chinese, of tung oil as a varnish on their ships

[5] Lo, *loc. cit.* (n 1), p 151

[6] For a recent attempt to explain the Chinese return to a policy of isolation see *ibid*, pp 152–58.

[7] On the evolution of the Ming attitude toward the Mongols and for its practice of settling them in south China far from the border region see Henry Serruys, "Were the Ming against the Mongols Settling in North China?" *Oriens extremus*, VI (1954), 131–59

coastal and foreign trade for survival.[8] From the testimony of the Portuguese, it would even appear that in the first half of the century the governors of Kwangtung secretly issued licenses to Chinese merchants wanting to trade to the south.[9]

The first official Portuguese embassy to China was dispatched from Malacca to Canton in 1517, after it had been learned "that the Chins desired peace and friendship."[10] Before departing for China, Tomé Pires, who headed the embassy, had sent back to Lisbon a detailed summary of Portuguese trading activities throughout the East in which he discoursed at some length on "what the Nations [people] here in the East" report about China, Liu-ch'iu, and Japan.[11] In his report Pires shows that he clearly understood the official prohibition against Chinese going abroad, the rough outlines of the tributary relations existing between the rulers of southeastern Asia and Peking, and something about Chinese practices in receiving foreign emissaries.

It is hardly surprising that Pires did not fully comprehend the ramifications of, or the theory behind, the tributary system. The details of its operations are only now beginning to emerge clearly to Western scholars.[12] On the basis of his limited information Pires could not have fully understood that the tribute system of his day was designed, like the policy of isolation, to preserve the security of the empire, to prevent the export of its treasure, and to limit international intercourse to those who would acknowledge their vassalage to China and their obedience to its emperor. Tribute missions could come to China only on terms prescribed by Peking. Some of the members of tribute missions might trade at frontier cities, or at interior cities on the ordained route to the capital, and even in Peking itself. But under no conditions could foreigners be permitted to stay in China indefinitely, or to negotiate with the imperial court on a basis of equality. Such were the regulations for international relations that the Portuguese emissaries confronted when they first touched the soil of China, and they were hardly prepared by what they had learned elsewhere for the reception they met.

The fleet carrying Tomé Pires set the envoy ashore at Canton in 1517. There, after some discussion, the Chinese authorities assigned him a residence

[8] The most systematic study of the inauguration of Portuguese trade with China is Chang T'ien-tse, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514–1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources* (Leyden, 1934), chaps. ii–v. Also see Charles W. MacSherry, "Impairment of the Ming Tributary System as Exhibited in Trade Involving Fukien" (Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1952), p. 103.

[9] For example, see Armando Cortesão (ed.), *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires* (London, 1944), I, 119.

[10] As quoted from the words of the trader, Bartolameu Perestrello, in Ferguson, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), p. 424.

[11] Cortesão (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 9), pp. 116–31; also see Chang T'ien-tse, "Malacca and the Failure of the First Portuguese Embassy to Peking," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* (Singapore), III (1962), 45–64.

[12] For general background see J. K. Fairbank and S. Y. Têng, "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI (1941), 135–37, for specific details on the Ming system for regulating maritime trade see MacSherry, *op. cit.* (n. 8), chap. ii. On the economic losses suffered by China from the tributary trade in the fifteenth century see Lo, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), pp. 154–57.

where he waited for permission to proceed to Peking. Pires and his entourage, after what must have seemed an interminable delay, finally set off for the capital early in 1520. While waiting in the imperial city from July, 1520, to February, 1521, for the emperor to return from a southern tour of inspection, the political atmosphere turned blackly against the Portuguese. Representations were apparently received at the court inveighing against the disorderly conduct of the Portuguese traders and sailors along the south China coast. An ambassador from the exiled sultan of Malacca meanwhile arrived in Peking to complain about the losses which his lord had suffered at the hands of the Portuguese "sea-robbers"[13] When the Chêng-tê emperor finally died in May, 1521, without having received Pires, the Portuguese ambassador was ordered by the Chinese to leave the capital. He returned to Canton in September, 1521, only to find that the once tractable Cantonese had turned violently hostile towards the Portuguese whom they accused of stealing a number of their children and of carrying them off into slavery.

The first official Chinese reaction to these alleged depredations was to ban in 1521 or 1522 all trade with the *Fo-lang-chi* (Franks, Portuguese, or just Europeans in general). Eventually Pires and his staff were imprisoned at Canton and their presents for the emperor confiscated. The ambassador and others spent what remained of their lives in China. Two of the prisoners, Cristavão Vieira and Vasco Calvo, succeeded in sending out letters, evidently prepared in 1524, to let their compatriots know of their fate and to urge the Portuguese king to undertake a military expedition against China.[14]

These letters are important as sources, for they are the first detailed eyewitness accounts of life in China to reach Europe (probably *ca.* 1527) and to be utilized, either directly or indirectly, in the great chronicles of Portugal's activities in the East which were published in the second half of the sixteenth century. Vieira's letter in particular is replete with unique firsthand observations, for he was the first European after the discovery of the Cape route to visit Peking and write home about it. Especially notable is his inclusion of a bit of information about the Chinese practices in receiving foreign envoys at the capital. For example, he comments:

The custom with ambassadors in Piquim [Peking] is to place them in certain houses with large enclosures, and there they are shut in on the first day of the moon, and on the

[13] See above, pp 509–11 The imperial censor, Ch'iu Tao-lung, remonstrated with the Portuguese about their "illicit" capture of Malacca See Chang, *op. cit.* (n 8), p. 51

[14] The Portuguese texts and the English translations of these letters are given in Ferguson, *loc cit.* (n 2), XXX, 467–91, XXXI, 10–32, 53–65. The copies of their letters in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, dated 1534 and 1536, which Ferguson used were evidently prepared in the latter half of the sixteenth century Though Ferguson accepted these dates as correct, Cortesão (*op cit.* [n. 9], I, xlv–xlviii) has shown beyond doubt that the Paris copies were misdated, and that both letters were actually written in 1524 For a further commentary on this question see C R Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1953), p. xxi, n 2 Actually, great confusion still reigns about the fate of Pires and members of his embassy, nobody has yet found an undisputed reference to the name "Pires" in the Ming sources. See Chang, *loc cit.* (n. 11), p 48

fifteenth day of the moon they go to the king's palace, some on foot, and some on jades [horses] with halters of straw; and proceed to measure their length five times before a wall of the king's palace all in order with both knees on the ground and head and face flat on the earth. Thus they remain until they are commanded to rise. Five times do they do this at the wall Thence they return and re-enter the locked enclosures.[15]

Vieira related to Europe certain other characteristic features of the tribute system, though their meaning may have been lost upon the Portuguese in Lisbon. He gives the Portuguese text of the letter of introduction prepared for the embassy by interpreters at Canton, to let his compatriots know the proper formula, according to Ming etiquette, for addressing in writing the Son of Heaven.[16] He informed them, too, that duplicity would probably not work and to this end he recounts the misadventure that befell Pires when it was ascertained in Peking that the Chinese letter of submission written for the Portuguese in Canton did not accurately reflect the independent tone and dignified style of King Manuel's original letter. Once the disparity between the two letters became known to the imperial officials in Peking, the Portuguese were not permitted to attend the tribute ceremonies and were ordered to return to Canton. Yet Vieira is fair enough to point out that the Chêng-tê emperor responded with characteristic, condescending grace to the attacks of his officials against the Portuguese by reminding them: "These people do not know our customs; gradually they will get to known them." Such sentiments were in harmony with the compassion traditionally expected in China from the emperor in his dealings with "barbarians." Through such firsthand accounts of the tribute system the idea was gradually conveyed to Portugal, early in the sixteenth century, that the Chinese system of international intercourse differed radically from that prevailing in Europe.

[15] As translated in Ferguson, *loc cit* (n 2), XXXI (1902), 11. For a general discussion of the rituals connected with the tribute system see J. K Fairbank, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (Cambridge, Mass, 1953), pp 28–30. The "houses with large enclosures" clearly refers to the official Residence for Tributary Envoys. The prostrations before a "wall of the king's palace" is probably a reference to practice sessions which often were prescribed for envoys awaiting an imperial interview. See the quotation from the *Ta-Ming chi-li*, "Collected Ceremonies of the Ming Dynasty," as translated in Fairbank and Têng, *loc cit* (n 12), pp 144–45 The reference to "five" prostrations "five" times over is repeated by Maffei in his book (1588), possibly on Vieira's authority, in Ch'ing times the ordinary rule was three kneelings and three sets of three prostrations, or nine Marco Polo (*Description of the World*, Bk. II, chap. xv) says that they repeat "this adoration four times." The discrepancy between the practices of Ch'ing times and the assertions of Vieira and Marco Polo may perhaps be accounted for by lapses of memory since the former wrote about three years after the events he is describing and the latter a considerably longer time Or the number "five," which is the only questionable assertion contained in Vieira's account, may be a confusion on the copyist's part between "3" and "5." As Cortesão ([ed] *op. cit.* [n 9], I, xlv–xlvi) points out, the copyist in another instance confused "3" for "8."

[16] It reads "A captain-major and an ambassador have come to the land of China by command of the king of the Firingis [Portuguese] with tribute They have come to beg, according to custom, for a seal from the lord of the world, the son of God [*T'ien*], in order to yield obedience to him " (Ferguson, *loc cit* [n 2], XXXI [1902], 10–11.) For further commentary on the "seal" see Fairbank and Têng, *loc cit.* (n. 12), p 148.

The Portuguese prisoners were also able to relay home a fairly accurate list of China's fifteen provinces, some account of its administrative organization at the provincial and local levels, the products of the country, its war vessels and fortifications, and a few general observations about its mountains and waterways. Vieira comments:

> The advantage of this country lies in its rivers all of which descend to the sea No one sails from north to south; it is prohibited by the king, in order that the country may not become known. Where we went was all rivers. They have boats and ships broad below without number. . . . They require little water. . . . On the coast from north to south the land is all low.[17]

And Vieira notices in detail the system of high roads, and of government hostels "from stage to stage." He observes that the village families are under a headman, that all require permits to leave their villages or towns, and that the smallest settlements are enclosed by walls.[18]

Finally, Vieira and his companions write at some length about the city of Canton. Its region "is one of the best in China," a center of both domestic and foreign trade, and a rich agricultural area peopled with "every sort of craftsmen of every mechanical office." The justices are all from the literati, "and every [member of the] literati when he obtains a degree begins in petty posts, and thence goes on rising to higher ones." All "changes are made" in Peking. A justice born in Kwangtung, he observes, "cannot hold an office of Justice in Cantão . . . so that those of one province cannot govern another." But the magistrate from another province, he contends, administers justice poorly "because he does not think of the good of the district, but only of stealing, because he is not a native of it."[19] No doubt, after three years of imprisonment Vieira was not inclined either to regard Chinese justice with equanimity or to approve of the "law of avoidance" which ordained that an official might never serve in his own province.

The people are badly treated by the mandarins and "every day they go on rising and becoming robbers."[20] Military "mandarins" are usually natives of the province in which they serve and ordinarily "have a salary of the king." The common people are not permitted to carry arms. Chinese weapons and armor he holds in slight esteem and assures his reader that "before the Portuguese came they had no bombards," except for decidedly inferior ones. Trade, but recently suspended, he concludes is necessary to sustain the country, and wishfully observes: "Every day I think that that province of Cantão is going to

[17] Ferguson, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), XXXI (1902), 19.

[18] See *ibid.*, pp. 23–24, this is as close as any of the first-hand observers come to describing the local system of mutual surveillance or *pao-chia* system In Ming times the *li-chia* tax system often existed in parallel with the *pao-chia* system which was used primarily for maintaining order It is certainly the *pao-chia* which is referred to here. Mendoza later includes in his account more detail on the *pao-chia* system. Cf. below, pp. 760–61

[19] *Ibid*, p. 21.

[20] Cf. *ibid.*, pp 24–30.

revolt." For Chinese soldiers and their courage he has no regard, and expresses the belief that "if this gentry has a taste of the Portuguese sword" the people will revolt and join with the Portuguese against their own rulers. To capture and occupy Cantão he estimates the Portuguese would need only "a force of two or three thousand men" and "a fleet of ten to fifteen sail." The Chinese people are "sure to come to blows" with their rulers "because all the people are waiting for the Portuguese."

Although the prisoners' letters probably reached Portugal in about 1527, there is no record of any response in Lisbon to the suggestion that the Portuguese should conquer "half the country of China." After the closure of the ports of Kwangtung, the Portuguese carried on trade clandestinely on the islands off Kwangtung, Fukien, and Chekiang. One of their earliest places of rendezvous with Chinese smugglers was at "Veniaga" or "Tamão" (Tun-mên or Lintun island) near to the entrance of the Pearl River which serves Canton.[21] In this "secret" trade they were aided and abetted by Chinese merchants from both Malacca and the coastal provinces. For a decade most of the Portuguese voyages to the China coast were apparently unauthorized, but, commencing in 1533, official permits were again issued by the Kwangtung authorities to all foreign merchants except the *Fo-lang-chi*.[22] While still outlawed in Kwangtung, Portuguese carried their commercial activities northward along the China coast, particularly to "Liampo" (islands near Ningpo)[23] off Chekiang. Here they established a settlement where they met with Japanese (as well as Chinese) merchants, and it was from here that those merchants set out who discovered Japan in about 1543. The suspension of official relations between China and Japan in 1549 gave the Portuguese an opportunity to profit by acting as intermediaries for both Chinese and Japanese commercial groups.[24] As the Portuguese increased their activity as carriers between China and Japan, they were

[21] For this identification see J M. Braga, *Tamão dos pioneiros portuguêses* (Macao, 1939), *passim*; A. Kammerer, *La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des portulans* (Leyden, 1944), p. 9, and Cortesão (ed.), *op cit* (n. 9) I, 121–22, n 2 "Veniaga" is perhaps derived from Malay, *Beniaga*, meaning "to trade"—hence the Portuguese appelation "Island of Trade" commonly given to it. See Chang, *loc cit.* (n 11), p. 47, n. 2.

[22] The Chinese officials at Canton relaxed the prohibition on trade with the Westerners after Viceroy Lin (Fu) in 1530 memorialized the throne to resume foreign trade. See Chang, *op. cit.* (n. 8), pp 73–74.

[23] It is doubtful, as some of the Portuguese allege, that they were actually allowed to trade in the city of Ningpo itself. The probability is that they carried on a clandestine trade with Chinese and Japanese merchants at the "twin islands" (Hsuang-hsu) [雙嶼] near Ningpo off the Chekiang coast. For a thorough discussion of this identification from the European, Chinese, and Japanese records see Fujita Toyohachi [藤田豐八], *Tōzai kōshō-shi no kenyū* (*Nankai-hen*) [東西交涉史の研究] (Tokyo, 1943), pp 417–91, the historian of the Ming, Fang Hao [方豪] in *Fang Hao wên lu* [方豪文錄] (Peking, 1948), Vol. I, Section V, pp. 442–50 accepts Fujita's identification as being correct Also see the map by Luis Jorgé de Barbuda on which it appears as "C. de Liampo," the "C." probably referring to *cidade* or city.

[24] On the events which led to the severance of relations see Wang Yi-t'ung, *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368–1549* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 60–81.

tacitly permitted, though quite unofficially, to set up a permanent trading settlement at Macao around 1555.[25]

Information on China was circulated in Europe before 1550 only as official sources in Lisbon permitted it to be divulged, or as the agents of Spain and other European states managed to acquire maps and rutters, as well as texts and oral information from participants in the trade with China. The letters of the Portuguese prisoners written in 1524 are the only firsthand accounts of China prepared by Westerners in the first half of the sixteenth century which are still available to us. However, we know from his own testimony that João de Barros, who was factor of the Casa da India from 1533 to 1567, had in his possession at Lisbon a collection of Chinese books and an intelligent Chinese slave to read and abstract them for him.[26] Barros' first draft of his first *Década* was completed in 1539, though it was not published until 1552. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who published in 1551 the first volume of his pioneer *História do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, lived in Asia from 1528 to 1538. Like Barros in Lisbon, Castanheda in the East interviewed sailors, merchants, and natives coming from China, and collected "authentic information . . . by the perusal of many letters and memorials . . . written by men of credit and reputation."[27] Yet, before the publication of the histories by Castanheda and Barros, the Portuguese sources on China, except for isolated items, were practically unknown outside of official circles in Lisbon.

Castanheda's description of China is centered about his account of the Portuguese expedition of 1516–17 headed by Fernão Peres d'Andrade, and is very short when compared to his long discourses on India. However, his story is fuller than the China narrative of Duarte Barbosa, even though he did not use the letters of the Cantonese prisoners in its preparation.[28] He is clearly dependent upon other primary materials, and he has more to say about Buddhist practices, gods, and temples in China than any of the previous writers known to us.[29] Like the other Europeans, he asserts that the Chinese have singular talents in both the mechanical and liberal arts. Their learned men and books exhibit knowledge of many sciences, and instruction in various subjects is given in public schools. For war they have little taste, though their weapons are con-

[25] Though this date is only generally correct, it seems clear that at this time, as they began to be seriously involved in the Japan trade, the Portuguese used Macao or the nearby island of Lampacão as a wintering place. See C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1959), pp. 21–22.

[26] C. R. Boxer, "Three Historians of Portuguese Asia (Barros, Couto and Bocarro)," *Instituto Português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No. 1 (1948), pp. 19–20. For future references to Barros see Hernani Cidade and Manuel Múrias (eds.), *Asia de João de Barros* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1945–46), especially *Décadas* I (Vol. I) and III (Vol. III).

[27] As reproduced from Book I of the 1582 English translation of Castanheda in Robert Kerr, *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels* (London, 1824), II, 297.

[28] See Ferguson, *op. cit.* (n. 2), p. 433, n. 84.

[29] Zoe Swecker, "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East, 1550–1600" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960), pp. 50–56. This is not noticed in Henri de Lubac, *La rencontre du Bouddhisme et de l'Occident* (Paris, 1952).

sidered good. He notices that they have but one ruler, called the "Son of Heaven," who is served by eunuchs and a vast hierarchy of officials. He gives in transliteration a detailed list of official titles, including many not previously noticed in the Western accounts.[30]

Barros, writing and researching in the official materials at Lisbon, was able to present a fuller and more authoritative discussion than Castanheda.[31] His numerous Portuguese sources included the letters of the prisoners at Canton.[32] His Western sources were amplified, particularly on northern China and the interior, by materials probably taken from the Chinese books at his disposal. The third of the *Décadas*, in which Barros includes his longest account of China,[33] was in first draft before the middle of the sixteenth century, but it did not appear in print until 1563.

The Chinese coast, Barros estimates, is more than seven hundred leagues (2,800 miles) in length; this he concludes because a trip from Canton to Peking is a journey of five hundred leagues (2,000 miles).[34] The Great Wall, which he locates between 43 degrees and 45 degrees north latitude,[35] excites his admiration, and he correctly points out that it was designed to serve as a defense against Tartar invasions. From the geographical works in Chinese at his disposal he gained some conception of Chinese measures of distance. After looking at a map of the fifteen provinces of China,[36] he divided them into two groups: maritime and interior.[37] Within the provinces he reports seeing that there are a

[30] For a translation of this material from Castanheda see Ferguson, *op. cit.* (n 2), pp 446–67.

[31] Swecker, *op. cit.* (n. 29), p 114.

[32] Barros clearly used these letters in preparing his third *Década* See especially his description of Canton in Cidade and Múrias (eds), *op. cit* (n. 26), III, 94–97

[33] *Ibid* , III, 90–105 And also see references to China in his first *Década* in *ibid* , I, 352–54, 364, 368–69

[34] Estimates on China's northward extent vary markedly as might be expected. Mendoza gives it as 1,800 miles, Gabriel Magalhaes in his *A New History of China* (London, 1688) asserts in his preface that it is "not above Four hundred and fifty Leagues in length." Also cf. below, p. 810, where the estimate is 540 leagues In modern estimates it is usually put at around 2,200 miles

[35] Actually it is at about 40 degrees north latitude.

[36] China was divided after 1428 into two metropolitan areas (*ching*) and thirteen provinces (*sheng*). See C. O. Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XXI (1958), 5, 7. It is this difference over the metropolitan areas and the provinces proper which causes confusion among sixteenth-century European writers and leads some to talk of thirteen and others of fifteen provinces.

[37] The maritime provinces which he gives (in Cidade and Múrias, *op. cit* [n. 26], III, 91–92), are "Cantão" (Canton or Kwangtung), "Foquiem" (Fukien), "Chequeao" (Chekiang), "Xantom" (Shantung), "Naqui" (Nan-chih-li or Nanking), and "Quinci" (Pei-chih-li or Peking); the interior provinces are "Quicheu" (Kweichow), "Juna" (Yunnan), "Quansi" (Kwangsi), "Suguão" (Szechwan), "Fuquão (Kiangsi), "Canfi" (Hukwang), "Xiauxi" (Shansi), "Honão" (Honan), "Sanci" (Shensi). The Portuguese prisoners, who wrote from Canton in 1524, gave a comparable list, though the transliterations are not identical (Ferguson, *op. cit* [n 2], XXXI [1902], 18–19). Evidently they also obtained their information from a Chinese work, for Vasco Calvo, who claims "to know how to read and write their [Chinese] letters," reports that he had in his possession "the book of all fifteen provinces " (*Ibid* , p 61) Pereira, Cruz (see below, p 755n.) and other of the later Portuguese writers are not able to give as complete and accurate a list of the provinces and their locations. For a modern list of the Ming provinces see C. H. Philips (ed.), *Handbook of Oriental History* (London, 1951), p. 190.

total of 244 cities (*fu*).[38] Each province has a capital city which is the center of administration. All other provincial cities are subordinate to the metropolitan city; likewise towns (*chou*) are subordinate to their regional cities; villages, even though they sometimes are as large as towns, are administratively under the towns.[39]

Barros asserts that provincial administration is entrusted to three officials: the "tutão" (probably *tu-t'ang*,[40] inspector-general or viceroy) who has general jurisdiction over public order and justice; the "concão" (*chêng-shih*, or more correctly, *pu-chêng-shih*,[41] meaning governor or provincial treasurer); and the "chumpim" (*tsung-ping*,[42] regional commander or brigadier general) who has charge of military matters. Each of these top officials has numerous subordinates. The three main officials in company with their aides meet to form a kind of provincial council whenever they need to take decisions on matters of common concern. The officials are recruited through the civil service; the justices are never natives of the provinces in which they serve though the military commanders are. All officials hold office for a maximum of three years;[43] they are moved without consultation on orders from Peking; and they are all constantly under surveillance by the censorate.

In their relations with foreigners, the Chinese, like the Greeks, consider all other people to be barbarians. Most barbarians are blind in their understanding of China's civilization; the Europeans, Barros believes, are considered by the Chinese to be somewhat more advanced as they are said to be only half-blind and have "one eye." Like the ancients of the West, the Chinese are reported to

[38] *Fu* is actually a term for prefecture or prefectural city The total number of provincial subdivisions varied greatly from time to time See Hucker, *loc cit.* (n. 36), p 7 The apparent confusion over prefectures and cities is explained by reference to Barros (in Cidade and Múrias [eds], *op. cit* [n. 26], III, 91) He asserts that the *fu* in Ningpo-fu, for example, means "the city of Ningpo" as the Greek "polis" in Adrianopolis means "the city of Adrian " He thus indicates with a modicum of accuracy that the prefectural capital often carried the designation *fu* as part of its name

[39] *Chou* is actually a term for subprefecture, and, as Barros indicates, the subprefectural capital sometimes carried the designation *chou* as part of its name.

[40] The *tu-t'ang*, as well as the *hsun-fu* (not mentioned here), were censorial officials appointed by Peking to act temporarily as viceroys in order to rectify local problems that seemed to be beyond the capabilities of the provincial governors to handle. From the mid-fifteenth century onward the viceroys were increasingly charged with general military supervision and co-ordination. Their temporary tenure in the maritime provinces, as well as in other disturbed areas, tended to become permanent in the latter half of the Ming dynasty The powers of the provincial governors and regional commanders were circumscribed as a consequence of this extension of viceregal power.

[41] Western manuals, based on Ch'ing usages, usually translate *pu-chêng-shih* as comptroller or provincial administration commissioner According to Professor Ho Ping-ti, the translation "governor" is more correct for Ming times Though the powers of *pu-chêng-shih* declined throughout the Ming period, this official never relinquished his financial functions. "Concão" could also possibly be a transcription of *chen-shou*, another designation for viceroy See C. O. Hucker, "The Chinese Censorate of the Ming Dynasty" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950), p 81.

[42] A province sometimes had more than one *tsung-ping*. The independent authority of this official declined in the latter half of the Ming as the viceroys increased their personal participation in military and related affairs.

[43] Dubious Every third year each official was rated by his superiors, but the normal maximum tenure in a post was for nine years See Hucker, *loc cit* (n. 36), p 15 Also see below, p 761, and notes 139–40.

have considerable knowledge of religion and of the natural and moral sciences. They possessed the art of printing before Europe knew it, as well as great skill in various other arts and crafts That in times past they conquered parts of South Asia is borne out by the artifacts and remnants of their writing, religion, and customs extant in Pegu and Siam. Tribute embassies, sent from the southern countries to Peking triennially, are, in Barros' estimation, a form of continuing recognition of China's former overlordship. China's withdrawal from the game of conquest the Portuguese chronicler attributes to the decision of a wise ruler who recognized that overextension of the country's activities was doing it more harm than good, a point which apparently makes the Chinese superior to the Romans in Barros' estimation Once prudent appraisal of the state's needs by the government led to the decision that China could subsist on her own resources, it was then decided that Chinese should not go abroad, that trade should be strictly regulated, and that foreign emissaries might enter the country only for the purpose of paying tribute. In connection with China's relations to the south, Barros, as we have seen, offers a comparison between the Chinese and Javanese peoples.[44]

Unlike most of the later writers, Barros tries to point out the differences between the southern and the northern Chinese. In general the southerners are inferior to the superior northerners, except for the people in and around Canton. The Cantonese are more advanced than other southerners and are clever in trade and astute in warfare. They are credited with knowing how to use artillery before the arrival of the Portuguese and are thought to be good cannon-makers. They possess craft which are propelled on land by the use of sails and are steered like boats. In describing the city of Canton specifically, Barros evidently depends upon the map and descriptions forwarded to Portugal by the Portuguese prisoners of Canton. Of Chinese practices he notes that irrigation is highly developed in the maritime provinces, that many people live in houseboats, and that there is a great bustle of life everywhere. He also observes that the Chinese usually have two or three wives, and that women are generally kept in seclusion. Common women are not permitted to live within the city walls. And he notes, as practically every other writer does, the Chinese predilection for festivals, banquets, and entertainment. Everybody, he alleges, has an occupation, and poverty and beggars are not to be found.

Because his book was not widely circulated,[45] Barros' excellent account of China appears to have exercised very little direct influence upon the image of China as it developed in Europe beyond the Iberian Peninsula and Italy. However, as we shall see, it had at least indirect influence upon the works of Mendoza and Maffei, the two most popular works dealing with China to appear in the sixteenth century.

[44] See above, p. 586.
[45] See above, pp. 191–92.

2

Mendoza's Book and Its Sources

Once it began to ascend, the curtain on information rose remarkably fast; within a generation after mid-century a number of firsthand accounts on China reached the reading public of Europe, some of them, like the materials included in Ramusio, having been prepared in the earlier years of the century. The Jesuits, particularly after the establishment of Macao in about 1555, regularly included news of China, some of it learned through Japanese sources, in their annual letters. But it was not until 1569, at Evora in Portugal, that the first European book devoted exclusively to China was published The work of the Portuguese Dominican, Gaspar da Cruz, this book was entitled *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China.*[46] Based upon his own experiences and those of others, Cruz's book is the first to present a rounded and detailed view of China as it appeared to a European in the sixteenth century. But the book was not widely distributed, perhaps because it was published in a year of plague, or because like Barros', it was written in the Portuguese language rather than in one of the better-known tongues of Europe.

The second book on China published in Europe was Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegacion que los Portugueses hazen à los Reinos y Provincias del Oriente, y de la notica q̃ se tiene de las grandezas del Reino de la China* (Seville, 1577). Unlike Cruz, Escalante had apparently not visited China.[47] For his information he relied heavily on Cruz, Barros, and informants whom he met in Portugal and Spain. At the end of his small book of exactly one hundred leaves, Escalante comments:

> Al[l] that is written of the great lordship of China in this woorke I have gathered myselfe with great diligence and care of men worthie of faith, Portingals that have been there with merchandise, & of other buziness, as also of the saide people of China, which have come too Spayne· of whome I tooke that which I thought to be certaine, most meete for this short discourse.[48]

[46] For the English translation of Cruz and the most recent editorial documentation see Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), pp 47–239 For further details see *ibid*, pp. lxiv–lxv Boxer was able to find records of only ten extant copies.

[47] Very little is known of his biography. See scant data provided in Felipe Picatoste y Rodríguez, *Apuntes para una bibliografía científica española del siglo XVI* (Madrid, 1891).

[48] As translated by John Frampton, a retired merchant who had been active in Seville, in his English version of Escalante's work called *Discours of the Navigation which the Portugales doe Make to the Realmes and Provinces of the East Partes of the World, and of the knowledge that growes by them of the great thinges, which are in the Dominion of China* (London, 1579). All subsequent references to Escalante's work are taken from Frampton's translation Although it is surprising to learn from this quotation that there were Chinese in Spain in about 1577, no good reason exists for doubting Escalante's word. There were certainly Chinese in Portugal long before this time, and Mendoza notes (see below, p. 791) that three Chinese merchants arrived in Spain via Mexico in 1585 And evidently two Chinese returned to England with Cavendish in 1588.

Since his account was written in Spanish, it attracted a reading public outside of Iberia and it was translated into English just two years after its publication at Seville.[49]

Escalante's book has sometimes been dismissed as being little more than a paraphrase of Cruz's.[50] Such is not the case, for Escalante, while recognizing his debt to Cruz, specifically acknowledges his obligation to Barros. His work in sixteen chapters follows, if anything, the organizational model of Barros. And he points out a discrepancy between the accounts of Cruz and Barros as to whether or not the Chinese teach sciences "other than the lawes of the Realm in their schools." Escalante elects to follow Barros on this disputed point. Furthermore, Cruz lists but thirteen provinces for China while Escalante gives fifteen, and his transliterations of the provincial names are almost identical with those given by Barros. Escalante testifies that he saw a Chinese make characters, and his book includes a set of three sample characters which were copied by Mendoza and the cartographer, Luis Jorgé de Barbuda.[51] He also used other materials, such as official reports, which came into his hands.[52] Far from being a mere paraphrase of Cruz, Escalante's Spanish study is the first effort on the part of a European to synthesize the available sources on China and present them in narrative form. His object, it would seem from the text, was to encourage the Spanish to take a more active interest in the Far East by extending their trading and missionary activities from Mexico across the Pacific via the Philippines to China.

The most influential and detailed work on China prepared in the sixteenth century was Juan González de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* (Rome, 1585). At the command of Pope Gregory XIII the Augustinian monk, Mendoza, was ordered around 1583 to compose a "history of the things that are known about the kingdom of China."[53] Before the end of the century his compendium had been translated into most European languages and had become one of the best-sellers of its day. Its popularity may be accounted for in part by the great and unsatisfied demand which existed everywhere in Europe for a comprehensive and authoritative survey of China in the vernacular languages, and also by its publication in Rome at a time when Europe was agog over the Japanese "embassy" which had been

[49] On the importance of Spanish as the language through which news of China was diffused to the rest of Europe see the somewhat jingoistic, but fairly accurate, work of Carlos Sanz, *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceánia* (Madrid, 1958), pp. 37–45.

[50] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p lxv, n 5, while noting Escalante's indebtedness to Barros, cites, apparently with approval, the judgment of Jerónimo Román, a Spanish Augustinian commentator of the sixteenth century to the effect that Escalante's *Discourso* "was, for the most part, a thinly-disguised paraphrase of Fr. Gaspar da Cruz's pioneer *Tractado* "

[51] See below, p. 818, and the illustration taken from the reverse side of Barbuda's map

[52] For example, he refers to a report made in 1573 to Philip II by Captain Diego de Artieda For the text of Artieda's report in English translation see E. H Blair and J A. Robertson (eds), *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803* (Cleveland, 1903), III, 204–8.

[53] Quoted from a memorial of 1591 which reproduces the original command in G. de Santiago Vela, *Ensayo de una biblioteca Ibero-Americana* (Madrid, 1917), III, 234

sent to the papacy. The appearance of Mendoza's book under the auspices of the papacy no doubt also lent it authority and interest which it might not otherwise have had. Mendoza's clarity, his penetrating insights, and his lively style must also have contributed to its popularity. In fact, the authority of Mendoza's book was so great that it became the point of departure and the basis of comparison for all subsequent European works on China written before the eighteenth century.

The Rome edition (440 pages in octavo) of Mendoza's book, known as the principal edition, was published at the expense of Bartolomé Grassi and issued by the press of Vicencio Accolti in 1585.[54] It was reissued at Valencia in Spanish and at Venice in Italian during the same year, and by 1600 there were nineteen additional Italian printings. Those issued at Brescia and Bologna in 1589 included a primitive map of China [55] The revised edition of 1586 printed at Madrid was enlarged by the inclusion of a narrative describing the Espejo expedition to New Mexico in 1583. By the end of the sixteenth century eleven printings in Spanish had appeared, one of which was put out in Antwerp in 1596.[56] A German and a Latin version, the latter dedicated to Anton Fugger, appeared at Frankfurt in 1589; in 1597 a German translation by Matthies Dresser was printed at Leipzig. Dutch translations appeared both in Alkmeer and Amsterdam in 1595 at the behest of Cornelis Claesz. French translations were published at Paris in 1588, 1589, and 1600. In the year of the Armada, the English version of R. Parke, who had been stimulated to undertake the translation by the younger Hakluyt, appeared in London under the title: *The Historie of the great and mightie kingdome of China, and the situation thereof: Together with the great riches, huge citties, politike government, and rare inventions in the same.*[57] By the end of the sixteenth century Mendoza's work had been reprinted forty-six times in seven different European languages. The last translation of Mendoza appeared in 1674; the most recent edition of his work in Spanish was issued in 1944,[58] bringing the total number of printings to sixty-three.

Most of those who have written about Mendoza's work have had only a rough idea of the number and diversity of its sources. Generally, it can be asserted, Mendoza was acquainted with and used, either directly or indirectly, practically all the materials available in his day. His book certainly represents the first major effort to bring into a single volume the scattered pieces of infor-

[54] For a complete bibliographical rundown of the various editions and translations of this work see Sanz, *op. cit* (n 49), pp 386–97.

[55] See below, pp. 819–20

[56] A number of the Spanish reprintings and several of the translations, including the English translation used here, were made from the expanded version See H R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest* ("Quevira Society Publications," Vol. VII [Albuquerque, 1937]), I, 119, 147–48

[57] Parke's translation was reprinted with marginal comments by Purchas It was reissued by the Hakluyt Society with an introduction by R H Major and edited by Sir George T Staunton All subsequent references to Mendoza are to G T. Staunton, *The Historie of the great and mightie Kingdom of China* . . ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Vols XIV, XV [London, 1853–54]). A new edition with *full notes* is still badly needed.

[58] Edited by Félix Garcia, O.S.A , as Vol II of *España misionera* (Madrid).

mation which the Portuguese and Jesuits had made available, and to co-ordinate them with the other materials coming into Europe from the Spanish missionaries and administrators in the Philippines.

Mendoza has often been accused of telling tall tales, fabricating his data, and wholesale plagiarizing. Such allegations have usually been based on cursory examination of his book. No one has so far troubled to identify Mendoza's sources, to evaluate his use of them, or to test his information by systematic comparison with the Chinese sources. Such an enterprise, time-consuming as it might be, would help to establish whether or not Mendoza's book is a reliable, or semi-reliable, description of Ming China. Obviously such a complete analysis and evaluation cannot be undertaken within the scope of this book. But an effort will be made to identify his major sources, to evaluate his handling of them relative to certain problems, and to show through the use of footnotes to what degree his account corresponds to or differs from other Western and Chinese sources touching the same topics.

Until mid-century the Spanish in the New World continued to busy themselves with conquest and the development of the rich silver mines of Mexico and Peru. Yet officials and priests in Mexico appear to have cherished unswervingly the hope of extending their activities across the Pacific and of setting up a Spanish colony in the Far East from which both China and Japan might easily be approached. Juan de Zumárraga, the first bishop of Mexico, wished around 1550 to resign his duties in the New World to lead a mission to China. And the establishment of the Portuguese at Macao around 1555 was followed by the renewal of Spanish efforts to open regular maritime relations between New Spain and the Philippines. Legaspi finally succeeded in 1565 in founding a permanent Spanish base in the Philippines and in successfully making the difficult return journey eastward across the Pacific Ocean. Spain was thus readied to become a Far Eastern power in her own right.

Published materials in Spanish were, like those in Portuguese, exceedingly few in number and slender in size until after mid-century. The early chroniclers of the discoveries recount in some detail the Spanish expedition to the Moluccas under Magellan's command but, except for passing references, are generally silent on other Far Eastern areas. So, once the Portuguese materials became more readily available after mid-century, the Spanish writers on Asia naturally drew upon them for their material on China. It was not until about 1570 that news began to return directly to Spain about the contacts which had been made between the Spanish and the Chinese in the Philippines and about the wealth of the China trade. In their early dispatches to Philip II, the Spaniards, both lay and religious, in the Far East, like the Portuguese before them, began to urge the conquest and conversion of the "Middle Kingdom." In 1574, a chart of the south China coast along with a Chinese geographical work was sent to Madrid.[59] Shortly thereafter the Spanish at Manila were attacked by the pirate fleet of

[59] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), pp. xxxix–xl Notice that it was just one decade later that Barbuda's map, the first special map of China, was published by Ortelius. See below, p. 818.

"Limahon" (Lin Fêng), a Cantonese adventurer. The Spanish repelled his attacks, and Manila was visited by a Chinese imperial war junk which was hunting down the pirate. Delighted by the co-operation of the Spanish, the Chinese commander offered to escort envoys from Manila to Fukien. It was for just such an embassy that the Spaniards had long been eager.

The first Spanish mission to China (June-October, 1575) was led by two Augustinian friars, Martin de Rada and Jerónimo Marín, and they were accompanied by two military observers, Miguel de Loarca and Pedro Sarmiento Since this mission to Fukien failed to establish the basis for regular religious and commercial relations, some of the Spanish in the Philippines began to call, even more impatiently than before, for a military expedition against China. In 1576 Dr. Francisco de Sande, the governor of the islands, formally proposed a military attack on China.[60] Philip II replied on April 29, 1577

> As regards the conquest of China which you think should be undertaken forthwith, it has seemed to us here that this matter should be dropped, and that, on the contrary, good friendship should be sought with the Chinese. You should not act or collaborate with the piratical enemies of the said Chinese, nor give them any excuse to have just cause of complaint against our people.[61]

It was in this context that Mendoza became interested in China.[62] At seventeen years of age Mendoza left Spain for Mexico, and in 1564 he entered the Augustinian Order in Mexico City. Since this was just the time when Legaspi and his Augustinian companions left for the Philippines, Mendoza from the beginning of his career had an opportunity to follow closely the growth of the Philippine mission and to be swept along in the tide of enthusiasm for a mission to China which developed around 1570. His first opportunity to participate in these stirring events came in 1573 when he was appointed to accompany to Europe Diego de Herrera, an Augustinian emissary from Manila to the court of Philip II. The king welcomed the Augustinian with his gifts from the East, and responded favorably to his request for more missionaries. Herrera set out in 1575 to return to the Philippines with a company of forty religious. Mendoza remained behind in Europe, and was still in Spain in 1577 when another group of Augustinians, carrying Rada's reports and papers, turned up at court.[63] Jerónimo Marín, Rada's fellow emissary on the mission to Fukien,

[60] See the first official report (dated June 4, 1576) by Sande sent to the home government, therein he suggests, as the Portuguese prisoners did earlier in the century, that "with two or three thousand men one can take whatever province he please . . . for the people would revolt immediately" against their tyrannical rulers The entire document is translated in Blair and Robertson (eds), *op cit.* (n. 52), IV, 21–97

[61] As translated in Boxer, *op cit.* (n 14), p 1 For the later efforts of the Spanish to penetrate continental eastern Asia see above, pp. 298–303, 309–12

[62] For biographical details see Santiago Vela, *op. cit* (n. 53), III, 201–40.

[63] News of this mission also reached London in 1577, for Thomas Nicholas then translated and published a letter from a merchant in Mexico to "his friend dwelling in . Andoluzia," giving "the particular newes, which at that instant [March, 1577] were comen from the great dominion of China." Nicholas' tract, six pages long, is entitled *The Strange and marueilous Newes lately come from the great Kingdome of China* The original is exceedingly rare, but it is reprinted in S E Brydges (comp), *Censuria literaria* (London, 1808), IV, 126–32.

was the leader of this group, and he evidently brought Sande's report with him In response to Marín's request for more missionaries, the king in 1580 delegated Marín, Mendoza, and Francisco de Ortega to lead a mission to China. The following year the mission arrived in New Spain, but it was destined to get no further. Changing political conditions both in Spain and the Philippines led to its suspension. Frustrated in his ambition to reach China, Mendoza returned to Spain. He then went on to Rome in 1583 where he completed the task of collecting, organizing, digesting, and writing the materials which formed the nucleus of the work published two years later.

In the preparation of Part I of his book Mendoza used both primary and secondary materials, though he does not cite his indebtedness to the latter. Through textual references he indicates that he used Cruz,[64] the writings and papers of Martin de Rada and Miguel de Loarca,[65] the account of Duarte Barbosa published in Ramusio's *Viaggi*,[66] personal conversations with Jerónimo Marín,[67] Rada's co-legate, the Chinese books brought to Spain[68] and Rome,[69] the Jesuit letters from China,[70] and the three accounts, published as the second part of his book, of the Spanish friars who had sought on separate occasions to establish missions in China. Textual comparison shows that Part I of Mendoza's book, which contains his composite description of China, is also heavily indebted, though he does not say so, to Escalante's *Discurso*. It is also likely that Mendoza knew the part of the *Suma oriental* by Pires published in Ramusio, that he had read a great many of the Jesuit letters from parts of the East other than China, and that he knew, and probably used, the works of Castanheda and Barros, and had conversations with native Chinese who were then in Mexico and Spain.

Yet a mere listing of Mendoza's many sources, acknowledged and unacknowledged, does not reveal how he came by either direct or indirect access to so large a share of the information on China then available in Europe. To show as many as possible of the roots and tendrils of his account, it is necessary to examine the sources of his main sources. For example, he acknowledges Cruz as a major source, and it appears from textual comparison that Mendoza certainly relied heavily on the Dominican for his account of religious and monastic life in China, customs at Canton, and the prisons, justice, and punishments of the Chinese. But we must further examine Cruz to see how he, and Mendoza through him, came by his information.

[64] Mendoza (in Staunton [ed.], *op cit.* [n. 57], I, 38) refers to Cruz as one "whom I do follow in many things in the proces of this hystorie . . "

[65] In *ibid*, pp 7–8, 12, Mendoza refers to this group "as witnesses of sights whose relation I will follow in the most part of this hystorie."

[66] *Ibid.*, p 33.

[67] *Ibid.*, p 44

[68] See below, pp 778–80 That there were Chinese writings at El Escorial in Mendoza's day is verified by the fact that the Japanese embassy to Europe in 1585 was shown a book which included sample Chinese characters See above, p. 693

[69] See below, p 777 n.

[70] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 171–72.

Cruz had set sail for Goa in 1548, worked on the west coast of India, founded a convent in Malacca, and then sought unsuccessfully in 1555–56 to establish a mission in Cambodia. Disappointed by his failure in Cambodia, he traveled northward to Canton, where he remained for a few months in 1556 to observe and preach. Like other missionaries before and after him, Cruz was shortly forced to leave China. Apparently he then went to Malacca, Ormuz, and finally to Portugal. He arrived at Lisbon at the time of great pestilence in 1568–69, published his book, ministered to the sick, and succumbed to the pestilence himself.[71] He and Barros both died in 1570.

Since Cruz was able to publish his book immediately upon his return to Portugal, it must be concluded that he had it in a state of near completion, at least, before returning to Lisbon. From the astuteness and accuracy of his minute observations on Chinese customs, both religious and secular, it is clear that he probably took detailed notes while at Canton. From his own testimony he had resolved "to give a general survey of their [Chinese] affairs as best I could, both from what I saw, as [well as] from what I read in a compendium composed by a gentleman who was prisoner the land inward, and from what I heard from trustworthy people."[72] But aside from these contemporary sources, Cruz also relied, especially for geographical materials, on Herodotus, on the Ptolemaic and biblical traditions, and on the *Supplementum chronicarum* of Jacopo Filipo Foresti da Bergamo written in the fifteenth century.

The "compendium composed by a gentleman who was a prisoner" refers to the account of Galeote Pereira.[73] Of a Portuguese noble family, Pereira had gone to India in 1534, and was evidently a participant in the trading voyages that the Portuguese were then making along the China coast. But the Chinese determined in 1549, after the appointment of a new imperial commissioner, to end the smuggling trade along the Fukien coast. As a result of this crackdown, Pereira and about thirty other Portuguese were captured and imprisoned in various Fukien and Kwangsi cities. Though a number of the Portuguese and their Chinese confederates were executed, Pereira and a few others were spared and managed to escape to St. John's Island in 1553.[74] Shortly after fleeing the Chinese mainland, Pereira evidently wrote up his recollections. This text was copied in 1561 by the boys at the College of Goa, and a version of it was sent to Europe as an appendix to some Jesuit letters. In 1565 it was published in abridged form in a Venetian compendium of Jesuit letters,[75] and in 1577 Richard Willes included an English translation from the Italian of this abridged account in his *History of Travayle in the East and West Indies* (London). Accounts of their experiences in China were also written by some of the other prisoners

[71] For biographical details see Boxer, *op cit.* (n 14), pp. lviii–lxi Also see above, p. 562.

[72] *Ibid*, p. 55

[73] Text translated in *ibid.*, pp 3–43

[74] Biographical details in *ibid.*, pp l–lv

[75] *Nuoui Auisi Delle Indie di Portogallo, Venuti nuouamente dalli R. padri della compagnia di Giesu & tradotti dalla lingua Spagnola nella Italiana, Quarta parte.*

fortunate enough to escape, but Pereira's was the longest and best of these mid-century descriptions.[76] In fact, one of these other reports was translated as part of the introduction to the English version of Mendoza.[77] But apparently Cruz used only the account of Pereira. He reproduced about one-third of the captive's story, particularly those parts relating to Chinese justice, punishments, and prison life. When coupled with his own astute observations on the customs and religious life at Canton, Cruz was able to produce a better rounded description of social practices in Kwangtung and Fukien than had heretofore been available.

While the accounts by Pereira and Cruz were highly laudatory of Chinese life in general, the tone of Rada's later reports and those of his companions was much more critical. An Augustinian and a Spaniard, Rada worked as a missionary in Mexico before leaving for the Philippines with Legaspi in 1564. In both Mexico and the Philippines he showed himself adept at learning the native languages. In the Philippines he also found time to make astronomical observations and calculations, partly in an effort to show that the Philippines, despite Portugal's claims to the contrary, lay within the Spanish demarcation. Soon the intrepid friar, in his letters sent to Mexico, began to advocate the concentration of all Spanish efforts on the conquest and conversion of China, a land reputedly both wealthy and weak.[78] Upon leaving for China in 1575, Rada and his cohorts were ordered by their superior in Manila that, besides obtaining permission to carry on missionary activities, they should try to get the Chinese "to designate a port for us, where our merchant ships can enter and leave securely," and should seek "to learn the quality of the people of the land."[79]

Although the mission failed in its missionary and commercial objectives, the Spaniards soon learned a great deal about China through the reports, papers, and Chinese books of Rada and his colleagues Rada's second effort to get to China in 1576 misfired completely, for the Chinese captain of the junk carrying him there put Rada and his companions off the vessel shortly after leaving Manila. While he accumulated data on China and prepared a work that has since disappeared on the *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua China*, he lost his life in 1578 before having a further opportunity to advance his China interests. Rada was clearly a man of great religious and scholarly zeal. His interest in Chinese books and letters was conveyed in his reports and in the kinds of materials he gathered and had translated in the Philippines. From these papers and translations, Mendoza was able to learn through Rada many additional details about the history of China, its political and economic organization, and

[76] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p lvi For bibliographical details see Georg Schurhammer, *Die zeitgenossischen Quellen zur Geschichte Portuguesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarlander (1538–52)* (Leipzig, 1932), Nos 4694, 6062, 6107, 6159

[77] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, xxxix–li

[78] For further details see Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), pp lxx–lxxi.

[79] As quoted in *ibid*, p. lxxii.

something about the character of its scholarly tradition. Still, despite the factual nature of Rada's reports and of those of Sande which accompanied them,[80] Mendoza rejected the highly critical attitude of the Spaniards in the Philippines and adopted in his book the tone of admiration for China that may be found in the writings of Barros, Escalante, and Cruz.

Like the reports of Rada, Mendoza's other missionary sources are somewhat more critical of China than the materials relayed to Europe through the Portuguese. In the second part of his work Mendoza gives accounts of three missions to China undertaken by Spanish ecclesiastics stationed in the Philippines. The first of these, the story of Rada's mission of 1575, leaves with the reader a vague but incorrect impression that this first Spanish endeavor was something of a success. The unsuccessful Franciscan mission of 1579 to Canton is reported in paraphrase by Mendoza from the account originally prepared by Friar Augustin de Tordesillas. The final document in Mendoza's book is based on the *Itinerario* of 1584 written by Martin Ignatius de Loyola, a relative of the founder of the Society of Jesus. Although all of these missionaries failed to establish themselves in China, their reports were used by Mendoza in the preparation of Part I where he presents his comprehensive picture of China.

Finally, textual comparison of Mendoza's Part I with Escalante shows beyond dispute the former's debt to the latter. The first three of Mendoza's chapters follow the organizational scheme of Escalante, and in many details, statistics, and anecdotes the two accounts are identical. Throughout the remainder of Mendoza's account there are references to matters not touched upon in Cruz, such as the Chinese state system of social services and military organization. The Chinese characters which Escalante presents and his comments on writing Mendoza follows down to the last detail. Mendoza also includes references to land-ships, the Chinese methods of calking boats, and the Chinese priority in the manufacture of artillery, matters which are to be found only in Escalante and Barros.

If Mendoza can rightfully be charged with plagiarizing, his victims must be identified as Escalante and Barros; he clearly uses material drawn from their works without so much as a passing reference to them personally. He remarks only that a "long time before, there was relation given, by way of the Portingall Indias, by such as dwelt in Macao, and did trafficke to Canton. . . . But this was by relation [hearsay?] so, that the one nor the other could satisfie. . . ."[81]

[80] For Sande's report on China of 1576 see Blair and Robertson (eds.), *op. cit.* (n. 52), IV, 50–66. He remarks that he is enclosing "the originals and translations of the letters from China, together with the residencias and other papers, consisting of a Chinese map and another small map that I had made here, some stories of China, and those that they call 'Flowers of Silver'" (pp. 91–92), and "a book will also be found . . which is a narration of the country, rents, and tributaries of China, which is in substance what is contained on the Chinese map There is also another small book resembling a collection of sea-charts, and some papers upon which are depicted their officials of justice, which are sold in the shops of that land" (p. 93). For the use to which this information might have been put by the cartographer, Barbuda, see below, p. 818.

[81] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), p. 7

Be that as it may, the Portuguese accounts other than Cruz and Escalante's Spanish version of them, were sufficiently "satisfying" for him to use them and to paraphrase them at great length. Thus, through Escalante, Mendoza used indirectly, and probably also directly, the Portuguese information compiled by Barros, and at third-hand he was even able to profit by the observations that had been made in 1524 by the unhappy Portuguese prisoners of Canton. His work, therefore, represents a valuable synthesis of most of the written materials on China then known to Europeans.

3

The "Mightie Kingdome"

What picture of China was it possible for a learned European to obtain after the publication of Mendoza's work in 1585? To answer this question we shall center the discussion which follows about Part I of Mendoza's description. As he organized it, this first part was subdivided into three major sections or books. The ten chapters comprising Book I cover the geographical placement of China, its climate and peoples, products, early history and kings, provincial organization, cities, roads, and architectural wonders, as well as the "dispositions, countenance, and apparell" of its people. The second book deals with religion, marital and death rites, and charity. The final book avowedly is concerned with "morall and pollitike matters," but it is in fact a miscellaneous collection of materials on almost every conceivable subject.

Rather than following Mendoza's rough outline of topics, I will seek in the interests of clarity to organize his description into tighter compartments. It will also be my object to see as far as possible how he uses his sources, how they supplement or differ from his account, and how valid these sixteenth-century materials on Ming China may be considered to be in the light of other available materials. But before discussing the individual topics, it is necessary to remind the reader that most of the impressions and data gathered by these early travelers and emissaries relate mainly to South China, and that much of what they have to say about other places in the Celestial Kingdom was learned at second-hand through informants or the few Chinese books at their disposal. Finally, it should be observed that the better educated observers were inclined to relate what they saw or heard to the corpus of European knowledge and convention about Asia which was a part of their own intellectual heritage. The analysis which follows is thus designed to give in brief scope what these writers knew about China, how their information differed, and how accurately or inaccurately informed they were on particular subjects.

A. POLITICAL ENTITY, ORGANIZATION, AND ADMINISTRATION

The most important discussions of China's name, a constant source of controversy in these years, are given by Cruz and Rada. As a missionary to India, Malacca, and Cambodia, Cruz comments on the widespread use of the name "China" among "those who dwell in the Southern regions," and he notices, like the other writers, that the Chinese most commonly refer to themselves in the sixteenth century as "Tame" (*Ta-ming jen* or Men of the Great Ming). For Cruz and Mendoza, China is "a great part" of the Scythia of Herodotus. But for Rada, who was the first person even tentatively so to identify it, "The country which we commonly call China was called by Marco Polo the Venetian the kingdom of Cathay," thus clearly identifying it with the country visited by the land voyagers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Rada also observes that the Chinese merchants in the Philippines called themselves natives of *Chung-hua* (Middle Flowery Kingdom), and that the Filipinos referred to the Chinese as "Sangley."[82]

The geographical placement of China, the countries on its borders, and the islands off its eastern seaboard were subjects of interest to Mendoza and all of his forerunners. The Augustinian friar places China at "the Orientalist part of all Asia."[83] Cochin-China he calls China's "next neighbour towards the Ponent [West]," a designation which is accurate even though we tend to think today of Cochin-China as being primarily south of China. "The greatest part" of China, he asserts, "is watered with the great Orientall Ocean sea beginning at the Iland Aynan [Hainan]." Burma he places north and west of Cochin-China. Cruz, whom Mendoza followed only occasionally in his placement of China, knew much more about it from his personal experience than the other writers, and he describes more accurately the placement of Champa, Cambodia, and Siam in relation to China. Concerning China's northern and western borders the utmost confusion prevails. Cruz correctly places Russia on China's northern frontier, but falls into abysmal error by making the Don River its western boundary, thus having China, according to Cruz's imperfect geographical conception of continental Asia, bordering "the end of Almayne [Germany]."[84] Unlike Marco Polo, both Cruz and Rada mention and describe the Great Wall as China's northernmost boundary.[85] Mendoza in his report of Father Martin Ignatius de Loyola's journey into China in 1582 says "that from the furthest

[82] A term probably of Tagalog origin that was adopted by the early Spanish writers to designate the Chinese In the seventeenth century is was most commonly applied to the Chinese resident in the Philippines. See Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 260, n 1

[83] Escalante (chap. vi) says that China "lyeth moste Easterly of all Asia "

[84] This misunderstanding about the western boundaries of China implies an astonishing underestimate of the extension of the Asiatic continent Such a gross misconception might also be related to the Portuguese policy of deliberately minimizing the distance from India to the Moluccas. See above, pp. 603–4

[85] This is probably a reflection of the changes which actually occurred in China's boundaries from Mongol to Ming times.

part of this kingdome unto Jerusalem is sixe moneths trauaile by lande."[86] These writers correctly but vaguely place the Liu-ch'iu chain, Japan, and Formosa in the sea east of China. They are generally accurate in their understanding of the relationships of the southern islands—the Philippines, Moluccas, Java, and Sumatra—to the continent. Macao, "which is inhabited by the Portuguese," is situated on the "skirt of the firme land of China."[87]

The Europeans are in complete agreement in expressing their astonishment at China's vast extent and teeming population. They repeat in one way or another the observation that Cruz included in his "Notice to the Readers":

> I hereby give readers a necessary warning by which they can conjecture the greatness of the things of China, viz.—that whereas distant things often sound greater than they really are, this is clean contrary (because China is much more than it sounds), and the sight thereof makes a very different impression from what is heard or read about it. . . . This must be seen and not heard, because hearing it is nothing in comparison with seeing it.[88]

But in reality of course, none of the Europeans of this period from whom we have reports had actually traveled widely in the Celestial Kingdom. The only European authors to travel to Peking before Matteo Ricci, the Jesuit, at the end of the sixteenth century were the "prisoners of Canton" who had accompanied the Pires embassy. And Mendoza, who never got there at all, boldly calls it "the most biggest and populous kingdom that is mentioned in all the world."[89]

On the climate and population of the country, Mendoza tries to present an organized picture derived from odd bits of information gathered from his sources.[90] He comments on the great north-south extension of the country, and inexplicably concludes that it has a temperate climate "like Italy."[91] Cruz reports hearing about a series of earthquakes which struck southern China in 1556, describes the vagaries of typhoons and tidal waves, and tells of great floods in which "infinite people were drowned."[92] About the variegated peoples of China, Mendoza asserts that "the Cantonese are brown like Berbers," the "people of the provinces inwards" are white with some looking like Spaniards and others of the north "more yellow and red" like the Germans.[93] Rada sees the Chinese of Fukien as being "white and well-built."[94] Among the foreigners in China, Pereira saw in his travels Moors, Laotians, Mongols, and

[86] The question of the overland route to China was of concern to Xavier and to many of the early missionary writers See F A Plattner, *Quand l'Europe cherchait l'Asie* (Paris, 1954), p. 126, see also for early discussion of the inner Asian land-route the documents cited in Schurhammer, *op. cit.* n. 76), Nos 4562 and 4713

[87] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit* (n 57), II, 302.

[88] As translated in Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), pp. 56–57.

[89] Mendoza in Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 20.

[90] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, Bk. I, chap. II. Based mainly on Escalante in Frampton (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 48), chap. VII.

[91] Staunton (ed.), *op cit* (n 57), I, 11.

[92] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p. 224 Cf. map legends (below, p. 817) which tell about a great flood in 1557.

[93] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 11.

[94] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 282.

Burmans,[95] and this despite the fact that Chinese law made intercourse difficult and forbade foreigners to reside permanently within the confines of the empire. Portuguese, Spanish, and even Venetians, were also found in China occasionally by the European observers.

All of the writers deal with administration. Cruz explains in more detail than Pereira the various grades of "Louthias" (*lao-t'ai* or officials), their functions, and the system of control (censorate) by which the imperial government exercises watch over the provincial officials. Both writers emphasize the importance of regular monthly reports from the governor to the imperial court, and like earlier commentators are clearly impressed with the postal and courier systems. They also express what amounts to surprise over the power and arbitrariness of the mandarins. Cruz, in particular, utilizes his great talent for observing and describing to show how "all obey their orders and serve them running and with great speed."[96] Rada, like his predecessors, observes that "all their justices and governors have to be from another province and not from that which they administer."[97] The authors agree that the status of Mandarin gives a man "great authority over all the other people."[98] While pointing out that they exercise most of the judicial and administrative functions in the provinces, Pereira is constrained to remark that "the Loutias are an idle generation, without all manner of pastimes, except it be eating and drinking."[99] Cruz observes that the censors "commonly are honest men of affairs and are not disposed to take bribes,"[100] and that they administer justice impartially. Rada observes that the Chinese "are a plain, humble and obliging people, save only the mandarins who set themselves up as gods."[101] To Mendoza, who had never known the mandarins by personal experience, they appear to be just and honest, though somewhat severe and cruel in their punishments. Certainly on the basis of such contradictory evidence, it must be concluded that these writers were neither uncritical admirers nor detractors of the mandarinate.

The Chinese emperor is known to these early European observers only very remotely. The Cantonese prisoners in their letters of 1524 are the only ones who had even been near the court. Still, they all have great curiosity about the emperor. In his report of 1576 to Philip II, Sande remarks: "The king is now a child of thirteen. He has a mother and tutors, and it is about three years since his father died."[102] Pereira was told that "he maketh always his abode in the great city Paquim [Peking]," and that "notwithstanding the hugeness of his kingdom, hath such a care thereof, that every moon (by the moons they reckon

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[97] *Ibid.*, p 302
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 301
[99] Cf Vieira's attitude, above, pp 736–37.
[100] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 159.

their months) he is advertised fully of whatsoever thing happeneth therein" by means of written reports from the provincial officials.[103] Pereira observes that the emperor, unlike European monarchs, never marries outside the country, and that he marries his own daughters "with men of the same kingdom," and his sons to the daughters of important families [104]

The royal kinsmen are assigned "their wives and servants" by the king and are required to live in the provincial cities at the expense of the "cities and provinces."[105] The imperial princes may "never go abroad," and live in protective custody so "that none of them at any time may rebel against him." Furthermore, the emperor "for the greater security of his realm, and the avoiding of tumults, letteth not one in his country to be called lord, except he be of his blood"[106] The emperor himself, says Cruz, "to preserve the greatness and authority of his estate, never goes out" He communicates with nobody "save only eunuchs through whom . . he orders and rules all his kingdom."[107] The emperor "hath as many wives as he listeth" and the succession falls to "the first son that is born unto him of any of his wives . . "[108] The emperor is the only official who can legally condemn a criminal to death. Though the emperor "liveth without knowledge of the true God," he is a rigorous but fair judge who manages a huge realm, maintains peace within and without, and sustains it "commonly in great abundance, prosperity, and plenty."[109]

Like Escalante and Rada, Mendoza divides "this mightie kingdome . . . into fifteen provinces, that every one of them is bigger then the greatest kingdome that we doo vnderstand to be in all Europe."[110] Each of these writers gives

[103] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), pp 6–7 Records of an official Chinese postal service go back to the Han dynasty Under the Ming it was administered by the Board of War (*ping-pu*) through a central office in Peking (*hui-t'ung kuan*) See J K Fairbank and S Y Têng, "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV (1939), 14–15.

[104] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p 30.

[105] *Ibid*, p 40, cf Cruz's account in which he says they are paid "every month from the public revenue of the King" in *ibid*, p 108

[106] *Ibid*, p. 41 From the Yung-lo period (1403–24) princes of the blood were required to refrain from political activities (Hucker, *op cit* [n. 41], p 55)

[107] Between 1565 and 1627 the Ming rulers lived in virtual seclusion in the imperial palace, rarely saw their ministers, and transmitted their orders through trusted eunuchs See Y C. Wang, "Ideas and Men in Traditional China," *Monumenta Serica*, XIX (1960), 230, on the growth of eunuch influence in the Ming period see Hucker, *op cit* (n 41), pp 137–38

[108] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), pp. 186–87 All of the emperor's sons were invested as imperial princes, but the eldest was normally, as Cruz writes, assigned the title of heir apparent (*t'ai tzu*) and quarters in the imperial palace The other sons on reaching maturity were sent to estates of their own in various parts of the empire See Hucker, *loc cit.* (n 36), p 8.

[109] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 210. See Ricci's account for greater detail, also see Mendoza in Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 57), pp 44–46, and Escalante in Frampton (trans), *op. cit.* (n 48), chap. xii.

[110] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 21–22, Pereira had reported that China was divided into "thirteen shires", Cruz repeats this division. Rada's study of the Chinese gazetteers made it possible for him to provide an authoritative description of the political organization of China. Barros had worked out this problem independently and prior to Rada An anonymous prisoner, whose account was one of the earliest published in Europe, also talks about fifteen provinces The Portuguese prisoners at Canton wrote in 1524 that there were fifteen provinces See above, p. 736

different transliterations of the provincial names, though most of them are vaguely identifiable. Rada tries to place some of the provinces geographically,[111] and is far less successful in this effort than Barros had been earlier. Most of Mendoza's sources provide data on the number in each province of what they call the cities (*fu* and *chou*) and towns (*hsien*).[112] Both Rada and Mendoza give figures on the provincial military forces and on the number of households and "tributers" (taxpayers) in each province.[113] But in no case do their figures agree. On the numbers of cities and towns, foot soldiers and horsemen, and taxpayers they are widely at variance. From such continuous and broad discrepancies we can only conclude that Mendoza used a source other than Rada's account for the figures he gives. It is impossible to believe that ordinary errors of transcription could have been responsible for the many statistical differences between them. It is possible that Mendoza obtained his figures from other Chinese works made available to him either in Mexico or Europe, from the Rada translations, or from the *Geography* of Barros, which, though it has never been found, was said to contain a thorough description of China's internal organization taken from Chinese accounts.[114]

The most ambitious and coherent description of the functioning of Ming government is given by Mendoza.[115] None of his predecessors endeavors to present so complete a picture. They particularly do not attempt to describe the operation of the central government in Peking, though Escalante has more to say about it than the others. Mendoza clearly understands that the emperor is the court of final resort in all matters. In Peking, he asserts, the emperor has a council composed of twelve members and a "president."[116] To be a member of this body "is the highest and supremest dignitie

[111] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 265–67.

[112] See above, p 740.

[113] Rada's Chinese source for the military figures is not known See Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 272, n. 2 But for his figures on households and taxpayers he evidently relied on the 1566 edition of the *Kuang-yu-t'u*. See *ibid*, p 276, n 1

[114] Barros writes in his first *Década* (in Cidade and Múrias [eds], *op cit* [n 26], I, 368) "As for the king of China, we can affirm that he is superior to all others in land, people, riches and politeness Because in his state there are fifteen provinces each one of which is a very large kingdom, and in a geography of theirs which we have, the author treats of each province and gives a survey of what it produces, and if the interpretation of the figures is correct it seems to me that they have a greater revenue than all the kingdoms and powers of Europe. And I credit this information, because a Chinese slave whom I purchased to interpret these things for me, also knew how to read and write our language and was apt in matters of arithmetic. . ."

[115] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), Pt I, Book III, chaps. viii–xii, pp 96–120.

[116] The office of prime minister was abolished in 1380 and thenceforth the leading officials acted as personal secretaries of the emperor Mendoza's "council" seems to be a reference to the Grand Secretariat (*nei-ko*), and his "president" a reference to the senior grand secretary The number "twelve" with regard to the councillors is somewhat baffling, for there were only six titles in the Grand Secretariat of the sixteenth century Perhaps he is including the six Ministries (*pu*), along with the six members of the Grand Secretariat In the later years of the Ming period the Grand Secretaries stood above the six ministers in the court's order of precedence Such a hypothesis is strengthened somewhat by the fact that Mendoza, in describing the seating of the council for its deliberations,

that a man can come into," for in all China "there is neither prince, duke, marquesse, earle, nor lord that hath any subiectes, but the king only, and the prince his sonne."[117] Members of the administration "are respected and esteemed for the time of their continuance" as highly as those who "have these titles." Members of the imperial council must be "expert and learned" in many things "the better to prouide for all necessities that shall come." The council sits "ordinarily in the kinges pallace" sometimes in the imperial presence and sometimes by themselves. Mendoza then goes on to describe, perhaps from his imagination, their gold and silver chairs, and their order of precedence "according unto their antiquities." The council has the power of choosing replacements to its own ranks and of appointing viceroys, governors, and other justices, though formal investiture must finally come from the emperor.[118] Addresses to the throne may be made only by the "president," who, when addressing the emperor "is on his knees, and his eyes inclyned to the ground, and never mooueth although the talk endureth two houres."[119] The council is informed every month by the provincial officials[120] on matters "touching warres, the estate of the countrie, the kinges rentes [taxes] or any other things." After the council reviews the reports on local affairs, "the president incontinent [at once] doth give a straight account thereof vnto the king." Thereafter either the emperor himself "or the counsell by his order . . . do put remedie for that this is needfull for the time." If necessary, a censor is "straight wayes appointed" and sent "with great secrecie that it is not known, no not in the citie where the fault is committed."

Mendoza's description of the operation of the central authority in Ming China is hypothetical, piecemeal, and inaccurate in some details Yet he does manage to bring out the cardinal idea that the major function of the central authority was to follow, check upon, and stimulate the activities of the various provincial

---

has six of the council members sitting in gold chairs and six on silver chairs Cf the account in Y C. Wang, *loc cit* (n. 107), pp 229–30 Also see C O Hucker, "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period," in J K. Fairbank (ed), *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 138–39

[117] The Ming retained most of the aristocratic titles traditional in China Military officers and civil officials who had rendered extraordinary service were given such titles as dukes, marquises, and earls Some of these were hereditary titles and some were not, all recipients were given annual stipends from the imperial treasury But, as Mendoza implies, nobles in China received no territorial grants and possessed no political authority by virtue of their patents of nobility For further detail see Hucker, *loc cit.* (n 36), pp 8–10

[118] The idea that the "council" met regularly is probably incorrect Cf the description in Hucker, *loc. cit* (n 116), p. 139, which says "On paper, as it were, there was no such thing as a Grand Secretariat, there were only individual grand secretaries ." Actually the grand secretaries had no formal regularized powers, but in practice they, along with the eunuchs, probably had very real influence in the appointment, promotion, and demotion of officials at all levels

[119] Certainly the senior grand secretaries probably had easier access to the throne than lesser lights, for they sometimes attained to "almost the same level of authority as that enjoyed formerly by a prime minister" (*Ibid*)

[120] Governors were also expected to journey to the capital to report and deliberate once each year. Hucker, *op. cit.* (n 41), p 82.

administrators rather than to initiate or strictly control local actions. He also notices that the governmental structure was roughly divided into administrative, military, and surveillant hierarchies. Perhaps the most striking omission in his account is the failure to comment on the power and influence of the eunuchs, even though most of his sources clearly indicate how influential they were.[121]

On matters of local administration Mendoza agrees in general with the other writers, but he again presents a more complete picture. Peking and Nanking he recognizes as metropolitan provinces "gouerned by the supreme counsell of the king"[122] The other thirteen provinces are each under an "Insuanto" (governor)[123] who is "constantly resident . . . in the metropolitaine cities."[124] But the viceroy, who may control one or more provinces, is above the governor for he is "supreme magistrate in place of the king,"[125] though it must be remarked that the governor "hath verie little less maiestie than the viceroy." The imperial commissioner who is "resident in any citie where as is neither viceroy nor governor" is called the "Tutuan" (*tu-t'ang*).[126] The third in the provincial hierarchy "in dignitie" is the comptroller[127] who gathers "the kinges reuenewes" through a staff of collectors. He must render account to the *tu-t'ang* "after that he hath paide all kinds of wages and charges ordinarie and extraordinarie due to any officer of the kinges in all that prouince." The "fourth degree or dignitie" is held by the "capitaine-generall of all souldiers" called "Totoc."[128] The next official in the hierarchy is the provincial chief justice who, among other duties, "doth determine with his counsell of matters in difference, whatsoever that do appeale vnto him from other meaner iustices."[129] The final provincial official in Mendoza's list is called the "Aytao",[130] his function is to provide soldiers, ships, munitions, and supplies "for the suppli-

[121] For example, Cruz comments "And because the eunuchs are those with whose counsel the offices are distributed, they are many times mightily bribed by the Louthias [officials] in order that these may receive promotion" (Boxer, *op cit* [n 14], pp 153–58)

[122] The area around Peking and the auxiliary capital of Nanking were not really referred to as provinces. They were called "directly-attached" areas, and were, as Mendoza indicates, governed directly by the central administration At Nanking a "skeleton" central authority was retained See Hucker, *op cit* (n 41), p 68

[123] Mendoza calls him "Insuanto" after Rada See Boxer, *op cit* (n. 14), p 249, n 1, who identifies this title as *Hsing-ch'uan-tao*, or *Heng-tsoân-tō* (meaning governor or inspector of Hsing-hua and Chuan-chou) in the Amoy vernacular

[124] Mendoza indicates (in Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n. 57], I, 101) that the province "doth commonly beare the name" of its metropolitan city. This problem is also commented upon by Ricci See the translation of his journal into English in L J Gallagher, S J, *China in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1953), p. 52.

[125] He calls the viceroy the "Comon." For details on this title see Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 249, n. 4.

[126] See above, n. 40.

[127] Mendoza gives "ponchasi" as his title, in modern transliteration this is certainly *pu-chêng-shih* See above, n 41

[128] See explanation of this transliteration in Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14) pp 249–50, n 5, who derives it from *Ti-tu* or *The-tok* in the Amoy vernacular

[129] *An-ch'a-shih* in modern transliteration, "Anchasi" to Mendoza.

[130] *Hai-tao-fu-shih* or Vice-Commissioner of Maritime Affairs.

ment of garisons in cities and coastes." And he is charged with examining "such strangers that do come to any province."

But more interesting than Mendoza's list of provincial officials is his understanding and evaluation of their functioning. He clearly believes that provincial government in the late Ming period was operated at each level on a collegiate basis.[131] But as in his description of the central authority, he, and Escalante before him, are probably too neat in their ordering of the system. Each of the six leading provincial officers "hath in societie or counsell tenne" men "of great experience and diligence . . . who help him in the . . . dispatch of matters." When they meet in the palace of the viceroy, "their sociates are diuided into two partes, five of them do sit on the right hande of the president, and five on the left hand." The right side, which is the place of honor, is given to the senior and prominent councillors. These councils, like the royal council described by Mendoza, have the power to replace their president, if he "doo die," by one of the "auncientest of the counsellors." Then after extolling the "morall vertue" of the Chinese officials, Mendoza gives a list of eleven lesser administrators and military offices with a brief description of the function attached to each.[132] Following Cruz, he concludes by mentioning that "above all these dignities and offices," there is an official called "Quinchay" (*ch'in-ch'ai* or Imperial Commissioner), a name "which is to be understood in their language 'the golden seale.'"[133]

Provincial governors and justices, according to Mendoza, are chosen by the emperor with the "consent of his counsell." The councillors and the emperor investigate "with a particular diligence of the qualitie and behaviour of the person that shall be elected." Under no circumstances may a viceroy, governor, or councillor be "a naturall of the country that he is prouided for." The object of this rule is to facilitate "the executing of good iustice,"[134] When officials are traveling on duty, the court, much to the astonishment of all the European writers, provides horses, hostels, food, servants, and entertainment for the officials and "all is of free cost." Moreover, the emperor "doth pay them all sufficient wages, for that it is forbidden vpon great penalties to take bribes or any other thing of any clyent."

Judges may not "consent to be visited of any clyents in their houses," must pronounce sentence in public and "in presence of all the officers," and are

[131] For a judgment which confirms this to a degree see Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, *The Government and Politics of China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 43.

[132] I have not been able to determine the Chinese originals of these transliterations. See the list compiled from the letters of the Portuguese prisoners in Ferguson, *loc. cit.* (n. 2), pp. 448–49.

[133] See below, p. 761 n.

[134] Cristavão Vieira, one of the prisoners who wrote from Canton in 1524, claims that this custom led to injustice. See above, p. 736. On the other hand, Barros (in Cidade and Múrias [eds.], *op. cit.* [n. 26], III, 93), extols this practice and compares it with a similar system instituted in Portugal to make certain that magistrates should not be exposed to undue influence by local ties of friendship or family. Pereira's comparison of the prevailing practice in Europe was so unfavorable to Europe that the censor, or the publisher who brought out his account, excised sections before printing it (see Boxer, *op. cit.* [n. 14], p. 19, n. 2).

forbidden "to take wine while on duty." Justice "being executed in publike (which is maruelously observed and kept), it is not possible" for officials to take bribes. The judges "in all matters of laws . . . do nothing but by writing" and examine witnesses in public ". . . because no subtility nor falsehood shall be used in their demaundes. . . ." Every witness is examined before all the concerned parties, "and if he do double in his declaration," then they confront him with his gainsayers. If confrontation and cross-examination fail to bring the truth to light, "then doo they give them torments to make them confesse." In matters of great importance or in affairs touching "grand personages, the iudges . . . with their own handes will write the declaration of any witnesse." This practice Mendoza commends as one that "ought to be imitated of all good iustices."

But justice in China is not simply a matter of trial and punishment. The system seeks to prevent crime through community surveillance based on the principle of mutual responsibility In the cities and towns the houses are numbered and divided into groups of "ten and ten" households.[135] On the tenth house they "do hang a . . . signe whereon is writen the names of those ten householders" along with an admonition that "any having knowledge" that "another of the ten has committed any trespasse or fault against any of the rest" shall go "straight way and giue the iustice to vnderstand thereof, that the fault may be punished, with a mendment vnto the offender, and an example to al other." Should a person know of an offence and not report it, he "is allotted the same punishment yt the offender should have." Such neighbors "lieuth vnder feare, least they should giue occasion to be complained of" or "that their enimies may not this way take any aduantage." A person who moves his domicile to another place is required to give advance notice of ten days, so "that if he do owe any thing, or any thing be lent, they may come and demaund it" before his departure. Should he leave without giving notice, "the iustice doth compell the rest of his neighbours yt are written on the signe to pay his debt, because they did not aduise the iustice or his creditors before his departure." If a person will not meet his obligations, he is imprisoned and given a limited time to meet his debts. Should he not be able to pay in the time allotted, "they doo whippe him moderately" and give him another date by which he must

[135] This is a reference to the *pao-chia* system The imperial government from antiquity customarily held the various clans responsible for their individual members. Chinese cities were in reality a collection of villages with headmen, who acted as elders of the city ward and borough, being responsible for policing, the collection and payment of taxes, and the maintenance of peace. The *Ta-ch'ing-hui-tien* ("Collected Statutes of the Ch'ing Dynasty") ordained (Bk 17) "Ten households make a *pai* (tithing), each *pai* shall have a headman. Ten *pai* make a *chia*, each *chia* shall have a chief Ten *chia* make a *pao*, each *pao* shall have a director. These heads of the *pai*, *chia*, and *pao* shall each be elected by the ten heads of the groups which he represents" (as translated in E T. Williams, *China Yesterday and Today* [London, n d], p 118). This practice was preserved into the Chinese republic and is the subject of Chapter IX of the "Organizational Outline of Various Graded Units in the *Hsien*" promulgated by the National Government on September 19, 1939 (see *China Handbook* [New York, 1947] pp. 125–26) For a similar description of the Manchu system of local security see T'ung-tsu Ch'u, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass , 1962), pp. 150–52.

satisfy his creditors. This process goes on until the debtor either pays or "till he die with punishments." Thereafter, Mendoza, like the other writers, dwells on the "cruel torments" administered by the Chinese courts to elicit confessions.[136] From this account it can readily be seen that Mendoza and his informants understood many of the pragmatic details of Chinese justice and possessed some comprehension of the amount of attention given to mutual responsibility and crime prevention, to confession before punishment, and to torture and exemplary punishments.[137]

The interrelated policies of surveillance and mutual responsibility were carried over, as Mendoza sees it, into the administration of imperial China. Basing himself squarely upon his written sources, Mendoza tries to present a connected and coherent account of the role of the censorate in maintaining watch over the administration, in purging officials who violated the law or were derelict in performing their duties, and in stimulating the hierarchy to implement policies favored in Peking.[138] The emperor requires that all high officials "should execute their offices well and vprightly . . . for in the end of three yeares that their gouernment doth indure, they do take of them in residence straight account by the aidges thereof, who bee called Chaenes."[139] Every year "visitors that be called 'Leachis,'[140] are sent secretly" into every province. They inquire into "all griefes and iniustices" and are endowed with "so great

[136] Certain tortures were apparently legal in Ming times, while others were proscribed. For illegal and legal tortures and punishments in the nineteenth century see J Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese* (London, 1868), pp. 268–79.

[137] S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1901), I, 382–83, remarks ". . . the great leading principles by which the present Manchu administration preserves its power over the people consist in a system of *strict surveillance* and *mutual responsibility* among all classes. . . . The effect of these two causes upon the mass of the people is to imbue them with a great fear of the government . . . which necessarily undermines confidence and infuses mutual distrust. . . ."

[138] For a general summary of the censorate's history see Richard L. Walker, "The Control System of the Chinese Government," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, VII (1947), 2–21, for a more detailed summary of the censorate of the Ming dynasty see Charles O. Hucker, "The Traditional Chinese Censorate and the New Peking Regime," *American Political Science Review*, XLV (1951), 1042–52 and the same author, *op. cit.* (n 41).

[139] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit* (n. 57), I, 112. "Chaenes" is probably a transliteration of *Ch'a-yuan*, an abbreviation of *Tu-ch'a-yuan* (censorate) Cf Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p. 6, n. 4. I am not certain of the precise meaning of Mendoza's words in this quotation He seems to state that officials were appointed for terms of three years If so, he may be in error, though most of his contemporaries bear him out. Hucker, *op cit.* (n. 41), p. 82, states that the governors' tenure "seems to have been indefinite and sometimes extended to ten and even twenty years " Reports on personnel were sent to the capital on all subordinate personnel at the end of the third year of tenure, at which time they were given a merit rating (*ibid*, pp 91–92). If Mendoza means to state that the "Chaenes" visit the provinces on inspection tours every three years, he may there be referring either to the *Ti-hsueh* (Literary Chancellor) who was appointed triennially from Peking, or perhaps to the periodic visits of the *Ch'in-ch'ai* (Imperial Commissioner)

[140] Sir George T. Staunton, the editor of Mendoza, conjectures (*op. cit.* [n. 57], I, 113, n. 1) that this is a transliteration of a combination of the Chinese words for "code" (*lu*) and "rule" (*chi*), or a judge Actually, Mendoza is here referring to the Provincial Inspectors (*Hsun-an chien-ch'a yu-shih*) who were expected to make annual "visits of inspection to all localities within their respective jurisdictions and to investigate the conduct of all government personnel." (See Hucker, *loc. cit.* [n. 138], p. 1045)

authoritie" that they may punish, suspend, and reprieve officials or others.[141] Mendoza then recounts the elaborate precautions which he avers that the Censorate went to in its efforts to keep the visitations a strict secret. After completing his inspection, the censor concludes his tour of duty by meeting with the governor or viceroy and his council. Here he speaks at length and praises "all such as have well executed their offices" and promises that he will "give the king and his counsell large account of their good service, that they might be rewarded according as they do deserue."[142] The censor also tells "in summe all such things wherein he hath found them culpable," and notes that from his "sentence" there might be no appeal. The censors often "visite the colleges and schooles, such as the king hath ordained of his own cost," examine the students, promoting those who "doe profite themselues in their studies,"and punish the delinquent by expulsion, whipping, or imprisonment.[143] While not complete in its details, Mendoza's understanding of the function of the censorate in Chinese government and society is generally reliable. And he understands that fear of the Censorate exercises a restraining influence so "that euerie one dooth liue (as the prouerbe sayth) with their face discouered."[144]

Peace and justice are served in this "mightie kingdome" by numerous large prisons in which life is "terrible and cruell." In every capital city there are "throughout al these prouinces thirteene prisons"[145] which are so large and so heavily populated that they are likened to walled cities. Pereira observes that "no theft or murder is at any time pardoned." There are so many people in prison because they are kept there so long, even though "it be for a small matter."[146] This can be accounted for because the judges have so many other affairs to attend to and because they "take deliberation in their sentences." They are so slow in the execution of sentences that it happens "that men being condemned to die, doo remaine so long in prison after their condemnation, that they die with pure age" or of illness. Four of the thirteen prisons are always occupied "with prisoners condemned unto death."[147] The prisons are guarded by a captain with one hundred soldiers. The warden of the prison keeps written record of the inmates' names, "for to be accountable of them at all times when they shalbe demaunded of him by the iudges or vizroies." Following Cruz's

[141] Cf *ibid*, p. 1046 for a summary of the responsibilities and powers of the Provincial Inspectors. Officials of the lower ranks could be seized, tried, and punished by these "judges at large."

[142] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 115. This can be construed as a reference to the censors' obligation to provide the crown and the civil service with merit ratings of the officials in their area of jurisdiction (cf. Hucker, *op. cit.* [n. 41], p. 93).

[143] Cf. Hucker, *loc cit.* (n. 138), p. 1046. Censors with the *chin-shih* degree often served as examiners at the metropolitan level See Wang, *loc. cit.* (n 107), p. 235.

[144] Cf the quotation from the *Yuan-shih* as translated in Hucker, *loc. cit.* (n. 138), p. 1052. "The censorate is like a sleeping tiger. Even if it does not bite men, men still dread its tigerishness."

[145] Where Mendoza gets these precise figures, I do not know.

[146] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p. 21.

[147] Pereira says (*ibid.*, p. 22) that three prisons in each city are reserved for those condemned to death.

account, Mendoza describes the shackling and manacling of prisoners condemned to death. Those who have "nothing to maintaine themselves" are granted from the emperor "a pittance of rice" and to better their lot "they do worke what they may." Death sentences must always be confirmed by the emperor.

All executions in peacetime are deferred until the annual visitation of the censors.[148] Those who are on the condemned list are then interviewed "in the presence of these iudges that did condemn them." They conduct several such meetings "to see if by an meanes they can save them." Death is inflicted, Mendoza asserts, by "hanging, setting vpon stakes, quartering, and burning, but there is none that is burned, but such as be traitors to the king."[149] Executions are performed in public and thieves are whipped "throughout the common streetes with great shame." Most of the thieves die of the severe whippings. The judges are always present on such occasions and "for that they not be moved to compassion . . . they doo occupie themselves in banqueting or other pastimes." Every year, he asserts, "more than six thousand persones"[150] in each province die as a result of execution, whipping, or while languishing in prison. Even Mendoza, with his great admiration for Chinese institutions, obviously feels that the Chinese system of prisons and punishments is far from exemplary.

Mendoza's primary objective in his discussion of administration is to present a comprehensive and coherent account of its structure and functioning. His sources, limited and inadequate as they were, provided him with enough material to enable him to paint a plausible picture of the central administration, the provincial hierarchy, the system of justice and surveillance, the censorate, and prison conditions. None of his sources singly gave him a total image comparable to what he was able to produce in Europe by piecing together numerous odd bits and pieces of information. His achievement was something of a *tour de force* in deduction and rationality.

But like many constructions of the mind, Mendoza's description of Chinese government is too neat to be a faithful reflection of reality. Nowhere, for example, does he affirm, as Cruz and Rada do, that corruption and bribery were widespread at all levels of government and justice. Nor does he mention the role played in government by the expanding eunuch corps of the Ming dynasty. In practically all of his other discussions, he likewise avoids pointing directly to the ills or inconsistencies within the Chinese system of government. This is not to say that he is entirely blind to irregularities. Particularly in his description of the censorate, he implies that Chinese officials, despite their "morall vertue"

[148] According to the law, capital punishment had to be confirmed by Peking and executed only at the autumn assizes. Cf. *ibid*, p. 22, n. 2.

[149] These punishments sound much more European than Chinese. In Manchu times, at least, the legal death penalties were beheading and strangulation. Political offenders were usually banished. See Doolittle, *op. cit.* (n. 136), pp. 271–74. For more detailed discussions of the death penalty in China by contemporary observers see Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), pp. 21–23, 177–78, 197, 301.

[150] Again it is impossible to determine where Mendoza got his figures.

and educational qualifications, their high salaries, and their fear of the stringent punishments prescribed for corruption, frequently yield to temptation. He charges that "the iudges and ministers are seuere and cruell,"[151] the treatment of prisoners terrible, and the punishments barbarous. Yet, in the final analysis, he concludes that, despite irregularities and cruelties, "this mightie kingdome is one of the best ruled and gouerned of any that is at this time knowen in all the world. . . ."[152]

B. ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND CRAFTS

The European writers comment almost as one on the extent, fertility, and productivity of agricultural China. They agree harmoniously with Cruz that the land is intensively cultivated and that "only the mountains that are beaten with weather remain unprofitable."[153] Pereira remarks about coastal south China: "The country is so well inhabited that no one foot of ground is untilled."[154] "Nothing is lost," observes Cruz, "for even the dung of men yields profits."[155] Rice, "the chief prouision of the [south] country," is in abundant supply "for there are many great ricefields which yield two or three crops every year."[156]

In numerous ways the Europeans comment on the density of population in the countryside. Mendoza observes that "the great travell and continual laboure of the inhabitants of this countrie is a great help unto the goodness and fertilitie thereof."[157] But none of the European commentators, perhaps quite understandably in the light of their limited knowledge and their own backgrounds, seeks to analyze or explain how so much poverty could exist in a "countrie so fertill and fat."[158] Cruz suggests, however, that great natural disasters—typhoon, famine, or flood—help to produce poverty, thieves, and pirates.[159]

Particularly interesting to the Europeans are the techniques and contrivances used in agricultural production. After commenting on the practice of regular fertilization of the soil, Rada remarks:

[151] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 116

[152] *Ibid*

[153] Boxer, *op cit* (n. 14), p. 120

[154] *Ibid*, p 8

[155] *Ibid*, pp. 129, 294

[156] *Ibid*, p 131 This is a reference to the introduction and spread of early ripening rice and the double-cropping system

[157] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n. 57), II, 166

[158] *Ibid*, I, 12 Actually in the first ten years of the Wan-li era (1572–82), China seems to have been making an economic recovery Cf Hucker, *loc cit* (n 116), p 133.

[159] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p 128 On the problem of poverty the European writers are not always in complete agreement. Rada (in Boxer, *ibid*, p 294) says "most of the people are poor " Mendoza (in Staunton [ed], *op cit.* [n. 57], I, 66–67), while acknowledging that there are poor people in China, emphasizes (cf. below, pp 775–76) how the family and the state handle poverty and related social problems.

Most of their husbandry is by irrigation, in so far as we could see, and greatly abounds in rivers and waters With certain buckets fixed to wooden water-wheels, they easily irrigate all their crops, and even on top of the hills they have irrigated crops [160]

Mendoza reports that "different vnto the use of Spain," they plow with but a single buffalo guided by "one vpon his backe . . . with a corde made fast to a ring at his nose, which serued in steede of a bridle." [161] Pereira observes that "all this country is full of rivers," [162] which are "commodious for passage from one city to the other," [163] and everywhere, even inland, there is "so great plenty of divers sorts of fish, that it is wonderful to see." [164] And on their rivers, Mendoza writes, "there dwelleth so much people . . . in shippes and barkes that it seemeth to be some great citie." [165] And "alongest the riuer side (whereas it was not inhabited) . . [it] was full of corn [grain] fields." [166] "They have mills," Rada observes, "both to cleanse the rice from the straw as to make meal, and they are both hand mills, although we saw a few water mills." [167]

Each of the writers lists the main agricultural and food products in some detail, laying stress especially upon the abundance of pork, fish, seafood, poultry, and fruits. Cruz in particular, though he was but a short time in Kwangtung, writes at length about the Chinese method of raising fish in ponds, [168] and about the poultry and pigs which are everywhere underfoot. But perhaps most surprising to the modern reader is the insistence of the sixteenth-century writers that the Chinese have a "great store of beef, and of buffaloe's flesh which is like beef." [169] Mendoza gives a detailed and coherent account of raising ducks at Canton on river boats in such quantity "that they sustaine a great part of the country therewith." [170] Like certain nineteenth-century writers, [171] Mendoza is much impressed with the ingenuity of the Chinese in devising methods for hatching duck eggs with "artificial help." And like Odoric of Pordenone in the fourteenth century, Mendoza and his sources comment on river fishing with cormorants by communities of boats. [172] All the writers emphasize that cormorant fishing is a royal monopoly, and Pereira asserts that the king even furnishes fishing barges for the use of his greatest

[160] Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), p. 293.
[161] Staunton, (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), II, 166.
[162] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p. 34
[163] *Ibid.*, p 6.
[164] *Ibid* , p. 32.
[165] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 148.
[166] *Ibid.*, II, 166.
[167] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p 293
[168] See *ibid.*, pp. 151–52, for further details on fish cultivation
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 131. Perhaps our modern judgment is just the reverse, since the store of beef in the West has increased so considerably over the last two centuries
[170] Staunton (ed), *op. cit* (n 57), I, 153. See the less detailed account given three centuries later in Williams, *op cit* (n 137), I, 778–79.
[171] For example, see William C. Milne, *Life in China* (London, 1857), pp. 381–82.
[172] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), pp. 42–43, and Staunton (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 57), I, 154–56.

magistrates.[173] Escalante alleges that a part of the catch by the cormorants "the king doth give to his officers, and the rest is distributed for the prouision of his cities and to increase his revenues."[174]

Cruz, in commenting on the "fullness of the land" observes that they grow many garden vegetables, fruits, and nuts that he could recognize. There are, he notices, "three kinds of sweet oranges."[175] "None can get his fill" of the litchi nut, Cruz insists, for it "always leaveth a desire for more."[176] Mendoza, but not the other writers, asserts that between their chestnut trees "they doo sow maiz, which is the ordinarie foode of the Indians of Mexico and Peru."[177] And they also grow "many herbs for medicines, as very fine rhubarb, and of great quantitie."[178] Finally, Mendoza alleges, though the earlier writers do not always bear him out, that they have "white and good sugar," probably both cane and beet, in "great store,"[179] a great abundance of honey and wax,[180] "hempe for the cawlking of their ships, and to make ropes and hasers," and "flax, wherewith the common people doo apparell themselves."[181] And, he comments, that "on their drie and tough landes, although they be stonie, they gather great store of cotton wooll."[182]

[173] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 42 On co-operative fishing see J Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese* (Hongkong 1903), pp. 181–82. Ball also asserts (p 183) that "cormorant fishing was practiced both in France and England in the seventeenth century." None of the commentaries of Manchu times refer to it as "royal fishing," or allude to a royal monopoly On commenting about the problem of monopoly, B. Laufer says that he was able to find "nothing alluding to a cormorant monopoly or special taxation" in the Chinese sources. "The Domestication of the Cormorant in China and Japan," in *Anthropological Series* ("Field Museum Publications," Vol. XVIII, No 3 [Chicago, 1931]), p 241

[174] Frampton (trans), *op. cit* (n. 48), chap. x.

[175] Probably the pomelo, grapefruit, and kumquat. See for further commentary, Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), p. 133, n. 1.

[176] *Ibid.*, p 133.

[177] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 15. Maize was probably introduced into southwestern China around 1530 from India and Burma, after mid-century it came into the coastal provinces via the sea route The earliest reference to maize in Chinese literature is found in the 1555 edition of the history of Kung-hsien, a district in western Honan province See for documentation and further comment Ho Ping-ti, "The Introduction of American Food Plants into China," *American Anthropologist*, N. S , LVII (1955), 193–94

[178] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 17, also Cruz in Boxer, *op cit.* (n 14), p. 127, n. 2

[179] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 15 Sugar refining was discussed in at least one of the Chinese encyclopedias compiled in the late years of the Ming dynasty See L C Goodrich, *A Short History of the Chinese People* (rev. ed , New York, 1951), pp. 142, 208–9

[180] Ricci writes at the beginning of the seventeenth century "Sugar is much more commonly used among the Chinese than honey, although both are abundant in the country" (as translated by Gallagher, *op cit* [n 124], p 16) Ricci also mentions wax and observes that the Chinese have two kinds, other than that which they get from the bees For a more recent discussion of these two types, vegetable wax and insect wax, see Samuel Couling, *Encyclopedia Sinica* (London, 1917), p. 594

[181] On "flax" for clothing Mendoza may be incorrect Cruz reports (in Boxer, *op cit* [n 14], p. 137) that they have linen clothing which the poor wear "because it costs so little " Ricci (in Gallagher [trans], *op cit.* [n. 124], p 13) asserts that the Chinese have no knowledge of linen, but that "for summer use they make a rough cloth from the fiber of hemp and certain other plants " Hemp was apparently indigenous in China, for records of hemp clothes and cords go back to the Shang period See Goodrich, *op cit* (n 179), p 17. Flax was probably introduced into China sometime before the sixth century (*ibid* , p. 113).

[182] Ricci says (in Gallagher [trans], *op. cit.* [n. 124], p. 13) that "cotton seed was introduced to this country only forty years ago." But cultivation of cotton and cotton cloth was general in China, beginning sometime shortly after the twelfth century (Goodrich, *op. cit* [n. 179], p. 150).

Silks and musk, "which are principal goods the Portugals do buy in China,"[183] are cheap and in great abundance. Mendoza, following Cruz, gives a highly imaginary account of how musk is obtained, though both writers know it is derived from an animal.[184] Their silk, Mendoza judges, "dooth esceed very much the silk of Granada," and their silken materials have "very perfite colours."[185] Mendoza avers that it is as common for the people of "this countrie to weare silke, as in Europe to weare lynnen."[186] They breed many beasts for furs, and sables are particularly numerous and fine.[187] Cruz reports that timber, especially for making ships, is plentiful and cheap,[188] and Mendoza stresses that they possess a "kinde of glew . . . that is much more tougher and stronger than the pitch we use . ."[189] Bamboo is used for whipping canes and in the manufacture of paper. Iron is also cheap, good, and plentiful.[190]

Rada asserts that there are "mines, of all kinds of metals," including iron, copper, lead, tin, mercury, silver, and gold. He gives a list of the main districts where gold and silver are mined,[191] and Mendoza makes clear that the crown controls rigorously the mining of precious metals.[192] Rada comments on the greater relative value of silver in China than in Europe by observing that "he who will make good market" in China "carrieth silver rather than goods."[193] Rada mentions a pearl fishery off Kwangtung, and Mendoza amplifies this meager comment by asserting that pearls are abundant "but the most part of them are not rounde."[194]

For the Iberians, China, like New Spain, obviously was of interest in terms of its precious metals and jewels. But if they really had hopes of finding natural

[183] Cruz in Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 190

[184] *Ibid*, pp 76–77, and Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 16.

[185] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 14

[186] *Ibid*, II, 286–87

[187] *Ibid*, I, 16 Furs were probably imported from the northern border peoples and not domestically produced

[188] Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), p 111. The common Chinese fir (*Cunninghamia lanceolata*) must have seemed abundant to an observer from Iberia, where most of the wood for ship-building had to be imported.

[189] Staunton (ed.), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 148, 150 This "Ciaco," as the Portuguese called it, was also noticed by Ricci (Gallagher [trans.], *op cit* [n 124], p 17) Escalante (in Frampton [trans.], *op cit* [n. 48], chap. x), following Barros, gives a much more detailed description of their pitch and tells how they use it for calking boats. Williams, *op. cit* (n 137), I, 752, remarks of their boats· "Most of them are constructed of fir or pine, the seams are caulked with rattan shavings and paid over with a cement of oil and gypsum "

[190] Cruz in Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 111 For a description of the iron workings in southeastern China during the Manchu period see Williams, *op cit.* (n 137), I, 96.

[191] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), pp 293–94.

[192] Goodrich, *op cit.* (n 179), p 199, notes that the mining taxes, on which Mendoza places heavy emphasis, were increased drastically in 1596, presumably to meet the costs of the war in Korea.

[193] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p. 130.

[194] Staunton (ed.), *op cit* (n 57), I, 18. Pearls are found in southern China (see Williams, *op cit.* [n 135], p. 350), but nowadays not in abundance Marco Polo, however, tells (in H Yule and H Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo* [New York, 1903], II, 53) of a lake in Yunnan where the supply was so vast that the Khan would not allow them to be gathered because they would then lose their value. Nevertheless, it would seem that most of the pearls in China were imported from India and other places.

mineral wealth in the Middle Kingdom, they were doomed to disappointment. Gold is cheaper than in Europe, "but silver is more worth."[195] There is no gold or silver money in China, "but only current weight of gold and silver."[196] Wherefore "every one that goeth to market carrieth a weight and balance and broken silver."[197] Stamped copper coins ("cash") are the only form of recognizable specie.[198] None of the writers mentions paper money.[199]

Considerable detail is given on the imperial revenues and the tax system Mendoza, like Rada, gives a list of the revenues and the sources from which they come; but again the two lists are not in agreement. Mendoza's is the fuller, though it does not include the local tax "which is paide unto garisons and souldiers . . . ," or that "which is spent in repairing of walles of particular cities, and in men of warre at sea, and campes by land," or that which is paid "to gouernoures and iustices."[200] The revenues of the emperor are derived, he asserts, by taxing the mining of gold, silver, and precious stones, as well as from the production of pearls, musk, amber, and porcelain. The emperor also taxes land, "and they do pay him with part of the croppe," and "they do not possesse one foote of land but they pay tribute in respect whereof."[201] Payments in kind are made in rice, barley, wheat, salt, maize,[202] millet, panic-grass, silk (raw and processed), and cotton (raw and processed).[203] The emperor maintains "great treasories in all the principal cities."[204]

[195] See comment in Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 18 [196] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 128

[197] *Ibid* , p. 129. Here he also gives the names of a number of Chinese weights and a description of the steelyard used for weighing.

[198] *Ibid.* Cruz saw "cash" in Canton, and Rada used them at Ch'uan-chou in Fukien Mendoza (in Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n 57], I, 35) says that the "cash" are worthless outside of Ch'uan-chou On the depreciation of Ming currency see Lo, *loc cit* (n 1), pp 155–56

[199] This is quite in contrast to the amount of attention paid to paper money by European travelers to China in the time of the Yuan dynasty. However, this omission is quite understandable, for by the middle of the fifteenth century, silver, instead of paper, had become the major medium of exchange in China. In the sixteenth century paper notes practically ceased to circulate See Yang Lien-sheng, *Money and Credit in China A Short History* (Cambridge, Mass , 1952), p 67

[200] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 82–83 [201] *Ibid*

[202] In certain scattered districts, where maize had become an important crop, it was possibly used in lieu of other cereals for payment in kind But most of the tax in kind, according to Chinese official sources, was paid in rice and wheat. For further comment and documentation see Ho Ping-ti, *loc cit* (n 177), pp 195–96

[203] Staunton (ed), *op. cit* (n 57), I, 82–83. Actually, very little is known even yet about the details of taxation in Ming China Pereira notes (in Boxer, *op cit* [n 14], p 33) that salt produces "the greatest revenues that the king hath in this country," but it is not possible to determine from the figures of Rada and Mendoza whether or not they concur in this judgment We also know that tax payments in China were being commuted in the course of the sixteenth century from payments in kind and labor to silver payments, and that the tax structure came increasingly to be based upon charges on the land As part of this process, the adult male rather than the household gradually became the unit upon which tax responsibility was reckoned in the last several decades of the sixteenth century The assertions made by the European writers seem to apply therefore to the tax system prevailing before its reform For a scholarly discussion of Ming tax reform, see Liang Fang-chung, *The Single-Whip Method of Taxation in China* (Cambridge, Mass , 1956)

[204] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), II, 286 Possibly this is a reference to the system of government granaries established under the Ming empire (cf Liang, *op cit* [n 203], pp 3–4) Salt was also stored in government warehouses See Esson M. Gale, "Public Administration of Salt in China A Historical Survey," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLI (1930), 247.

The householder's tax is "the greatest tribute they have,"[205] and Rada recounts stories about tax-evading householders who paid for only a small proportion of the number actually living under their roofs.[206] Mendoza remarks "that this tribute is verie little" that they pay, and following Rada he asserts that the "Loytians [officials] (which is a great part of the kingdome) do pay none, neither their gouernours nor ministers, captaines nor souldiours."[207] Though the Chinese pay less in taxes than all others "that we know," they are required to give much "extraordinary and personal service." Rada and Mendoza, as we have seen, give the number of taxpayers, but as with their other figures, these figures do not correspond at all.[208] To Mendoza, whose figures are far lower than Rada's, the taxpayers in China are still "verie many."[209] And "that which they give for expences of the king and his court is wonderfull [munificent], with customs, duties, portages and other rents."[210]

China's towns with their arts and crafts also come in for a fair share of attention. City walls, gates, bridges, roads, shops, prisons, mandarins' compounds, temples, restaurants, brothels, and even the houses of the common people are described and sometimes compared with their counterparts in Europe. After reading the accounts of others, Mendoza concludes that "in this kingdom in al places, there be men excellent in architecture."[211] The Great Wall, as an architectural masterpiece, he acclaims as a "superbious and mightie worke," even though it is in "the farthest parts of all the kingdome, whereas none of vs vnto this day hath beene."[212]

Both Cruz and Mendoza give detailed, but differing, descriptions of the production and decoration of porcelain. The manufacture of hard-paste porcelain was still a mystery to European craftsmen and one that would not

[205] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 119 Cf Liang, *op. cit* (n 203), p 4, who tells us that the households in Ming times, before the adoption of the "single-whip system" were "classified according to their occupation and grouped into three categories the common people household, the soldier household, and the artisan household "

[206] Boxer, *op cit* (n. 14), p 274. Mendoza says nothing about tax evasion.

[207] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 82 Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 274, n 2, asserts that these exemptions are not correct in detail But in summarizing the tax situation during the last two decades of the sixteenth century, Hucker, *loc cit* (n 117), comments "Tax inequities resulting from the privileged exemptions of the literati, and from the brazen evasions of great landlords generally, must have caused the common people to suffer under an all but intolerable burden at a time when tax levies were steadily increased." For more details and for the exemptions of the officials from land tax and labor service, see Liang, *op cit* (n 203), pp 11–14

[208] Rada comes out with 60,187,047 and Mendoza with 40,601,000 The official Ming data on population indicate a fluctuation in numbers from 60,000,000 to 50,000,000 It is more than likely, however, that these official figures do not represent the continuous, more or less, linear growth of population in Ming times Modern scholars estimate the growth from about 65,000,000 in 1393 to between 130,000,000 and 150,000,000 in 1600 See Ho Ping-ti, *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 264 For Ricci's report on the basis of official figures see below, p 802

[209] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n. 57), I, 81.

[210] *Ibid*, p 82

[211] *Ibid*., p 26.

[212] *Ibid*, p. 29. Obviously he has forgotten the early travelers of the land route, though Polo, it is true, does not mention the Great Wall

be fully understood until the eighteenth century. Mendoza, following the differing accounts of Duarte Barbosa and Cruz, gives a garbled version of the manufacturing process.[213] But Cruz, reporting "the truth told by them who saw it," dismisses emphatically the suggestions of those who, like Barbosa, thought it was compounded of crushed periwinkle or oyster shells made into a paste and baked. He asserts that it is made from a hard clay and proceeds to furnish a relatively accurate but brief description of the art.[214]

While the earlier writers who had actually visited China were obviously impressed with its crafts and fine arts, Mendoza waxes eloquent over them. For example, he tells the following incident:

> The women as well as the men be ingenious; they doo vse drawne workes and carued works, excellent painters of flowers, birds, and beasts, as it is to be seene vpon beddes and bords that is brought from thence. I did see my self, one that was brought vnto Lysborne [Lisbon] in the year 1582, by Captain Ribera,[215] chiefe sergant of Manilla, that it was to be wondred at the excellencie thereof; it caused the kings maiestie [Philip II] to have admyration, and he is a person that little wondreth at things. All the people did wonder at it, yea the famous imbroiderers did maruaile at the curiousnesse thereof[216]

And in much the same vein, but more prosaically, Cruz notes that "gold-smiths, silver-smiths, copper-smiths, iron-smiths, and of all other trades, there be many and perfect workmen, and great abundance of things of every trade and very perfect."[217] Shoemakers he finds numerous in Canton. The carpenters fashion "boxes made of many sorts, some varnished with a very fair varnish [lacquerware]."[218] Like Mendoza, Cruz notes that their beds are "very pleasant and very rich, all close round about, of wood finely wrought."[219] Dishes, tables, platters, baskets "there is no count nor better," and they "use infinite vessels of brass." Skillets, chafing dishes, and other vessels are made of cast iron.[220] They build "chairs wherein the magistrates are carried on men's backs through the city," and "another manner of chairs . . . all close with a little window on each side . . ." which "serve for to carry the women about the city when they go abroad."[221] And Mendoza, following Escalante and Barros, reports on the existence and operation of sailing chariots or land ships as follows:

> . . they have amongst them many coches and wagons that goe with sails, and made with such industrie and policie that they do gouerne them with great ease. this is credibilie informed by many that have seen it: besides that, there be many in the Indies, and in

[213] *Ibid*, p 33 Duarte Barbosa's account was available to Mendoza in Ramusio, *op cit.* (n 2), Vol. I, fols. 310–48

[214] Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), p. 127.

[215] Captain Gabriel de Rivera (see Blair and Robertson [eds], *op. cit* [n 52], IV, 230).

[216] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 32

[217] Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), p 125

[218] *Ibid.*, pp 124–25 Also see Escalante's description (in Frampton [trans], *op. cit* [n 48], chap. ix) of a small Chinese lacquered chest which he acquired in Lisbon.

[219] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), pp. 125–26

[220] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

[221] *Ibid.*

Portugall, that have seen them painted vpon clothes, and on their earthern vessell that is brought from thence to be solde: so that it is a signe that their painting hath some foundation [222]

And of their ships used for navigation on the seas, rivers, and streams there is a substantial store of information in the European writings. The river at Canton, Cruz notes, is filled with so great a multitude of ships that it is a wonderful thing to see them [223] The "greatest ships they call junks" and these they use for war vessels and carriers.[224] All of these junks, in addition to sails made of matting, in periods of calm "use two oars ahead which are very great and four or five men do row each of them."[225] Mendoza reports that "they carie in all these shippes galleries verie curious in the poope over the helme, and by imitation whereof the Portingales do use the like now in their gallions and ships that go for the India." [226] Lesser vessels, also propelled by oars, are used primarily as carriers and patrol vessels. There are barges, "like unto gallies without oars or beakhead, which do lode great store of goods."[227] The small houseboats of the Tankas (boat people of the Canton area) seem to have looked the same then as they do now. Rada comments that Chinese seagoing vessels are "somewhat slow and ill-made, although they sail very well before the wind and well enough close-hauled."[228] Mendoza expands on most of these observations and adds the following interesting comment based on a longer description of Cruz:

The pumpes which they have in their shippes are much differing from ours, and are farre better they make them of many peeces, with a wheel to draw water, which wheele is set along the shippes side within, wherewith they do easily clense their shippes, for that one man alone going in the wheele, doth in a quarter of an houre cleanse a great shippe although she leake verie much.[229]

Rada observes that the Chinese sailors "do not have sea-cards but they do have some manuscript rutters."[230] He also notes that they "have a compass-needle,

[222] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n. 57), I, 32 Also Frampton (trans), *op cit* (n 48), chap ix. See table in Charles Singer *et al* , *A History of Technology* (Oxford, 1956), II, 770–71, in which he gives A D 552 as the first precise date for the use of the sailing-carriage in China, and 1600 as the first precise date for its appearance in Europe. For a commentary on the construction of Simon Stevin's "sailing chariot" (*ca* 1600) see J J. L. Duyvendak's note in *T'oung pao*, XXXVI (1943), 401–7.

[223] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 111.

[224] *Ibid* , pp. 112–13.

[225] *Ibid.*, p. 113

[226] Frampton (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 48), chap. x, and Mendoza, in Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 148–49

[227] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p. 114.

[228] *Ibid.*, p. 294. Cf the comment in J H Gray, *China, a History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People* (London, 1878), II, 263.

[229] Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 150 Escalante (in Frampton [trans], *op cit* [n. 48], chap x), compares these pumps to the "*Anorias* of Spayne." For Cruz's more detailed explanation of the functioning of the endless-chain pumps see Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p. 121. For a nineteenth-century reference see Gray, *op. cit* (n 228), II, 290–91 Also cf the table in Singer *et al.*, *op. cit* (n 222), II, 770.

[230] Boxer, *op. cit* (n. 14), p. 294, especially n 3, where he asserts and gives authority for the statement, that the Chinese did have charts ("sea-cards") as well as written sailing directions ("rutters") during the Ming dynasty

but not like ours, for it is only a very sensitive little tongue of steel which they touch with a loadstone. They place it in a little saucer full of sea-water and on which the winds are marked. They divide the compass into twenty-four parts, and not into thirty-two as we do."[231] And no matter to what technical achievement these writers refer, they concur in Mendoza's judgment that the Chinese "are great inventors of things."[232]

C. CUSTOMS, SOCIAL PRACTICES, AND LEARNING

The work of Cruz excels in its description of the Chinese and their habits of everyday life. To his European eyes the Chinese men appear "ill-favoured, having small eyes, and their faces and noses flat, and are beardless, with some few little hairs on the point of the chin."[233] Their everyday costume is a long gown with very long sleeves, and the poor commonly wear "gowns of white linen." The men boast "long hair like women," and top it off with "a high round cap." The Chinese "are very courteous men." Ordinarily they "welcome all manner of persons that they do respect" by offering them "on a fair tray in a porcelain cup . . . a drink of warm water which they call cha [tea]," a drink which is described as being "somewhat red and very medicinal. . . ."[234]

The writers are unanimous in their conviction that by European standards "the Chinese are great eaters." Rada, in particular, seems to have enjoyed the numerous banquets given in honor of the Spanish mission, for his account reads in spots like a gastronomic tour of south China.[235] On dining habits he notices that "they eat seated at tables . . . do not use table cloths or napkins" and "pick up everything with two little sticks." He observes somewhat caustically that "at the beginning of a meal they eat meat without bread, and afterwards instead of bread they eat three or four dishes of cooked rice, which they likewise eat with their chopsticks, even though somewhat hoggishly." Rada

[231] *Ibid.*, p 295 Mendoza in Staunton (ed.), *op. cit* (n 57), II, 36, asserts that they divide the compass into twelve parts On this disputed point Rada appears to be correct Cf. W. Z. Mulder, "The Wu Pei Chih Charts," *T'oung pao*, XXXVII (1944), 6–7 Apparently the magnetic compass was used in China for navigation as early as the end of the eleventh century (Goodrich, *op cit* [n. 179], p 151) It had long before been used for divination by geomancers, and it possibly developed as an outgrowth of the diviner's board (see Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* [Cambridge, 1956], II, 361)

[232] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 32.

[233] Here is a good example of how Mendoza sometimes edits his sources While paraphrasing Cruz's description of the Chinese very closely, he omits the word "ill-favoured" or anything resembling it. See *ibid.*, I, 29 Of course, it is also possible that Mendoza, who had himself actually seen a few Chinese, did not concur in Cruz's judgment.

[234] The quotations in this paragraph are extracted from chapter xiii of Cruz's account in Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 137–42.

[235] *Ibid.*, especially pp. 287–90, for the following quotations from Rada

judges that "in drinking they are a temperate people . . . and when they drink wine they drink it very hot. . . ." Nor are they "great meat-eaters, but on the contrary in our experience their principal food is fish, eggs, vegetables, broths, and fruit." In this assertion Rada in part contradicts the other writers who find the Chinese to be greatly addicted to pork,[236] and the Cantonese, in particular, to dogs, frogs, rats, and other exotic delicacies. It is no wonder that the good friar, Mendoza, after reading such accounts on the Chinese way of life comments: "All that euer they can, they doo giue themselves vnto the contentment of the flesh, and vnto all maner pastimes, wherin they liue most delicately. . . ."[237]

Nothing impressed the Europeans more than the celebrations observed at the lunar New Year, especially the feast days with their decorations, processions, and theatrical entertainments. "They use many times representations of plays," Cruz observes, "the which are very well acted and to the life. . . ."[238] The players' costumes are "well-ordered and fitting as is requisite for the persons whom they represent," and whoever takes a woman's role is "painted with stibium and ceruse." For those who could understand it, the long performances of the Ming theater are termed a "delight"; the unfortunates "who do not understand what the actors say are sometimes wearied." Rada's group was told the plots beforehand, so that they "well understood what was happening."[239] Mendoza, in recounting Rada's experience, gives a short synopsis of a "comedie."[240] Cruz objects to the Chinese practice of changing costumes "before all the beholders" and of speaking "in a very high voice almost singing." The thorough friar also mentions the Chinese puppet shows and the Cantonese practice of training nightingales "to make representations with divers kinds of dresses of men and women," and to make "tricks and turns very mirthful for to see."[241] In Foochow, Rada saw a "tumbler who did fine tricks, both on the ground and on a stick."[242] Mendoza, following Cruz, lists a number of Chinese musical instruments,[243] and Cruz observes that sometimes "they play many instruments together . . . consorted in four voices which make a very good consonancy."[244] They have all, according to Mendoza, "commonly

[236] Cruz says (*ibid.*, p. 131) that pork "is the flesh they love most," and that they even "give it to the sick"

[237] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 137.

[238] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 144 Ricci (in Gallagher [trans.], *op cit.* [n 124], p 23) believed that they were "too much interested in dramatic representations and shows."

[239] Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), p 289.

[240] Probably derived from the synopsis in Miguel de Loarca's *Verdadera Relación* (Pt I, chap. ix) or from Rada's papers Boxer (*op cit.* [n. 14], p. 289, n 2) believes from studying Loarca's account that the play was one based on the *San-kuo-chih*, or "The Story of the Three Kingdoms." Cf. below, p. 780n.

[241] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), pp. 121–22.

[242] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[243] Mendoza in Staunton (ed.), *op cit* (n. 57), I, 140, gives a list without further description. Cruz, who apparently knew something of music, is more specific.

[244] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 145.

very good voyces" which "they do tune . . . vnto their instruments with great admiration."[245]

Both Cruz and Mendoza devote special chapters to the women of China, and here Mendoza follows Cruz somewhat more carefully than on other occasions. "The women commonly," Cruz asserts, "excepting those of the sea coast and of the mountains, are very white and gentlewomen, some having their noses and eyes well proportioned"[246] Mendoza remarks on foot-binding and gives, probably following Escalante, the rationale for foot-binding that was to become standard in European beliefs about China.

> Amongst them they account it for gentilitie and a gallant thing to have little feete, and therefore from their youth they so swadell and binde them verie straight, and do suffer it with patience: for that she who hath the leaste feete is accounted the gallantest dame. They say that the men hath induced them vnto this custome, for to binde their feete so harde, that almost they doo loose the forme of them, and remaine halfe lame, so that their going is verie ill, and with great trauell which is the occasion that they goe but little abroad, and fewe times doo rise vp from their worke that they do, and was onuented onely for the same intent[247]

Most of the commentators agree with Cruz that the women "keep themselves close," and that even "when they go abroad they are not seen, for they go in close chairs."[248] The men usually have but one wife, though "every one may have [legally] as many wives as he is able to maintain." Adultery on a wife's part is punishable by death. Prostitutes are relegated to suburban quarters of the towns where they live under close supervision. "All the common women are slaves, being brought up for this purpose from their childhood," Cruz writes, and he goes on to describe in detail the regulations governing the sale of children.[249] Mendoza, while recognizing the "great crueltie" of these practices, prefaces his remarks on the status of women by arguing that the regulations of the government are designed "to preserue their common weale from vices" and "in this one point there is lesse inconuenience or preiudice than in any other country of lesse antiquitie and fewer people."[250] The women generally are "marveilous chast and secret as any whatsoever," but the men are "vicious, in especial the lords and governors."[251]

[245] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 140. Ricci (as translated in Gallagher, *op. cit.* [n. 124], p. 22) says that their music "seems to consist in producing a monotonous rhythmic beat," which sounds to the stranger like a "discordant jangle."

[246] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 149.

[247] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 31. See also Frampton (trans.), *op. cit.* (n. 48), chap. ix. Actually there is no authenticated explanation of how or why the practice of foot-binding originated. It appeared first around the middle of the tenth century. The practice was never adopted in certain small sections of Chinese society or by China's conquerors such as the Jurchens, Mongols, and Manchus. Nevertheless, it was well-nigh universal until very recent times. See Goodrich, *op. cit.* (n. 179), p. 144.

[248] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp. 149–50.

[249] These quotations from Cruz may be found in his chapter xv (Boxer, *op. cit.* [n. 14], pp. 149–52).

[250] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 144.

[251] *Ibid.*, II, 293. The "vicious" practice to which Mendoza refers is pederasty, a "vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best" (Pereira in Boxer, *op. cit.* [n. 14], pp. 16–17.)

Perhaps the most questionable assertions to be gleaned from these books relate to the place of poverty and begging in China.[252] Mendoza, following the statements of Barros and Escalante, spends a whole chapter trying to show why "in all this mightie kingdom there is no poore folks walking in the streets nor in the temples a begging, and the order that the king hath given for the mayntayning of them that cannot work."[253] From his sources he receives strong support in this contention. For instance, Pereira remarks "We never saw any poor body beg."[254] He also notes that there are hospitals for the poor, the aged, the blind, and the lame in every city. Cruz insists that "every one laboureth to get a living" and "idle people be much abhorred in this country."[255] He further observes that they do "not give alms," that blind men "have a labour appointed them," and blind women are prostitutes[256] He evidently understood that the family had some responsibility for maintaining its poor and crippled members, and, like Pereira, notes that those who "have no kindred in the country" are taken care of in public almshouses and hospitals. But then he goes on to point out that prisoners "who have no means whatever of keeping themselves" can sometimes obtain permission to "walk the street under guard begging for alms."[257] But Rada, who wrote at a somewhat later date, bluntly asserts, contrary to the earlier observers, that he "saw poor people who went begging through the streets, especially the blind."[258]

Mendoza contends that the law ordains "that the poore may not go a begging in the streetes"[259] and that the rest of the people are legally forbidden to give alms. Following Escalante, he emphasizes the responsibility of the family for keeping its members off the public charity rolls. And he also describes a Chinese system of state charity which maintains almshouses and hospitals.

> But if it [a crippled or sick child] hath no parentes, or they be so poore that they cannot contribute nor supply any part thereof, then doth the king maintain them in verie ample manner of his own costes in hospitales, verie sumptuous, that he hathe in euerie citie throughout his kingdom for the same effect and purpose. in the same hospitalles are likewise maintayned all such needie and olde men as haue spent all their youth in the wars, and are not able to maintaine themselues.[260]

This must certainly have seemed an advanced state of affairs in sixteenth-century Europe where the central government in most countries assumed no responsibility for charity. Even though these early accounts are fragmentary,

[252] For example, A H Rowbotham, *Missionary and Mandarin* (Berkeley, 1942), p 244, calls Mendoza's account "an incredible assertion"

[253] Title of chapter x by Mendoza (in Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n. 57], I, 66) based on the account of Escalante. See Frampton (trans.), *op. cit.* (n 48), chap. ix.

[254] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 30.

[255] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

[256] *Ibid* , p. 122.

[257] *Ibid* , p 185.

[258] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[259] Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n. 57), I, 66.

[260] *Ibid*

contradictory, and somewhat naïve, they nevertheless have in them a number of the essential features which apparently characterized the Chinese system of public welfare.[261] Purchas, in his marginal commentary on Mendoza, is not, I think, speaking ironically when he sighs: "A mirror for us to look upon."

The peculiar nature of the Chinese language, already remarked upon by some of the late medieval travelers to eastern Asia, quickly engaged the attention of the observers of the sixteenth century. The accounts of Pereira and the other Portuguese prisoners show, as might be expected, only a superficial understanding of the language. But the Jesuits, who were writing from Japan at mid-century, relayed to Europe more perceptive impressions about the Chinese and Japanese languages and a few sample characters as well.[262] Cruz realized that "the Chinas have no fixed letters in their writing, for all that they write is by characters," and of characters "they have a great multitude."[263] In China "there are many tongues, in sort that one man cannot understand another by speech" and "yet they all understand each other in writing," including therein the Annamites and the Japanese. "Their lines," Cruz proclaims, "are not overthwart as in the writings of all other nations, but are written up and down." Rada, who worked at the language himself, shows something of his own sense of frustration by describing the characters as "barbarous and difficult." And he moans "that even if a man knows ten thousand characters he cannot read everything." Thus, he concludes, that "he who can read the most is the wisest among them."[264]

Mendoza amplifies Cruz's account with materials derived from Escalante's work and reproduces from it three crudely written characters as examples of their writing.[265] He also observes that they "keepe the verie same order" of arranging the characters in parallel columns in their printing ". . . as maye be seene this day at Rome in the librarie of the sacred pallace . . . and likewise in that work which King Philip hath caused to be erected in the monasteries of

[261] For a nineteenth-century account of hospitals, public charities, and benevolent societies in China see Milne, *op cit* (n 171), pp 46–63 Also see Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 123, n 1, who evidently believes that Cruz's story, at least, "can be taken at its face value." If so, then, the public welfare system had badly declined by the mid-nineteenth century when poverty and begging certainly marred the Chinese scene

[262] For a scholarly discussion of the introduction of characters into Europe see O Nachod, "Die ersten Kenntnisse chinesischer Schriftzeichen im Abendlande," Hirth Anniversary Volume published by *Asia Major* (London, 1923), pp 235–73 See above, pp 679–80

[263] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p 161

[264] *Ibid*, p 295.

[265] O. Nachod, *loc. cit* (n. 262), pp 256–62, discusses these three characters and points out that they are identical to those reproduced on the back of a map of China which appeared in the 1584 edition of A Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Antwerp), p 93 The cartographer, Ludovico Georgio, has been identified as Luis Jorgé de Barbuda See below, p 818 Nachod, unfortunately, did not have an opportunity to see Escalante's work (Frampton [trans], *op cit* [n 48], p 257) and so was unable to ascertain that he was the source used by Barbuda as well as Mendoza It should also be pointed out that these characters are not the same as the Chinese characters first published in the *Cartas* of 1570 (Coimbra) prepared by the Jesuit Gago in Japan and sent to Europe in his letter of September 23, 1555. See illustration.

Saint Lavrence the royall, and also in other places."[266] Linschoten brought back samples of Chinese writing and paper which he gave to Paludanus for his collection.[267] About Chinese paper, Rada testifies that the Chinese "say it is made from the inside pith of canes," and it is so thin that "you cannot easily write on both sides of the paper as the ink runs through."[268] Mendoza amplifies Rada only slightly on this point when he asserts "that they have great abundance of paper and it is verie good cheape."[269] "For pens," Rada says, "they use extremely fine little brushes." Mendoza adds that the "pennes made of canes" have a brush at the end "like unto a painters pensill."

Paulus Jovius (1483–1552), the Italian historian, was, as far as we know, the first European writer to suggest that the art of printing may have traveled from China to Europe.[270] From the Far East at about the same time, Cruz reported that "it is said in China that it is over nine hundred years since the Chinese have used printing, and that they not only make printed books but also different figures."[271] Mendoza propounds his own theory, without citing any authorities, as to how printing was transmitted from China to Europe:

> . it was brought into Almaine [Germany] by the way of Ruscia and Moscovia, from whence, as it is certain, they may come by lande, and that some merchants that came from thence into this kingdome, by the Redde Sea, and from Arabia Felix, might bring some books, from whence this John Cutembergo [Gutenberg], whom the histories dooth make author, had his first foundation The which beeing of a trueth, as they have authoritie for the same, it dooth plainly appeare that this invention came from them vnto us and for the better credite hereof, at this day there are found amongst them many bookes printed 500 yeares before the invention began in Almaine of the which I have one, and I haue seen others, as well in Spaine and in Italie as in the Indies [Mexico].[272]

[266] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 121–22. The monastery is clearly El Escorial (cf. below, p. 779n.). When Montaigne visited the Vatican library on March 6, 1581, he was shown a book of China in "outlandish" characters. See E. J. Trechmann (ed.), *The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581* (London, 1929), pp. 142–43. An anonymous French visitor to the Vatican library between 1574 and 1578 recorded seeing there a book called *Alphabetum idiomatis de Cina*. See Eugene Muntz, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1886), p. 135, n. 1. Also see Maffei's remarks on the Chinese books in these two repositories (below, p. 803).

[267] A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (London, 1885), I, 142.

[268] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 295. On the invention of true paper in about A.D. 105 see T. H. Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk* (Chicago, 1962), pp. 135–37.

[269] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 123.

[270] On the basis of his examination of certain printed Chinese books sent through Barros to Rome, he advances this surmise in his *Historia sui temporis* (edition of 1558, p. 161) first published in 1550. He was also in correspondence with Barros, and has even been accused of plagiarizing material sent him by the Portuguese chronicler (see Boxer, *loc. cit.* [n. 26], pp. 21–22).

[271] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 148.

[272] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 132. It is possible but doubtful that Mendoza, if that is what he means here, either possessed or saw Chinese books printed around A.D. 950, or 500 years before the date usually assigned to Gutenberg's invention of movable type. There are, however, specimens of Chinese printing preserved at London and Paris which are dated in the mid-tenth century. See T. C. Carter and L. F. Goodrich, *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward* (New York, 1955), p. x.

Rada in conversation with a viceroy reported that the Chinese official "was greatly surprised to learn that we [the Europeans] likewise had a script and that [we] used the art of printing for our books, as they do, because they used it many centuries before we did."[273] Rada sent a printed Breviary to the skeptical viceroy to prove his contention about Europe's achievements. And then the inquiring friar proceeded to acquire Chinese books: seven gazetteers,[274] and "books of all the sciences, both astrology and astronomy, as physiognomy, chiromancy, arithmetic, and of their laws, medicine, fencing, and of every kind of their games, and of their gods."[275] Mendoza, who profited greatly in his own work from the Chinese books and the translations prepared for Rada, admits his debt and itemizes "the substance and manner" of the books brought into Spain In what follows he presents a topical summary of the various Chinese books he knew.

Of the description of all the whole kingdome of China, and the placing of the 15 prouinces, and the length and bredth of every one of them, and of other kingdomes bordering vppon them.

Of all tributes and rentes belonging vnto the king, and of all the orders of his royall pallace, and of his ordinarie pensions that hee giueth, and the names of all officers in his house, and how far euery office doth extend.

How many tributaries euerie prouince hath, and the number of such as are free from tribute, and the order and time, how and when they are to be recouered.

For the making of ships of all sorts, and the order of nauigation, with the altitudes of euery port, and the quantitie of euery one in particular.

Of the antiquitie of this kingdome of China, and of the beginning of the world, and in what time and for whome it beganne.

Of the kings that have raigned in this kingdome, and the order of their succession and government, with their liues and customes.

Of the ceremonies they vse in doing sacrifice vnto their idols (which they hold as gods), and the names of them. of their beginnings, and at what time they shoulde make their sacrifices.

Their opinions of the immortalitie of the soule, of the heauen, of hell, of the manner of their funerals, and of their mourning apparel that euery one is bounde to weare, according as he is alianced unto the dead

Of the lawes of the kingdome, and when and by whome they were made, and the punishment executed on those which violate the same, with manie other matters touching their good government and policie.

Manie herbals, or books of herbes, for phisitions, shewing how they should be applied to heale infirmities

Many other bookes of phisicke and medicine, compiled by authors of that kingdome, of antiquitie and of late daies, containing in them the maner how to vse the sicke, and to heal them of their sicknes, and to make preseruatiues against all sicknesses and infirmities.

[273] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 255
[274] *Ibid.*, p. 261.
[275] *Ibid*, p. 295.

Of the properties of stones and mettals, and of things natural that haue vertue of themselues, and wherefore pearles, gold, and silver, and other metals, may serue for the vtility of man, comparing with the one and the other the vtilitie of euerie thing.

Of the nomber, and mooumgs of the heauens. of the planets and stars, and of their operations and particular influences

Of such kingdomes and nations as they haue notice off, and of particular things that are in them.

Of the life and behauior of such men, whom they holde for saints, where they lead their liues, and where they died and were buried.

The order howe to play at the tables, and at the chests, and how to make sports of legerdemaine and puppets

Of musicke and songs, and who were the inuentors thereof

Of the mathematicall sciences, and of arithmeticke, and rules how to use the same

Of the effectes that the children doo make in their mothers wombs, and how they are euery moneth sustained, and of the good and bad times of their birth.

Of architecture, and all manner of buildings, with which the bredth and length that euerie edifice ought to haue for his proportion.

Of the properties of good and bad ground, and tokens how to know them, and what seede they will beare euery yeare.

Of astrologie naturall, and judiciarie, and rules to learne the same, and to cast figures to make coniectures.

Of chiromancia and phisiognomia, and other signes and tokens, and what euery one doth signifie.

The order how to write letters, and how to give euerie one his title, according to the dignitie of his person

How to bring vp horses, and to teach them to runne and trauaile.

How to deuine vpon dreames, and cast lottes when they beginne any iourney, or take anything in handes, whose ende is doubtful.

Of apparell worne in all the kingdome, beginning with the king, and of the ensignes or coates of armes of such as doo gouerne.

How to make armour and instruments of warre, and how to forme a squadron.[276]

[276] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 134–37. These books may have been brought to Spain with Rada's papers, but that is only one of a number of possibilities. Spanish libraries, especially El Escorial, the National Library of Madrid, the Rèal Academia de la Historia, and the Bishop's library at Toledo, preserve a number of old Chinese books, some of which are evidently not to be found even in modern China. See Fang Hao [方豪] "Liu-lo yu hsi p'u ti chung-kuo wên hsien" [流落於西葡的中國文獻] ("The Lost Chinese Historical Literature in Spain and Portugal") in *Hsueh-shu chi-k'an* [學術季刊] (*Academy Review Quarterly*), I (1953), 161–79

The holdings at El Escorial, which I found in a fair state of preservation when I visited there on January 10, 1950, contain a number of Chinese works from the sixteenth century which were presumably deposited there sometime in the reign of Philip II. The first account of this collection was published by P. Pelliot, "Notes sur quelques livres ou documents conservés en Espagne," *T'oung pao*, XXVI (1928), 45–50. From the articles of Pelliot and Fang Hao and my own notes, I have made up the following list of books now there which may have been used by Mendoza in preparing his listing.

1. *Tzŭ-chih t'ung-chien chieh-yao* [資治通鑑節要] ("A Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Abridged") by Ssŭ-ma Kuang, 20 *chuan* in 4 *ts'e* engraved in 1541 (not 1539 as Pelliot states). A note in Spanish on the cover reads, "Chronica de los reyes de China 1362."

About education all of the writers have something to say and they correctly relate the system to the preparation of officials. "In all cities, not only chief in each shire [province], but in the rest also, are means founds to make 'Louteas,'" asserts Pereira. "Many of them," he observes, "do study at the prince his charges. . . ."[277] Cruz confirms this observation and adds that "the students prior to their admission to the state schools did learn the laws [classics?] of the realm, maintained at their father's charge."[278] Students who do well in the examinations conducted by the officials are rewarded by being elevated to the mandarinate; those who fail are whipped or imprisoned. But Cruz denies, contrary to the opinions of "some Portugals," that China has private schools or universities for teaching "natural philosophy." They have "only the schools royal of the laws [classics?] of the kingdom."[279] Rada has nothing to say about royal schools, mentioning only that "when they knew that someone of good family can read really well, he is examined . . . ,"[280] thus emphasizing perhaps for the first time in European literature the intimate tie between the Chinese gentry and the fraternity of letters.

Mendoza, again without citing his sources, goes much further in his description of academic organization in China than any of his predecessors.

---

2. *Lei-pien li-fa t'ung-shu ta-ch'uan* [類編曆法通書大全] ("A Complete Almanac Compiled According to Subjects") A sixteenth-century edition Pelliot mentions only one chapter, actually there are present *chuan* (chapters) 10 to 16 and 17 to 19

3 *T'ung-shu* [通書] ("An Almanac") only *chuan* 10

4 *Hsu-shih chên-chih* [徐氏針灸] ("Methods of Acupuncture and Moxibustion Used by the Hsu Family") written by Hsu Fêng-t'ing [徐鳳廷] and published in 1531

5. *Yao-mu kuan-ch'ang cho-ch'i fêng-yueh chin-nang chêng-tsa liang-k'o ch'uan-chi* [元雅日 雅場 才雅奇風月錦囊 正雜雅 兩科全集] ("A Collection of Theatrical Dramas and Airs"), a sixteenth-century edition

6. *Hsin-k'an an-chien han-p'u san-kuo-chih-chuan hui hsiang tsu-pên ta-ch'uan* [新刊按鑑漢譜三國志傳繡象大全] ("A Complete and Illustrated Edition of the Romance of the Three Kingdoms") a Chia-ching (1522–66) edition Also a large number of drama books most of which are not catalogued in the libraries of China Pelliot does not mention these.

7 *Hsin-k'an pu-ting yuan-liu tsung-hui tui-lei ta-chuan* [新刊補訂源流總彙對類大全] ("A New, Revised Edition of a Historical Encyclopedia") Not mentioned by Pelliot Includes three *chuan* (5, 6, and 7) which are particularly interesting since they describe palaces and buildings, instruments and utensils, and birds and animals.

It is possible that the Sung and Ming books listed by Fang Hao (pp 157–58) as being housed now in the Bishop's library at Toledo were also brought to Spain in the sixteenth century.

277 Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p. 12.

278 *Ibid.*, p. 160.

279 *Ibid.*, p. 161. A reference to the so-called Confucian schools (*Ju-hsueh*). All other local units were supposed to have royal Medical Schools (*I-hsueh*) and Yin-yang schools (*Yin-Yang hsueh*) It is the assertion by Cruz about royal schools that Escalante takes issue with (Frampton [trans.], *op. cit.* [n. 48], chap xi). Mendoza follows Escalante and Barros on this question. Only the Confucian schools were subsidized by the government, and one was located in each prefectural, subprefectural, and county seat. See Hucker, *loc cit* (n. 36), p. 47

280 Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 57), p. 296

The king hath in euerie citie colleges or schooles at his oune cost, in which they doo learne to write, reade, and count, as well as to study naturall or morall philosophy, astrologie, laws of the countrie, or any other curious science. They that doo teach in these schooles be such persons as excell in euerie facultie, such as may be found none better, but speciallie in writing and reading for that there is none, although he be neuer so poore, but doth learne to write and read,[281] because amongst them he is accounted infamous that cannot doo both Unto higher studies come a great number of students, and doo trauaile all they may possibilie to profite, for that is the best course and surest way to obtaine the name of a Loytio, or gentleman, or other dignitie Unto the colleges, as well as maiors as minors, the king dooth sende euerie yeere visiters [censors] for to see and vnderstand howe the studentes doo profite, and what the masters bee, with other matters touching their good governement In their visitation they doo honour in wordes those whome they finde of abilitie . and doo put in prison and punish such as they knowe to haue abilitie, and doo not profite themselves thereof; and such as haue none, nor will not learne, they put out of the colleges, that others may occupie their places that better will imploy themselves.[282]

Though undoubtedly misinformed in some details, Mendoza clearly understood that there existed in China a system of secular, state-controlled and state-supported education that had as its major objective the preparation of students for official posts in the imperial bureaucracy. To learned Europeans it probably came as something of a shock to read that public education in Ming China was subsidized by the state and was more freely open to all qualified persons than it was elsewhere in the sixteenth century.

In this connection it is important to try to grasp what understanding and what misconceptions prevailed among these sixteenth-century writers with regard to China's famous literary examinations. Pereira says of the hopeful candidates that "at the year's end they resort unto the head cities, whither the *Chacines*

[281] An exaggeration, but in the nineteenth century, when literacy was advancing rapidly in Europe, W. H. Medhurst wrote: "The number of individuals acquainted with letters in China is amazingly great." (*China, Its State and Prospects* [Boston, 1838] p. 171)

[282] Staunton (ed), *op. cit* (n 57), I, 122–23 Over the system of education that existed in Ming China there has regularly been controversy among the European writers, but little concrete information Ricci in his *Journals* written at the beginning of the seventeenth century comments: "Contrary to what has been stated by some of our writers, there are no schools or public academies in which these books [Confucian canons] are taught or explained by masters. Each student selects his own master by whom he is instructed in his own home and at his personal expense " (As translated by Gallagher, *op. cit.* [n 124], p. 33.) Alvarez Semedo, who wrote around 1640 at the very end of the Ming Dynasty, remarks "They have no Universities where they study together, but all, that are able, take a Master into the house for their sonnes . . These Schooles are in the Cities and Townes, but the most stately ones are in the Metropolies of the Provinces, where the examination of Licentiats is held " (*The History of the Great and Renowned Monarchy of China* [London, 1655], pp. 36–38.) As far as we know now, there was a public school system in operation in Ming China. In its best period, there were "in the provinces, a prefectural school (*Fu-hsueh*) in each prefecture, a departmental school (*Chou-hsueh*) in each department; a district school (*Hsien-hsueh*) in each district, and a village school (*Shu-hsueh*) in each village." (P. W. Kuo, *The Chinese System of Public Education* [New York, 1915], pp. 54–55) The government subsidized certain worthy students, and it also appears that there were special officers who chose students for the colleges, classified them, and inspected the colleges (*ibid.*, pp. 55–56). It is said that in Ming China the government schools employed more than forty-two hundred teachers (Hucker, *op cit.* [n. 41], p. 74). On the relationship of state schools to the examination system see Ho Ping-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911* (New York, 1962), pp. 168–79.

[literary censors] do come . . . to sit in judgement over the prisoners."[283] By using the word "prisoners," Pereira seems to be describing the temporary status of the students who were locked into tiny cells each day until they had completed their examinations. Cruz observes that the literary censor was appointed triennially from Peking. He also points out that though elevation usually comes from merit, "there are many Louthias who are made for simple favour."[284] Rada brings out that the successful candidates are "given what we would call a bachelor's degree," and that they are "thenceforth fitted to exercise some office of justice."[285] Mendoza follows rather closely Rada's account of the ceremonies he observed in Foochow, and adds the following observation:

> And although al be called Loytias, I meane those that come to it by letters or learning, and others by the warres, and others by a gift of the king, yet they differ the one from the other in estimation. For that those of the royall counsell, viceroyes, governors, and visitors, are made Loytias by *disputation in learning*. . . .[286]

From none of the accounts can it be clearly discerned that the Europeans understood that the examinations were written. It would seem rather that they assumed that in China as in Europe all examinations were conducted orally. Europe was soon to learn, however, that the merit examinations of China required a command of the classical Confucian canons which had to be demonstrated in written form.[287]

For Chinese learning the European writers have no preparation, very little understanding, and only slight curiosity. Cruz found out without the help of books and translators that the Chinese knew something of "the courses of Heaven" or astronomy so that they "know the eclipses of the sun and of the moon."[288] But Rada, who had "printed books of all their sciences,"[289] ill-humoredly remarks of their learning: "save only in medicinal matters . . . in everything else there is nothing to get hold of." The Chinese, according to Rada, know nothing of geometry ("nor do they have compass-dividers") and cannot reckon "beyond addition, subtraction, and multiplication."[290] They know "very little geography," their "illustrations [maps] are crude, and they reckon their distances and circuits very falsely."[291] Their astronomy he compares to the empirical knowledge of the heavens possessed by the natives of the Philippines, but concedes that "it is obvious that the Chinos know them

[283] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p 112

[284] *Ibid*, pp. 160–61 On the acquisition of offices through heredity and purchase see Hucker, *loc. cit* (n 36), pp. 14–15, and Ho, *op. cit.* (n 282), p 183.

[285] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), pp. 296–97.

[286] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 57), I, 125. Italics mine.

[287] See Maffei's observations (below, p 804).

[288] Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), p 161. For Escalante's arguments against Cruz see above, p. 743.

[289] *Ibid.*, p. 295.

[290] *Ibid*, pp 295–96. Though Rada was evidently a geometer himself, his low estimate of Chinese achievements in mathematics is not fully justified.

[291] Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), p 261.

better."[292] Their sundials, which he observed at Foochow, "were ill-made, as if by ignorant people."[293] Mendoza makes no particular reference to the state of learning in China, just contenting himself with listing in summary the books which had found their way to Spain.[294]

Mendoza and Rada write of China and its dynasties historically—probably because they, unlike Pereira and Cruz, depended upon Chinese literary sources as well as informants. Both writers dismiss as legendary the stories of creation found in the chronicles at their disposal. Both begin their historical account of the monarchy with Yu the Great, the founder of the Hsia dynasty (traditionally dated 2205–1766 B.C.). Though no satisfactory evidence has yet turned up to prove that the Hsia state existed, Chinese and Western historians alike accepted it as China's first dynasty until fairly recent times.[295] Rada, and Mendoza in following him, concentrate in their histories almost entirely on the chronology, names, and great achievements of the dynasties, perhaps because of the nature of the Chinese "dynastic histories" from which they derived their materials.[296] "In order to avoid prolixity,"[297] Rada does not seek to give a complete list of the emperors or their reign dates. Mendoza, probably from Rada's papers, does endeavor to present a full listing with additional biographical details.[298] The Chinese, Rada thinks, "began to have kings shortly after the Flood, and they have been without any inter-mixture with foreigners since then."[299] And Mendoza remarks, "that there is opinion that the first that did inhabite this countrie, were the neuewes of Noe."[300] Thus with the introduction of the chronology of the kings, Mendoza helped to lay the background for the great argument which soon developed in Europe over the antiquity of Chinese civilization and the relative reliability of Chinese and Biblical chronology.[301]

Mendoza refers to the emperor as the "Sonne of Heaven" and "Lord of the World," and comments that the people "do by dutie reverence" to the king's picture. This is as close, however, as any of these writers come to an understanding of the emperor's role in the traditional religious practices of China as mediator between heaven and his subjects. Apparently they have no conscious knowledge of the Confucian system in any of its aspects. The earliest of the

[292] *Ibid*, p. 296. [293] *Ibid*

[294] See above, pp 778–79

[295] Goodrich (*op. cit* [n 179], pp. 5–6) writes ". . . even if Hsia never existed, there were centers near the banks of the Yellow River which knew the art of casting bronze, learned the value of the silkworm, used the wheel on the farm and in war, and began to use written symbols." Also cf. H. G. Creel, *Studies in Early Chinese Culture* (Baltimore, 1937), pp 97–131 Modern scholarship dates the Hsia from about 1989–1558 B.C

[296] For a general statement on the content of the "dynastic" histories see Charles S. Gardner, *Chinese Traditional Historiography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 87–88 "The first place," Gardner writes, "is occupied by a concise chronicle of the court and of major events in the empire, arranged chronologically and precisely dated."

[297] Boxer, *op cit* (n. 14), p. 279

[298] Staunton (ed.), *op cit.* (n 57), I, 69–76

[299] Boxer, *op cit.* (n. 14), p. 282

[300] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 18

[301] For example, see Virgile Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640–1740)* (Paris, 1932), Book II, chap 1.

European commentators, Pereira, asserts that the Chinese "be very great idolaters, all generally do worship the heavens."[302] And "if you ask them what do they think of the souls departed, they will answer that they be immortal, and that as soon as any one departeth out of this life, he becometh a devil."[303] Pereira notes wayside shrines and Buddhist temples and even has a primitive conception of the doctrine of transmigration. He is somewhat astonished, as later Christians regularly were, "that as they do their idolatry they laugh at themselves."[304] And he cites the lunar and birthday celebrations as having about them a slight religious significance. "The Chins," he comments, "be at liberty every one to worship and follow what liketh him best"[305]

Cruz, the professional missionary, is much less tentative in his observations. For him the Chinese "have no knowledge whatever of God . . . which showeth it to be true that they are not given to the contemplation of natural things. . . ." Otherwise, if they had, such study "would have sufficed them to come thereby to the knowledge of God."[306] Even the Apostle Thomas, before "suffering martyrdom" at Mylapore reportedly "had gone to China," but "seeing that he could not do any good there" he returned to India.[307] In commenting on Buddhist practices, Cruz mentions the "idols" on Chinese ships and the consultation of the gods by casting lots. Sometimes, if the gods fail to react favorably, "they turn on their gods."[308] They also worship the devil, "the better sort" say, "in order that he shall do them no hurt."[309] There are "two kinds of priests," those who "have their heads all shaven . . . and live in monasteries," and those who "let their hair grow and wear black silk gowns. . . . None of these priests have wives, but they live wickedly and filthily."[310] But there is hope for the Chinese people because they "hold their gods and their priests in small esteem." Finally, "when they learn the truth they esteem it, which is not the case with any of the peoples in the region of India."[311] And then Cruz goes on to record some of his personal triumphs in preaching, disputation, and casting down of idols. "I found," he avers, a "disposition for them to become Christians," and since they "do not make any distinctions in their food," and since they "esteem pork most, it is almost impossible for them to become Moors."[312]

[302] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), p 15

[303] *Ibid*, pp 15–16. Probably a reference to *kuei* which are the disembodied spirits of dead people.

[304] *Ibid*, p 16.

[305] *Ibid*, p 36.

[306] *Ibid*, p 212

[307] *Ibid*, p 213.

[308] *Ibid*, p. 215.

[309] *Ibid.*

[310] *Ibid.*, p 216 Cf the Jesuit account, below, p. 815

[311] *Ibid*, p 217.

[312] *Ibid*, p. 218 Most of the practices observed by Cruz were related to Taoism This is quite understandable because its practices are almost all performed in public. Also it should be recalled that Taoism, with the support of the sixteenth-century Ming rulers, was experiencing something of a revival at the time when the Iberian observers landed in China in the Chia-ching period (1522–66) See Goodrich, *op. cit.* (n. 179), p 201

Clearly Cruz believed that China was a fertile field for Christian missionaries to cultivate.

Rada, in his account of religious practices, notes that "each house has its own idols besides the multitude which they have in temples," and observes that "there is hardly a large rock which does not have idols carved thereon "[313] All of these gods, however, are "merely intercessors through whom they pray to heaven "[314] Unlike the earlier European writers who note only Buddhist deities, Rada gives the names of some of the Taoist gods as well Certain of their rites and ceremonies he calls "very ridiculous." Of the "two kinds of friars" there are those "who do not eat meat, or eggs or fish" and "many of them live like hermits";[315] the other kind "live in community in the towns . . . , eat everything," and some of them beg in the street for alms. "They told us," he says, "that there were also monasteries of nuns, but we did not see any."[316] He gives a rough outline of the Buddhist hierarchical organization and observes like the other writers that the Buddhist "friars are held in scant respect and regard."[317]

Mendoza, as in other matters, gives an individual touch to his sources on religion. No longer is any notion of transmigration left in his account, and the Chinese idea of immortality he has transformed into a fairly conventional Christian belief by which the righteous person is to be "carried unto heaven . . and shalbe made an angel."[318] Contrary to the other writers, he asserts that "they do not make offerings in their temples, but in their houses. . . ."[319] The common people, he alleges, are the only ones who believe that "the evil . . . before they go to hell . . . are put into the bodies of buffes and other beasts."[320] Like the others he makes no specific reference to Confucius or to ceremonies that can clearly be identified as being characteristically Confucian, but he comes close to mentioning the ceremonies before the ancestral tablets "in their houses." Throughout his account of Chinese monastic life, the reader receives the impression that Mendoza is talking about Christian monasticism; and he omits the highly critical remarks made of the "Chinese friars" by the writers who had seen them. "We may presume," he remarks, "that all which wee have seene dooth remaine printed in their hearts,"[321] from the preachings

[313] Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), p. 304

[314] *Ibid*

[315] *Ibid*, p. 308.

[316] *Ibid*, p 309

[317] *Ibid*, p 310 Buddhism and Taoism had offices in the central government at Peking which regulated their respective hierarchies (see Hucker, *loc cit* [n 41], p 60) Rada says that "they have what corresponds to a general who lives at the court and is called Cecua " Boxer, *op cit* (n. 14), p 309, n. 5, identifies the "Cecua" with the Amoy vernacular form of *Li-pu shang-shu* (The President of the Board of Rites in Peking) Earl H Pritchard in his review of Boxer's work (*Far Eastern Quarterly*, XV [1956], 413) suggests that "*Cecua* is probably derived from *Shan-shih*, the title of the two Buddhist Patriarchs."

[318] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit* (n 57), I, 53.

[319] *Ibid.*, p 54.

[320] *Ibid.*, p 55.

[321] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

in China of the Apostle Thomas. And he expresses the hope that since they "do not live so euill as they might" that they will "be brought unto the true knowledge of the gospel . . . by the power of his diuine maiestie."[322] In contrast to Mendoza's pious hopes it must be recalled that certain lay and missionary persons in the Philippines, Mexico, and Spain had long been urging Philip II to advance the cause of trade and religion by undertaking a military crusade against China.

D. MILITARY WEAKNESS, TRADE, AND THE TRIBUTE SYSTEM

Those who advocated a crusade against China were influenced by the prevailing opinion that China was militarily very weak, for the Europeans are unanimous in commenting upon China's non-aggressive policy toward her neighbors. In a letter of 1554, written anonymously by one of the Portuguese who had been held prisoner in China,[323] the deprecatory attitude of most of the Europeans on the spot is clearly expressed:

> The people of China are, in general, neither brave nor skilful, nor have they any natural inclination for warlike affairs, if they maintain themselves it is by the multitude of the people, the strength of the walls and towns, and the provision of ammunition.[324]

Cruz, who clearly admires the Chinese in most matters, remarks that "in warfare they make greater use of strategy and of numbers than they do of strength, albeit they attack bravely."[325] All of the observers agree that it is illegal for civilians to carry weapons, this privilege being exclusively the right of the soldiery. "There is," writes Rada, "a very great number of fighting men" who do not wear arms, nor do they use them. They are really hereditary militia exempt from taxes, "who are appointed to man the city walls for defence when necessity arises . . . ," and who are responsible for maintaining and repairing the part of the wall where they have their assigned positions.[326] "The other sort of soldiers," Rada observes, "are strangers from other provinces who serve for wages." Mendoza clearly believes, though Rada is not so explicit, that both the militia and the mercenaries were organized and maintained by the provincial governments.[327] As mentioned earlier, both Rada

[322] *Ibid.*

[323] For discussion of his identity and for pertinent bibliographical data on the history of his report in Europe see Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), pp. lvi–lvii, 347

[324] As translated in the introduction to *ibid.*, p xliv

[325] Cf Escalante's praise for "the people of China who are verie prompt of wit and stout in all the feats that doth appertaine to the warres" (Frampton [trans.], *op. cit.* [n 48], chap. xiv) See the comments of Ricci, below, p 802.

[326] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n 14), pp 271–72

[327] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 89–90. For a survey of China's complex military organization see Hucker, *loc. cit.* (n. 36), pp. 56–63.

and Mendoza give statistics which differ on the number of infantry and cavalry stationed in each province. Clearly both are overwhelmed by the staggering potential power revealed by their total figures [328]

But they still consider that the Chinese are not formidable foes in the field. Their horses are reputedly small, their saddles weak, and their horsemanship poor. They fight with bows and arrows both "a-horse and on foot", in their monthly reviews they show themselves to be "very skillful with their weapons." They also have arquebuses, pikes, halberds, scimitars and other "hafted weapons." But their artillery, reports Rada, of that which he had seen, "is most inferior, for it consists only of small iron guns." [329] In naval warfare particularly, they "make great use of incendiary bombs of gunpowder," and employ "fire-arrows wherewith to burn the ship's timbers." [330] The king also "hath great fleetes of ships . . . that do scoure and defend the costs [*sic!*] of the countrie with great diligence and watchings." [331] And Mendoza concludes:

> All the which, if in valor and valientnesse might be equalled vnto our nations in Europe, they were sufficient to conquer ye whole world. And although they are more in number and equal in policies, yet in their valientnesse and courage they are far behind . . . I do not here declare the industrie that might (with the fauour of God) be vsed to win and ouercome this people. . . . And againe, my profession is more to bee a meanes unto peace, then to procure any warres, and if that which is my desire might be doone, it is, that with the word of God, which is the sword that cutteth the hearts of men . . .[332]

Much that distinguished the Chinese system of international relations was constantly being reported to sixteenth-century Europe. In theory the only Chinese who clearly had the right to go abroad were envoys sent by the emperor to confirm the legitimacy of a vassal prince. As we have seen, tribute

[328] Rada (in Boxer, *op cit* [n 14], p. 272) gives 4,178,000 infantry and 780,000 cavalry, Mendoza (in Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n. 57], I, 91) gives 5,846,500 infantry and 948,350 cavalry In the late Ming the military establishment numbered around 4,000,000 troops of all categories. See Hucker, *loc. cit.* (n. 36), p. 57.

[329] Boxer, *op. cit* (n 14), p. 273 Pereira had earlier reported that of "artillery have they none" (*ibid*, p. 9) So far as his experience went this might have been true, for artillery was apparently not commonly used in China when he was there Mendoza devotes his chapter xv to "How that with them they have had the vse of Artilery long time before vs in these parts of Europe" (Staunton [ed], *op cit* [n 57], I, 128–30). After using "their histories," Mendoza reports (p 129). "the first beginning was in the yeare 1330, by the industrie of an Almane [German] . . " On the controversial question of the history of artillery see the notes of Paul Pelliot, in *T'oung pao*, XXXVIII (1948), pp. 199–207, and of L. C Goodrich, in *Isis*, XXXVI (1946), Pt. 2, 114–23, and XXXIX (1949), 63–64 Mendoza, who cites Rada on the inferiority of Chinese artillery, also quotes from a letter of a "Captaine Artieda" to Philip II "giving him to vnderstande of the secreats of this countrie, amongst which hee saide, the Chinos doo vse all armour as we do, and the artillerie which they have is excellent good" (p. 130). This quotation is derived from Escalante's summary of Diego de Artieda's report to Philip II. See above, p. 743 n. But also cf. the account of Spanish schemes of conquest in W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), p. 68.

[330] Cf. Cruz's description of naval warfare by junks. He asserts: "And because they use no ordnance all their use is to come many together, and compassing the adversary ship they board it." (Boxer, *op. cit.* [n. 14], p. 113.)

[331] Mendoza in Staunton (ed), *op cit.* (n. 57), I, 88.

[332] *Ibid.*, pp. 91–92.

missions might come to China only on terms prescribed by Peking. Under no conditions could foreigners be permitted to stay in China indefinitely. The Celestial Empire could thus be insulated from barbarian penetration, at the same time the emperor's universal sovereignty would be periodically acknowledged, outside contacts maintained, and a limited commerce permitted. The Chinese system for regulating international affairs was based on the assumption of China's unqualified cultural supremacy; and it directly contrasted with the international system developing in sixteenth-century Europe which assumed the theoretical equality of all sovereign nations.

But in both Europe and China theory often failed to correspond to practice. Such deviations from principle often confused these pioneer observers even as they have continued to puzzle their successors of recent times. This became particularly so when the Chinese in the last years of the Chia-ching period (1522–66) once more began to modify the traditional tributary system to meet the new conditions obtaining on the southeastern coast. Beginning in 1553, the Chinese again began to trade with the Portuguese, though the edict against the *Fo-lang-chi* officially remained in force until 1567. In 1555–57 the Portuguese were tacitly permitted to establish a trading post at Macao. When the ban on trade with foreign states, except for Japan,[333] was lifted in 1567, the "secret trade" of previous years was then replaced by a licensed trade. And Chinese were officially permitted to go abroad again but not to Japan. Yet, despite such modifications, the tribute system remained otherwise intact, and the old regulations by which trade entailed tribute[334] were not formally rescinded.

It was in these years of changing conditions in the tributary system that the European observers were on the China coast. Pereira spent his time in China before any of these changes had been enacted, and he comments very little, perhaps because he was in custody most of the time, on problems related to trade or diplomacy. Cruz, who was in Canton in 1556, tells much more about China's foreign relations, perhaps because he had spent a number of years in India, Malacca, and Cambodia. He mentions remains along the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of India and in Ceylon which stood as vestiges of China's former activities there. Cruz says that once "the Chinos were lords of Jaoa [Java] and of Jantana [Johore], which is the kingdom of Malacca, and of Siam and of Champa, as it is commonly affirmed in those parts."[335] But then the emperor "seeing that his kingdom went to decay, and was in danger by their seeking to conquer many other foreign countries" retreated into isolation and decreed "that under pain of death none of the country should sail out of the kingdom of China; the which lasteth to this day."[336] The ambassadors who

[333] The ban on trade with the Japanese officially remained on the books until the collapse of the Ming in 1644. In practice, however, the Chinese began to engage in direct trade with Japan beginning around 1613. See Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 25), p. 4.

[334] MacSherry, *op. cit.* (n. 8), p. 138.

[335] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 67.

[336] *Ibid.*

come to China "with embassages from Kings or Princes, receive of the King great rewards and favours. . . ."[337] The Chinese show "great respect" for embassies and "the goods of the ambassador and of his people are free from customs, and to him and his they give lodgings to dwell in, and all things necessary while they are in the country"[338] And, as if to substantiate other sources which tell of "secret trade," Cruz reports that Canton "is one of the principal cities of China, where the Portugals do trade," and informs us that he knew and conversed with a "rich Venetian merchant of good understanding," who had also traded at Canton in company with the Portuguese.[339] From what has previously been said about trading conditions along the China coast and about the tributary system, it can readily be seen that Cruz's report, though fragmentary, was essentially correct for the day in which it was written.

Martin de Rada, who was in Fukien in 1575, or eight years after the trade and emigration bans were lifted, has nothing to say about these earlier prohibitions. Like that of Cruz, his report is scanty but accurate for its day. "They do not admit foreigners into the country," he reports in disappointment, for he was determined, if possible, to be admitted himself. But he tells of hearing reports that at Peking "there are many different kinds of nations, each one living in its own ward. . . ."[340] He received a note listing the "nations that were there," and observes that "they say that all these nations pay tribute to the king of China."[341] In Foochow, Rada "saw some men from Lau-quiu [Liu-ch'iu], whom we call Lequios [Liu-ch'iuans], who came to bring their tribute."[342] The impatient Rada did not remain long in China. In Peking, however, official note of his visit of three months may have been taken. The *Collected Statutes* (*Hui-tien*) record that in 1576 (or the year following his actual departure) an embassy from *Lu-sung* (Luzon) in the Spanish Philippines had presented tribute and that its prescribed route lay through Fukien.[343] Since Rada came from the Philippines, it is likely (even with the discrepancy in dates) that this is an official Chinese record of his visit and of the way in which Peking intended to route missions from the Philippines. If he knew of an official record of his visit, Rada makes no note of it. The determination of the Chinese to require obedience to their rules merely provoked him to complain bitterly about China being "so presumptuous" as to consider itself "to be the first in all the world."[344] Nevertheless, his "Narrative of the Mission to Fukien" (June–

[337] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[338] *Ibid.*, p. 187.

[339] *Ibid.*, p. 69. A Venetian was working with the Portuguese, even though Lisbon sought to keep the Venetians out of Portugal's Asian enterprises.

[340] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

[341] *Ibid.* Cf. his list to the official listing of tributaries as of 1587 given in Fairbank and Têng, *loc. cit.* (n. 12), pp. 151–55.

[342] Again this is very likely, for Foochow was the point of entry on the tribute route assigned to Liu-ch'iu. See MacSherry, *op. cit.* (n. 8), chap. v.

[343] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

[344] Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 255.

October, 1575),[345] gives a picturesque firsthand account of the difficulties met by uninformed Europeans in their efforts to penetrate imperial China

Mendoza's account, while not factually as precise as those presented by the actual observers, tries to give, perhaps on the basis of Rada's papers, a more comprehensive and rounded description of the tribute system and of the general trading regulations. He speculates with acumen on the isolation of the Chinese as follows·

. . . they have found by experience yt to go forth of their owne kingdome to conquer others, is the spoile and losse of much people, and expences of great treasures, besides the trauaile and care which continually they have to sustaine that which is got, with feare to be loste againe, so that in the meane time whilest they were occupied in strange conquests [of Cheng Ho], their enimies, the Tartarians and other kings borderers unto them, did trouble and inuade them, doing great damage and harme . . they found it requisit for their quietnes and profite . to leauve all yt they had got and gained out of their own kingdome, but specially such countries as were farre off. And from that day forwards not to make wars in any place for that from thence did proceed a known damage and a doubtful profite. . .[346]

The Chinese emperor, according to Mendoza, "commanded upon great penalties, that al his subiects and vassals naturall that were in any strange countries, that in a time limited, they should return home. . . ."[347] Likewise, he commanded that his governors "should in his name abandon and leauve the dominion and possession" of foreign countries "excepting such as would of their oune good will acknowledge vassalage, and give him tribute and remaine friends. . . "[348] Such details on the Chinese retreat into isolation in the fifteenth century are not to be found in the sources of Mendoza's account that are still available. The friar and ex-diplomat, who knew more than a little about the ideas of those who hoped to force the "mightie kingdome" to its knees by military action, is here obviously writing as an admirer of China's voluntary renunciation of expansion.[349]

On matters of trade and vassalage Mendoza remains more faithful to his sources and to the facts as we know them He appears to understand, for example, that a licensing system for trade and travel had but recently been adopted—though it is not entirely clear whether he is referring to legal or illicit commerce and intercourse. For example he writes:

But now in these dayes the gouenors of the sea ports do dispence with the law that forbiddeth ye going out of the kingdome, by certain gifts which is given them by merchants to give them secret license, that they may go and trafficke in ilands bordering thereabout, as unto the Philippinnas . . .[350]

[345] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–59
[346] Staunton (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 92–93
[347] *Ibid* , pp. 93–94
[348] *Ibid* , p. 94.
[349] See above, p 786.
[350] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), I, 95.

But the Chinese, even at this early period, were apparently not content simply to trade and travel to lands nearby. Mendoza reports that in 1585 "three merchants of China" arrived in Mexico "and neuer staied till they came into Spaine and into other kingdomes further off."[351]

E. CRITICISM AND EVALUATION

Shortly after the appearance of the first edition of his work in 1585, Mendoza was viciously attacked in a letter circulated by D. Juan Fernández de Velasco, Constable of Castile and a former highly placed army officer.[352] It was Velasco's intention to see to it that no second printing of Mendoza's book should appear until it had been revised. The book, he alleges, is full of "clear and manifest" errors. He charges that it grossly exaggerates the vast extent and power of China. He belittles Mendoza's style by reference to his description of the stone idol with three heads "that doth continually looke the one on the other";[353] surely, Velasco comments, it is not necessary to say "continually," since if they are of stone the faces "will go on looking at one another until the stone crumbles." He chides Mendoza further for bringing into his book such inanities as the bound feet of Chinese ladies when his real object is to urge the Christian penetration of China. And he satirically remarks: "Don't put yourself, friar, beneath the skirts of the ladies. Leave this job to those who live and die by it." He attacks the figures which Mendoza gives on the emperor's revenues as being both absurd and boring. He berates the friar with being frivolous in his talk about blind prostitutes and beggars, and in his concern with the breadth of streets and walks. And he opines that Mendoza will say in rebuttal that if people do not believe his account "they can pick up their skirts and go, like me, over there to see these marvels for themselves." Here Velasco, like so many who have read Mendoza cursorily, before and since, incorrectly assumes that the Augustinian had actually visited China. It seems clear that Velasco's attack was probably inspired by his own attachment to the current idea that the Chinese empire could be reduced to submission by force. Such a conclusion seems to be warranted by the fierceness of his general attack upon the facts and figures which Mendoza presents to show how mighty the Chinese empire really could be.

In Velasco's scathing attack there was little substance. Still, other readers, apparently not in Spain alone, were highly skeptical of Mendoza's honesty. The printer of Parke's English version warns the "Christian reader" that "the Spaniardes (following their ambitious affections) do usually in all their writings

[351] *Ibid.* Also see Boxer, *loc. cit.* (n. 1), p. 459, n. 1. I have so far not been able to locate any supporting evidence for Mendoza's assertions in contemporary European records.

[352] Velasco's letter from Naples of August 7, 1585, and Mendoza's reply of November 12, 1589, are printed in D. Cristóbal Perez Pastor, *La imprenta en Medina del Campo* (Madrid, 1895), pp. 271–81.

[353] Staunton (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 57), pp. 36–37.

extol ther oune actions, even to the setting forth of many vntruthes and incredible things."[354] But then England was at war with Spain, and Parke's translation appeared in the very year of the Armada. The Augustinian, Jerónimo Román, a contemporary author of another study of China, who also used Rada's papers, comments in 1595 that his fellow Augustinian, Mendoza, writes "as though he were some oracle," and suggests that a comparison of his use of Rada's papers with Mendoza's would not reflect favorably upon Mendoza.[355] And, a century later, a Portuguese Jesuit wrote that Mendoza's "relation" was "true and sincere" but filled "with too much credulity to the vaunting Relations which the Chinese made of the Grandeur of their Empire."[356]

Mendoza was not able to give an immediate or a resounding reply to Velasco's invective. Shortly after publishing his book, he had again left Europe for the New World and was not in a position to write his reply to Velasco until 1589. When he finally does write a rebuttal, he tries his best to show that his stories about the artificial hatching of ducks, cormorant fishing, and sailing wagons are not farfetched to the learned person who can recall that similar "marvels" were known in ancient Egypt or even in some parts of contemporary Europe. In typical humanistic fashion, Mendoza cites ancient Western authors at great length to buttress his own position. Velasco's battery of trivial allegations hardly deserved a more serious or detailed reply. But, perhaps because he felt on the defensive since he had never been to see China for himself, Mendoza never really tries to bring his contemporary documentation to the attention of his vitriolic attacker.

It can readily be seen from a comparison of Mendoza's *Historia* with the writings of Pereira, Cruz, and Rada that his main aim was to use their works as the basis for a more orderly and comprehensive picture of China than had been prepared by the Portuguese writers or Escalante. Where they give simple details that they observed or heard, he seeks, as when describing the central government, the system of poor relief, and the program of state education, to arrange their discrete data into a coherent and neat delineation. This means that in handling their data he often extracts from each that item of information or observation which is best adapted to his portrayal. But this is by no means a total explanation of why he uses his sources as he does. On some occasions he was confronted with having to choose from his sources, both primary and secondary, between contradictory facts, observations, or interpretations. Generally, in his appraisal of the Chinese he was much more inclined to follow the reports by Cruz (which were partially based on Pereira) and Escalante, rather than the more critical report by Rada. Yet here too he would frequently reject from Cruz those data or evaluations not entirely germane to his argument or not in harmony with his generally favorable view of China and its people.

But his biases did not always govern Mendoza in his selections or omissions.

[354] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[355] See comments in Boxer, *op cit* (n 14), pp lxxxii–lxxxiii

[356] Magalhães, *op. cit.* (n. 34), preface

Occasionally he appears to have re-evaluated the writings of his predecessor in the light of fresh data from other sources, probably written and oral. Certainly it is hard to explain on any other grounds why his statistics, which cover the same subjects as those given by Rada—on cities and towns, households, taxpayers, armed forces, and revenues—should have differed so utterly from Rada's. It would also seem quite possible that some of his embellishments, such as his rationale for foot-binding, could easily have been given him orally by an informant whom he considered reliable. Such a supposition is given substance by the fact that Mendoza's book actually contains reliable factual material, such as his description of the *Pao-chia* system, which is not discussed by any of the other writers. For it is clear, as we suggested at the outset, that his sources were diverse; perhaps much more so than we know if it is recalled that he also apparently met three Chinese merchants in about 1585, had studied the art objects and other Chinese products that he saw in Mexico and Europe, had read the versions of Barbosa and Pires in Ramusio, and had at his disposal the Chinese books, translations, and notes prepared by and for Rada. Moreover, he was acquainted with some of the earlier literature, such as the works of Marco Polo.

Mendoza was not at fault for having a viewpoint. Any author who has at his fingertips such diverse, partial, and sometimes contradictory sources must, if he is going to be more than a compiler and editor, try to develop a frame of reference into which his data will fit. But Mendoza was at fault for not justifying his viewpoint by indicating with more precision the sources of his knowledge, his deliberate omissions, and the points of difference within his sources. Such standards of scholarship were not common in the sixteenth century, and even if they had been Mendoza was not primarily a scholar. He was a cleric, a missionary, a traveler, and a would-be diplomat who was enamored of China and wanted nothing more than to go there. And it should also not be forgotten that Mendoza was ordered by the papacy to prepare his synthesis at a time when Europe was on tenterhooks about what the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns would mean to the overseas world and to the balance of power in Europe. It was written at a time when the Japanese embassy was touring Europe and arousing widespread interest in eastern Asia. Without question it was a tract for the times that appeared in a charged atmosphere, with certain parties advocating invasion of China by arms, in opposition to others who were working for a program of peaceful penetration.[357] Mendoza, though he is

[357] As reinforcement for Mendoza's declaration (above, p 786) see Escalante (Frampton [trans.], *op cit.* [n 48], chap. xvi), who remarks on the report of Captain Artieda "I knowe not what powre were sufficient for so greate a number of horsemen, and against people so wel armed, the Artillerie being so common to them as it is with us And seeing there is required that there should passe thither, so greate a nauigation, and seeing this great Country doth fal within the compass [demarcation] of the Conquest of our Catholic Maiestie, it will be a thing of importance that his Maiestie doo commaunde too ordein this Embassadge with the good wil of his holyness, whereby this Prince may reduce it to the gouernment of the holy Catholike Church, whereof may grow great effects in the increasing of the Christian religion" For discussion of the invasion projects of the Jesuit, Alonzo Sanchez, see above, pp. 299–301.

never entirely clear on this point, was probably devoted to the cause of peace. If his book therefore exhibits a tendentious quality, this can possibly be explained by his hope that he might through his narrative help to encourage missionary activity while discouraging those who thought it possible for only two or three thousand Spanish soldiers to wage war against his "Mightie Kingdom."

4

The Jesuit Writings

Mendoza, like many of his contemporaries, learned something about the Far East from the Jesuit reports circulated in manuscripts and printed books during the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet he seems not to have used them extensively as sources,[358] even though the Jesuits, from the time of Xavier onward, wrote about China in their letters to Europe as they untiringly strove to break through its wall of isolation. Their efforts were not rewarded until 1583, and their mission at Peking got established only at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Still they prepared careful reports of their progress and tried systematically to accumulate information which would help further their ends both in Europe and in China itself. From our viewpoint, the Jesuit writings are especially important in bringing to Europe confirmatory evidence which helped to round out the other sources of information and added to them some of the cultural dimensions which previously had been minimal in importance.

It was in the last three years of Xavier's life (1549–52) that the great "Apostle to the Indies" planned the spiritual invasion of China. Shortly after his arrival in Japan during April, 1549, Xavier had begun to realize how fundamentally important the conversion of China could be to the progress of Christianity throughout the East. For in Japan his questioners had asked. "If yours is the true faith why have not the Chinese, from whom comes all wisdom, heard of it?"[359] Xavier apparently took this interrogation seriously, for he proceeded to the task of preparing to evangelize the Chinese. Late in 1551, he left Japan for India to make ready for his journey to China. In 1552, he joined some Portuguese merchants at Shang-ch'uan (or St. John's Island), a small island near Canton, from whence he sought to gain entrance to China. He died, however, in December, 1552, before receiving the coveted permission, either for himself or for those Jesuits who were to follow.

[358] So far as I have been able to determine, Mendoza makes but one reference (in Staunton [ed.], *op. cit* [n 57], I, 171) to the Jesuits in China and relatively few references to Macao and the activities of the Portuguese there.

[359] As quoted in Rowbotham, *op cit.* (n. 252), p. 46.

Xavier's letters give us some indication of his curiosity and his growing knowledge about China.[360] He wrote as follows from Cochin, on January 29, 1552, not long before his final departure from India:

> Opposite to Japan lies China, an immense empire, enjoying profound peace, and which, as the Portuguese merchants tell us, is superior to all Christian states in the practice of justice and equity. The Chinese whom I have seen in Japan and elsewhere, and whom I got to know, are white in color, like the Japanese, are acute, and eager to learn. In intellect they are superior even to the Japanese . . . I find, from the Chinese themselves, that amongst them may be found many people of many different nations and religions, and, as far as I could gather from what they said, I suspect that among them are Jews and Mahometans. Nothing leads me to suppose that there are Christians there.[361]

Xavier also observes that China is rich in products and people. Unlike India and Japan, it is "governed by a single sovereign whose will is absolute," a fact which the Jesuit fondly hoped might make its conversion simpler. Through his experiences in Japan, he also learned about the character of the Far Eastern languages and was most impressed that "an educated Japanese can read and understand what a Chinese writes." He reports that a book has been prepared "in the Japanese language explaining the origin of the world and all the mysteries of the life of Jesus Christ," and that he hoped to take a copy of this book to China "to show the Chinese a sample of the truths we bring to them written in characters which they know."[362] In connection with his ambition for converting Japan by first proselytizing in China and converting its emperor, Xavier "ascertained that the religions which already exist in Japan have been brought from China."[363] Clearly he hoped that Christianity, once introduced successfully in China, would follow the route to Japan which Buddhism had taken.

News of Xavier's death reached Goa at the end of 1553. Four months later, Melchior Nunes Barreto, who had been superior of the Jesuit mission just a short time, decided suddenly to depart for Japan to continue with the missionizing begun in the Far East. On June 18, 1554, Barreto arrived in Malacca where he evangelized and tended the sick while waiting for passage.[364] At his side worked Fernão Mendes Pinto, then a novice of the Society, who had decided to accompany Barreto to Japan and who was considered by the

[360] See the letters by Xavier signed Francisco—Francisco de Jassu was Xavier's Christian name—in *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesus escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão e China . .* (Evora, 1598), especially pp. 22–23.

[361] H. J. Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* (2d ed., London, 1890), II, 348. Pereira and Cruz both notice (see Boxer, *op. cit.* [n. 14], pp. 36–37, 218–19) Muslims in China, but this is one of the earliest references in European literature to the possibility of the Jews being there.

[362] These quotations are from Xavier's letter of January 29, 1552, written from Cochin to Simon Rodrigues in Portugal as translated in Coleridge, *op. cit.* (n. 361), II, 373–74.

[363] From his letter to Ignatius de Loyola in Rome, written from Goa on April 9, 1552 (*ibid.*, p. 484).

[364] For his itinerary in summary see Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sépulveda, *Fernão Mendes Pinto: subsídios para a sua biographia e para o estudo da sua obra* (Lisbon, 1904), p. 49. For Father Barreto's letters from Malacca see J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica* (Rome, 1950–62), III, 119–28, 128–40.

Christians then in Malacca to be a man of extraordinary piety.[365] Barreto, Pinto, and Brother Estavão de Goes left Malacca after cultivating the vineyard of the Lord there for about eleven months (June, 1554–April, 1555). Fróis, much to his disappointment, was left behind in Malacca "to sweep these houses and look after them."[366] After being tossed about by storms and chased by Japanese pirates, the little group of missionaries finally got aboard two Portuguese galleons from Sunda which were on their way to China. From all available reports it is evident that the Chinese were engaged in trying to sweep the *Wako* off the seas when Barreto arrived in August, 1555, at a Portuguese rendezvous off the coast near Canton.[367]

Barreto remained along the southeastern coast of China for the next ten months (August, 1555–June, 1556) while he awaited the next sailing for Japan. On November 23, 1555, the Jesuit wrote a letter from "the port of China" in which he gives a summary of his observations and a sketchy depiction of the administrative organization and military capabilities of the Chinese.[368] He learned about many of these matters during two trips upriver to Canton. He reports that on each occasion he spent a month in the city. He evidently accompanied Portuguese trading missions to Canton with the object of trying to rescue three Portuguese prisoners who were languishing there in jail His descriptions of conditions in China resemble those by Pereira and Cruz—the former had been a prisoner in China before Barreto's arrival there, and the latter visited Canton less than six months after Barreto's departure for Japan.[369] Unlike Pereira and Cruz, Barreto analyzes the strategy necessary to penetrate

[365] Melchior Nunes Barreto to European Fathers (Malacca, Dec 3, 1554) in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 364), III, 132 For Pinto's famous letter (Dec 5, 1554) which was written at Barreto's behest and repeatedly published in Europe during the sixteenth century see *ibid*, pp 140–55. The fortune which Pinto turned over to the Society probably helped to defray the expenses for this expedition to the Far East He finally left the Society, probably in 1558 See Sépulveda, *op cit* (n. 364), pp. 9–10. This author also points out that after Pinto's withdrawal from the Society, his name was excised from his letters which continued to be printed in the Jesuit letterbooks

[366] Fróis to Fathers in Goa (Malacca, Dec. 1, 1555) in Wicki (ed), *op. cit* (n 364), III, 314.

[367] It is not entirely clear whether he was at Macao or Lampacão See Boxer, *op cit* (n 25), p. 22, n. 4. It is certain, however, that the Portuguese were tolerated, and perhaps even given sanctuary, by Chinese merchants who were interested in retaining trading connections with Japan and who looked upon the Europeans as harmless intermediaries The Portuguese merchants normally remained off the coast of China for ten months (August to May or June) to await the monsoon for Japan. See Fróis' letter to the Portuguese fathers (Malacca, Nov 19, 1556), Wicki (ed), *op. cit* (n. 364), III, 529.

[368] Barreto's letter was first published in *Avisi particolari* for 1558, it was then printed in Portuguese in the *Cartas* of 1565 and in Spanish translation at Coimbra in 1575 It was republished in a separate fascicule at Madrid by Carlos Sanz in 1958, just four hundred years after its original publication For discussion of Sanz's unedited re-edition see my review in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, November, 1961. The manuscript in the Ajuda library at Lisbon is probably the archetype of the various extant versions. See P Pelliot, "Un ouvrage sur les premiers temps de Macao," *T'oung pao*, XXXI (1935), 74–75

[369] While in Malacca in 1554, Barreto took down the story of a Portuguese who had previously been a captive in China It was sent to Europe and published in a slightly abridged Spanish translation in *Copia de unas cartas* (1555). For subsequent publications of this anonymous "Enformaçao da China . . ." see Boxer, *op. cit.* (n. 14), pp lvi–lvii.

China and to carry the Gospel there. The first Jesuit to set foot on the Chinese mainland, Barreto urges that his successors send an appeal to the crown in Peking for authorization to evangelize. While awaiting a reply to such a petition, the missionaries should study the language and lore of China and perform edifying acts of charity to win the support of the local populace. As a second method, he suggests preaching in the streets and squares irrespective of consequences. Though he wanted to leave a brother of the Society in Canton to study the language, he could not get the required permission from the authorities of the city. In his analysis of Chinese society, it is evident that Barreto, like the Jesuits who were to follow him, is impatient to find a method by which to approach, convince, and convert the powerful mandarin elite.

After his recall from Japan in 1556, Barreto spent the month of December off the coast of China. From this second visit we have no new information. Once he returned to India in 1557, Barreto evidently began to agitate for the dispatch of a diplomatic delegation to China as a first step in regularizing commercial and religious relations between the Chinese and the Portuguese. Such a program was consistent with his earlier opinion, expressed in his letters of 1555 and subsequently, to the effect that royal permission would greatly facilitate the inauguration of a permanent mission.[370] In 1561, at Barreto's urging, Viceroy Dom Francisco Coutinho decided to send a Portuguese embassy to the court of China.[371] Since there were then no Jesuits in Macao, the leaders of the Society in India eagerly sent missionaries along with the embassy.[372] The envoys carried with them a rich present from the king of Portugal for the Chia-ching emperor (1522–66), but all efforts proved to be of no avail. Francisco Peres, the Jesuit superior and leader of the mission group, and Aegidius de Gois, a Portuguese agent, finally went to Canton together in 1565 with a formal request to be allowed to enter the mainland. They were courteously turned down, advised to study the Chinese language, and sent back to Macao.[373] Four Jesuits from the embassy remained in Macao and settled down to work among the Portuguese and other merchants at the entrepôt.[374] Though Quadros, the provincial of India set out on a visitation to the mission stations of the Far East, also in 1565, he got only as far as Malacca before being required by the pressure of events to return to India.

Juan Bautista Ribera, a distinguished and professed Spanish Jesuit who was

[370] His letters of 1558 and 1561 from Cochin were published in *Epistolae Indicae et Japonicae* (Louvain, 1570). For his later letters see Nunes Barreto to General Lainez (Cochin, Jan. 15, 1562), in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 364), V, 483, also see Nunes Barreto to Lainez (Cochin, Jan. 24, 1563) in *ibid.*, p. 756.

[371] Frois to Brothers in Portugal (Goa, Dec. 1, 1561) in Wicki, (ed.), *op cit* (n 364), V, 260–61.

[372] Frois' catalogue of the Jesuits in the Province of India in 1561 makes no reference to anybody being resident in China See *ibid*, pp. 265–70

[373] For this interview see Henri Bernard, *Aux portes de la Chine* (Tientsin, 1933), pp 77–79, on Gois see Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 364), VII, 217, n 7

[374] Fathers Peres, Emmanuel Teixeira, and Andreas Fernandes and Brother André Pinto were located at Macao in 1565 See the catalogue of the Indian province as reproduced in Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 364), VI, 630.

sent from Rome directly into the *padroado*, arrived at Macao in 1567.[375] Ribera was one of a group of Spanish Jesuits who had been specially recruited for work in the East when it had become clear that the Portuguese province of the Society was unable to supply all the trained missionaries needed. Certain individuals in Rome, apparently dissatisfied with the progress being made in China and Japan, also wanted to bypass the Goa superiors and establish direct liaison between the missions of the Far East and Rome itself. The members of this Spanish group had been issued letters patent by General Lainez which entitled them, even without the permission of the superior at Goa, to pass on to China and Japan. While in Goa in 1565, the Spanish delegation with its extraordinary status clashed with certain of the Jesuits at the College of St. Paul. Ribera wrote of these trials to Cardinal Carolo Borromeo, protector of the Spanish Jesuits in the papal curia.[376] The Portuguese were fearful that the dispatch of the Spanish Jesuits directly to the East, particularly when taken in conjunction with the growth of Spanish power in the Philippines, might mean that China and Japan would become Spanish mission stations.

Outranking the other Jesuits on the China coast, Ribera refused to learn from their experiences and set out "unaided, unauthorized, and unversed in the language to evangelize China."[377] He resorted to every conceivable device to penetrate the mainland—even disguising himself on two occasions to get into the city of Canton. After three frustrating years he was recalled, and eventually he returned to Europe convinced that China could be penetrated only by force. In the meanwhile, Barreto, the vice-provincial of India, was writing from Cochin to General Borgia in Rome advocating the military conquest of China.[378] In the *Nuovi avisi*, published in Europe in 1570, appeared an account of the Jesuit situation in China from the pen of Emmanuel Teixeira.[379] His narrative says nothing about military conquest, and is confined largely to general statements about the strength, wealth, and orderly society of China. It was just a few years later, in 1575, that Augustinians from the Philippines launched a new effort to penetrate China. Like Ribera, they brought with them an uncompromising and Europocentric view of their mission and were soon urging the conquest of China by military action.[380] But, such proposals appear to have had little circulation in Europe, and seem not to have aroused serious interest in either Lisbon or Madrid before the union of the two Iberian crowns.[381]

[375] For his career see *ibid.*, p. 17 For Polanco's letter (July 22, 1564) in his behalf to the Portuguese provincial see *ibid*, pp. 221–22

[376] *Ibid*, VI, 463–76. On the effects of their intrigues upon the Jesuits already working in Goa, see Bernard, *op cit.* (n. 373), pp. 82–83.

[377] The words of George H Dunne, S.J, *Generation of Giants* (Notre Dame, Ind, 1962), p 16

[378] Letter of January 20, 1567, in Wicki (ed), *op cit.* (n 364), VII, 208–9, also letter of January 25, 1568, in *ibid.*, pp. 491–92

[379] Letter of January 2, 1569, from Goa as reproduced in *ibid*, pp 612–14.

[380] See above, pp. 297–99

[381] Cf Bernard, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 141.

The rebuff given by the Chinese to Xavier himself, to Nunes Barreto, to the diplomatic overtures of 1563–65, and to the ardent efforts of Ribera (1567–70) led to a growing feeling of desperation among the Jesuits with regard to the China problem. Essentially three courses seemed to be open to them around 1570: (1) retire from Macao and concentrate attention upon their other Asian missions, (2) secure freedom of preaching through the use of military force by the secular arm; (3) or adopt an entirely new approach designed to win the confidence and co-operation of the Chinese elite. While Rome worried about new techniques, the handful of Jesuits at Macao, under the episcopacy after 1568 of Melchior Carneiro, continued to minister to the natives and foreign merchants at the entrepôt. Bishop Carneiro busied himself with the founding of hospitals and the conversion of heathens—a program similar to the one being followed in Malacca and other strategic footholds of the Portuguese. On one occasion in 1576 he obtained permission to proceed to Canton to speak in behalf of an imprisoned ex-bonze whom he had converted to Christianity. But, as a rule, the Jesuits had little contact with the Chinese authorities and looked upon Macao mainly as a stopover on the route to Japan or as an important link in the Japan-China trade, the profits from which supported the mission in Japan.

Valignano, the young Italian Visitor sent out by the Society, was first in Macao from October, 1577, to July, 1578. Though he had been warned in Mozambique by Ribera and others not to expect a cordial reception, Valignano was so impressed by the character of the Chinese that he would gladly, had it been his decision alone, have consecrated himself solely to the enterprise of bringing Christianity to the Middle Kingdom He was quick to conclude that the failure to penetrate China could be blamed upon the methods which his predecessors had followed The techniques found to be adequate in other places would not open the door to China. "The only possible method of penetration," he writes, "will be completely different from that which has been adopted until now in conducting all the other missions in these countries."[382] Valignano proposed instead a program of cultural accommodation.[383] The Portuguese Jesuits, who had long been in the field, were apparently thought by him to be too ethnocentric, conservative, and not well enough trained to innovate this radical new program.[384] To act as pioneers of his new methodology of accommodation, Valignano looked hereafter to the new Italian recruits who had but recently been enlisted for the Asian missions.

The cultural penetration of China, like the successful missions to the court of Akbar, was a great victory for Rome's evolving policy of seeking to divorce the activities of the Order as much as possible from the political and commercial aims of the Iberian nations. Ribera's failure to enter China, and subsequent events elsewhere in the East, clearly proved that the Portuguese and Spanish

[382] See Dunne, *op cit* (n 377), pp 17–18.

[383] See above, pp 302–3, for further discussion

[384] See J F. Schutte, S J., *Valignanos Missionsgrundsatze fur Japan* (Rome, 1951), pp 107–9.

missionaries were sometimes too much influenced by nationalistic aims and conflicts to devote themselves wholeheartedly to a mission which was exclusively religious and cultural in its objectives. Expressed in political terms, the Italians who were sent to the Far East acted as a buffer between the Portuguese and Spanish missionaries and as the spearhead for the drive of cultural penetration. The Portuguese, as a rule, were content to work at Macao and were anxious to do nothing that would weaken the Portuguese-Jesuit position there. The Spanish in the Philippines, who were normally not welcome at Macao even after 1581, were anxious by any means whatsoever to obtain a foothold of their own in Fukien or elsewhere off China's southeastern coast. The Society's leaders in Rome and Valignano in the field were not interested in new conquests. They were happy to work within the *padroado* established by the Portuguese and were anxious to prevent national rivalries from splitting the mission. Valignano was particularly eager to bring Jesuits of other nationalities (that is, Europeans not of Portuguese or Spanish origin) into the enterprise. Personally, Valignano shared if anything the anti-Spanish feelings of his fellow Neapolitans who were forced to live under Spanish rule. In the China effort, which was of utmost concern to him, he tried to rely on Italians who were politically uninvolved in Iberian affairs, and who were like himself trained in the humanistic tradition and hence better prepared than others to appreciate and understand the high civilization of China in its own terms.

While in Macao on his first visit, Valignano was appalled to learn that none of the fathers there was actively studying the Chinese language. Father Michele Ruggiero, another Neapolitan, was sent on the Visitor's request from Cochin and he arrived in Macao on July 20, 1579—just a few weeks after Valignano had left for Japan. The Visitor before his departure had drawn up a "Regimento" for the newcomers to Macao to follow. Though the original is not extant, it is known that he instructed Ruggiero to begin studying Chinese systematically. Although progress was slow and the discouragements many, Ruggiero quickly began to understand a few of the terms and formalities required by traditional Chinese etiquette. When he visited Canton in November, 1580, with a group of Portuguese merchants, the Chinese were obviously pleased to observe the improvement in the address, manners, and attitude of the Europeans. Such successes, minor as they were, did nothing to endear Ruggiero to the other Jesuits of Macao. One form of petty obstructionism after the other was put into his way as he singlehandedly tackled the knotty problem of the Chinese language. When Valignano returned to Macao in 1582, he took swift action to put an end to obstructionism. He sent the Jesuit superior of Macao to Japan and ordered the missionaries to stop their practices of "portugalizing" the converts. Henceforward the missionaries were to "sinicize" themselves as the first step to penetration of the mainland.

The arrival at Macao of Alonzo Sanchez,[385] the Jesuit leader from the

[385] For his career see above, pp 299–301.

Philippines, further complicated life for Ruggiero. Ch'en-jui, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi provinces, sent to Macao asking that a deputation come to Chao-ch'ing, his viceregal capital, to explain the arrival of Sanchez' mission and to justify Portugal's claim to control Macao. Ruggiero was sent on this delicate diplomatic mission and carried it off so effectively that he was invited to reside in Chao-ch'ing himself. The Jesuit returned to Macao, and then rushed back to Chao-ch'ing in company with Francesco Pasio, another Italian Jesuit who had by this time been recruited for the cultural mission. A new storm arose, however, to darken the horizons of the Jesuits. The friendly viceroy, who had meanwhile gotten in trouble with Peking, felt himself forced to ask the Jesuits to leave. His successor, for some unexplained reason, invited them to return and so Ruggiero, this time in the company of Matteo Ricci, an Italian Jesuit who had previously been on the Fishery Coast in India, established a permanent Christian mission at Chao-ch'ing on September 10, 1583. It was located on property presented to them by the viceroy. Here the two Jesuits, later joined by others, began to learn about China from the inside out.

Political problems at Macao moved Valignano to dispatch Ruggiero to Rome in 1588 to request that a papal mission be sent to China. It was decided that Ruggiero should explain on the basis of his own experiences what was needed to win from the Chinese emperor his approval for the unfettered teaching of the Gospel in his realm. The mission requested from Rome was never sent to China owing to a series of succession crises at the papal court, and Ruggiero spent his remaining years in Italy. At Chao-ch'ing, Ricci and Antonio d'Almeida went it alone after 1588. The mission was soon forced northward by political events in Kwangtung, and the two European Jesuits were joined in 1589 by two Chinese lay brothers trained in Macao. Eventually, through determined application and the adroit maneuvering of his Chinese friends, Ricci prepared the way for getting to Peking. On January 24, 1601, the Jesuit arrived in the imperial city, the first European on record to visit the imperial capital since the mission of Tomé Pires was there in 1521.

During the course of his eighteen years (1582–1600) of self-education in China, Matteo Ricci continually and conscientiously compiled accurate information on the "Middle Kingdom." Much of this he relayed to Europe in letters and reports. He also kept journals recording the progress of his work. But for our purposes here, his reports and letters are of primary importance since some of them were circulated and published before 1600 or used in the preparation of Jesuit histories compiled in the sixteenth century. Even his earliest reports are valuable, for when Ricci arrived at Macao in 1582, he was immediately assigned by Valignano to study the Chinese language and to undertake the task of preparing a summary description of China's people, customs, institutions, and government. With the help of Ruggiero's staff of interpreters and tutors at Macao, he wrote the account of China which Valignano then incorporated into his biographical history of Xavier and the areas to which

the Jesuit pioneer had carried his apostolate.[386] Throughout the remaining years of his life, Ricci by his letters, reports, and diaries was in effect amplifying and correcting this first basic document which he prepared before setting foot on the mainland of China. His journals, which record twenty-seven years of work and observation in China, were published in Europe in 1615 by Nicolas Trigault.

The only Ricci materials openly diffused in sixteenth-century Europe were a few letters which appeared in various collections of Jesuit letters.[387] The one most widely circulated was his letter from Canton of November 30, 1584,[388] addressed to Juan Bautista Román, Spanish factor at Macao, in which he assesses China's military strength:

> The power of China rests rather upon the great number of towns and the multitude of inhabitants, than upon the valour of the people. There are more than sixty millions[389] of rated persons inscribed on the royal registers, exclusive of the public functionaries and those people who are too poor to pay taxes. All the neighboring kingdoms pay tribute to the King of China, excepting Japan, which has freed itself quite recently; it is on this account that the Chinese are accustomed to consider their country as the center of the world, and to despise all other nations. . . . The Chinese, however, are but poor warriors, and the military is one of the four conditions which are considered mean among them. . . . In short, they are only formidable from their numbers.[390]

The story of how Ricci's writings got into the works of others in Europe is lengthy and involved. As observed earlier, Ricci provided Valignano with a summary description of China which the Visitor then used in the preparation of the section on China in his two-volume study of the history and progress of the Jesuits in the East from 1542 to 1564. For his other information on China, Valignano relied on his personal observations at Macao, on European missionary and merchant informants who were working off the China coast, and on Chinese informants such as the faithful Antonio who watched over Xavier's deathbed.[391] At the end of 1583 Valignano sent the first part of this book to the Jesuit General in Rome. He asked that it should not be published until he had completed the second part and had checked his volumes against other Jesuit letters which he had not had a chance to see.[392] Though the Visitor himself was

[386] The first full publication of Valignano's work was edited by Josef Wicki, S J It appeared under the title *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jésus en las Indias Orientales* (1542–64) ("Bibliotheca Instituti Historici S I," Vol II [Rome, 1944]).

[387] For the period from 1584 to 1599 at least twenty-five Ricci letters on China are still extant Cf R. Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum* (Aachen, 1928), p 525 and *passim*

[388] For example, this appeared in compilations of published letters in French, Italian, and German around 1587 (cf *ibid*, pp 451–54).

[389] Cf above, p 769n, for discussion of population figures.

[390] As translated by R H. Major in the introduction to Staunton (ed.), *op cit.* (n. 57), pp. lxxvii–lxxxix.

[391] Wicki (ed), *op cit* (n 286), p 92, n. 86 observes that there is a definite correspondence between Valignano's chapter on China and Ricci's letter, quoted in part above, to Román at Macao.

[392] *Ibid.*, pp. 86–89.

apparently dissatisfied with the restrained and limited account which he felt able to present, Ricci had a high regard for Valignano's appraisal of China.[393]

The first part of Valignano's manuscript was used in Europe in the preparation of several histories[394] of the Society's activities, and especially by Giovanni Pietro Maffei in his *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Florence, 1588). Although Maffei avowedly is concerned mainly with the activities of the Portuguese and not with the descriptions of the Eastern countries themselves, he devotes most of Book VI to a sketch of China.[395] In this eloquent and incisive Latin discourse, he paints a glowing picture of secular life in the "Middle Kingdom." He portrays China as a fertile land rich in resources, population, and magnificent cities and edifices. The people and their dress, the beauty of the ladies, and the devotion of the Chinese to the arts of high living and fine eating do not escape his admiration. He comments on tea, its method of preparation, and its alleged virtues [396] Maffei tells about methods of travel in the country, the way of reckoning distances, the widespread use of boats and various craft for transportation, living, and fishing. He remarks on Chinese dramas, funeral ceremonies, and "superstitions." Everybody works, and there is no place in Chinese society for sluggards. Nor does he forget the great aptitude of the Chinese in the mechanical arts, acknowledging their priority in the invention of cannons and printing. He himself saw Chinese books at the Vatican and in the library of King Philip II at El Escorial.[397]

The Jesuit Humanist is particularly interested in the Chinese method of writing and compares the characters to Egyptian hieroglyphics, a comparison which helped to set off a chain reaction of controversy over the following two centuries. While noting that each province has its own dialect, he indicates that the educated speak a language comparable to Latin in its universality, which is commonly called "Mandarin." [398] The understanding of the Chinese is excellent in the fields of medicine, natural sciences (*physica*), and astronomy.[399]

[393] *Ibid*, pp 96–99, 104

[394] Aside from Maffei's book it was used in the preparation of Horatio Tursellinus, *Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1594), and of João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier* (Lisbon, 1600), who devotes five chapters to China. Also see G Schurhammer, S J, "Xaveriusforschung im 16 Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 138–40, and above, pp 327–28.

[395] My references are to G P Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum* (Venice, 1589) in Latin Book VI of this version covers folios 91v–103r The reference to his greater concern for Portuguese enterprise than for description of Asian countries is on p 102r

[396] *Ibid*, p. 92r [397] *Ibid*, p 95r. [398] *Ibid*

[399] Valignano, one of Maffei's sources, remarks about Chinese learning "Their sciences are imperfect compared to ours, since they seem to be in the same state as they were among our ancient philosophers before Aristotle organized them and before the advent of Christian Enlightenment. Nevertheless, they are familiar with natural and moral philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and other disciplines—especially calligraphy and the mandarin language which, requiring long study to be mastered, is to them what Latin is to us. They give special attention to the study of civil law and methods of government Finally they have as many and more books than are to be found in Europe, treating of these and other branches of learning They have other books of history, poetry, and a thousand other diverse subjects to such a degree that the multitude of libraries which exist in the cities of China is marvelous to behold " As translated in Dunne, *op. cit.* (n. 377), p 89. Cf. Wicki (ed.), *op. cit.* (n. 386), pp. 239–40, for the original version

Their laws which have been set down in writing for over two thousand years, are said to have remained unchanged throughout the centuries. The crown liberally supports schools and colleges in almost every town where youths of promise obtain education at state expense.

Of particular interest is Maffei's description of the examination system for state offices.[400] Unlike the earlier observers, he clearly understands that these are *written* examinations.[401] Behind closed and guarded doors the candidates are required to write extemporaneous essays on themes given to them by the censors. The subjects handed out relate to public affairs and national matters (*de repub. et regno*) as well as to controversial issues of a more private nature. The doors are opened in the evening and the essays are taken up and each is signed with the candidate's name and address.[402] At their leisure the censors consider the papers carefully. From the total number they separate out the three thousand best essays, from this selection they choose the three hundred deemed best; finally they select ninety of the papers which are thought to be superior.[403] The successful candidates are then announced, feted publicly, presented to the king, given an annual pension commensurate to their new dignity, and assigned to fill offices in diverse parts of the realm. Officials selected by examination are judged by the Chinese to be less subject than others to inordinate ambition or corruption. Maffei praises unstintingly the methods of recruitment and advancement in Chinese official life. He also notices the absence of a hereditary nobility in China. Every man is the "founder of his own fortune,"[404] for titles, offices, and stipends are never passed on legally from one generation to the next.

Maffei is not an uncritical Sinophile. While he praises certain attributes of the Chinese, he unqualifiedly judges that their ills and vices by far exceed their virtues. He points critically to their superstitious practices, inhumane tortures, and excessive preoccupation with pleasures of the flesh.[405] Like the Portuguese authors, he considers the emperor of China to be ridiculously arrogant when he thinks of himself as master of the world and the Son of Heaven. The emperor

[400] Maffei, *op cit* (n 395), pp 96r–97r

[401] To my knowledge Maffei is the first European writer to make clear that the examinations were written exercises For a survey of the beginnings of written examinations in China and Europe see Teng Ssu-yu, "Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VII (1943), 267–312.

[402] Actually it seems that the rule obtained in Ming times that candidates were given a secret code number and that the name was strictly forbidden to appear on the examination booklet. See Ho, *op cit* (n 282), pp. 190–91

[403] These figures are interesting even though they are here not fully explained or correctly presented. Two examinations were held in every triennium for candidates trying for the lowest degree. Every third year examinations were held for the two higher degrees. In the sixteenth century, according to Ho Ping-ti, the number of "doctor's" (*chin-shih*) degrees awarded ranged from 320 to 330 per examination. For the entire Ming period, the annual average was around 90, although it should be borne in mind that the *chin-shih* was not actually awarded annually For the sixteenth century, when the Jesuits were writing from China, the average number was about 108 For additional data see Hucker, *loc. cit* (n 36), p 14, and Ho, *op. cit* (n 282), p 189, table 22

[404] Maffei, *op. cit.* (n. 395), p 99v.

[405] *Ibid*, pp. 99v–102r.

is censured for abandoning his subjects to the pillage and cruelty of his favorites, and is judged to be as arbitrary and immoral as the Roman Caligula in tolerating the lewd pleasures of his subjects and in raising revenues from them His demeaning of foreign ambassadors is insufferable, and is based upon his unfounded belief that all foreign states were previously vassals of China.

While the Chinese are responsible in large part for complicating international relations in the Far East, the Portuguese are not guiltless. Maffei berates the Europeans for their excesses at Canton in 1521, and thinks it understandable that the Chinese resent their behavior.[406] In this connection Maffei makes a revealing admission which reflects how much the Jesuits heeded the official Portuguese line on the publication and dissemination of information about the East "I am not unaware," he writes, "that Barro[s] excuses and strives to smooth over these excesses [of the Portuguese]. And on his authority I would voluntarily have suppressed many things if Goes and Osore [Osorius] had not already condemned them."[407] Maffei, who often inserts digressions into his narrative, completely omits all reference to the internecine struggle going on in his day within the Society of Jesus over the question of a military attack upon China. It seems safe to conclude that he was much too impressed with the wealth and cohesiveness of Chinese society to have been a proponent of military action. Unlike Mendoza, he strikes a balance in his accounting of Chinese virtues and faults which puts China on the debit rather than on the credit side of his ledger.

While Maffei continued to work primarily from the Portuguese-Jesuit side, the Spanish tradition inaugurated by Escalante and Mendoza continued to receive fresh infusions of information via the Philippines and Mexico. The Spanish Dominican, Juan Cobo, who ministered to the Chinese community of Manila from 1586 to 1592, devoted himself seriously to the study of the Chinese language before he was sent off on the mission to Japan from which he was never to return. Among the papers found after his death were at least six manuscripts. These were outgrowths of his sinological studies and included among them was a translation into Castilian of a Chinese book.[408] While a number of his manuscripts were published at Manila shortly after his death, Cobo's translation of this Chinese book first appeared in print in 1924.[409]

[406] *Ibid*, pp 102r–103r

[407] *Ibid*, p. 102v.

[408] See list of his linguistic works in Streit, *op cit* (n. 387), IV, 472 The book translated into Castilian was entitled *Beng Sim Po Cam*, Cobo's transliteration of the Chinese pronunciation then being used in the Philippines (cf Pelliot, *loc cit* [n 276], p 46) of the Mandarin, *Ming-hsin pao-chien* Cobo's Spanish translation, *Espejo rico del claro corazon*, of the Chinese is roughly correct, the English title in translation is *The Precious Mirror Which Enlightens the Mind* The original Chinese book was compiled by Fan Li-pen, and it contains a collection of 673 Chinese aphorisms extracted from the writings of 110 different authors grouped according to topics into twenty separate chapters The manuscript copy of Cobo's translation is now conserved in the *Biblioteca nacional* in Madrid

[409] Father Luis G Alonso Getino, a Dominican, published the translation, without either the Chinese original or satisfactory explanatory notes, in the *Biblioteca clássica dominicana* (Madrid) It was reissued along with the Chinese text by Carlos Sanz in a work published in 1959 which was prepared as part of the *Exposición Oriente-Occidente* held in Spain late in 1958 at which Cobo was honored as the

Though it was not actually circulated in sixteenth-century Europe, the mere existence of Cobo's translation, like Rada's collection, indicates how eager the Spanish missionaries were to learn about China from the "Sangleyes" in the Philippines So far as we know, this is the first Chinese book still extant to be translated into a European language in its entirety.[410]

In the New World too, the Spanish missionaries sought to learn what they could by report about the mighty realm of China on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. The Jesuit Humanist and missionary Father José de Acosta, who was never actually in the Far East himself, was more than mildly interested in China. This is revealed in the intermediary role he played in the struggle between those who advocated the military conquest of China and those who hoped for success through peaceful penetration, and through the observations in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590).[411] In his famous treatise Acosta reveals repeatedly that he was a close student of the Jesuit letters from the Far East. His topics range from a few erudite references to Asian geography scattered throughout his work, to the peculiar birds being imported into Europe (birds of Paradise?)[412] and to the temples and gods of China. Like other Jesuits, he is clearly intrigued by what he has read about Buddhism and the monastic orders of China and Japan.[413]

A close student of language, Acosta from his experiences in the New World concludes that "no nation of the Indies hath beene founde to have had the use of letters [the alphabet]."[414] The same generalization applies, he believes, to the languages of the Far East even though these peoples have a great reputation for writing books and being devoted to scholarship and the arts. Chinese characters, he argues, are clearly not representations of sounds but are simply pictures and ciphers designed to jog the memory. The character for sun, as an example, is not a true portrait of the sun but simply a resemblance of it which bestirs the memory to think "sun." Since the spoken languages of China are so numerous and different, he argues that the characters function as numerals do in the West. No matter what each calls it, the number "8," so written, means

---

first scholar to translate a Chinese book into Castilian For the bibliographical history of Cobo's book in European translation see my review of Sanz's work in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, November, 1961, p 584

[410] It should be recalled, however, that Barros in Lisbon and Rada in Manila apparently had portions and perhaps complete books translated from Chinese. Unfortunately, however, the originals of these translations seem not to be extant

[411] The most authoritative biography is Leon Lopéteguí, S J., *El P José de Acosta y su influencia en la literatura científica española* (Madrid, 1942) The best critical edition of his famous work on the Indies is that published in Mexico City in 1940 by the Fondo de Cultura Económica Clements Markham edited and the Hakluyt Society reprinted the English translation of 1604 by Edward Grimston as *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* ("Publications of the Hakluyt Society," Vols LX and LXI [2 vols , London, 1880]). Our references are to the English edition edited by Markham, but we have also utilized the critical apparatus supplied by the Mexican editors

[412] Markham (ed.), *op cit* (n. 411), I, 279

[413] *Ibid* , II, 334–35, 363, 369.

[414] *Ibid.*, p. 396.

the same thing to Arab, Frenchman, and Spaniard. The Chinese characters are likewise quite easily read by great numbers of people, including therein the Japanese, all of whom pronounce them in their own way. And, because "things" are so infinite in number, the Chinese language of pictures and ciphers is necessarily replete with a host of characters—eighty-five thousand to one hundred thousand of them! The Chinese, like the picture-writers of Mexico, write in vertical lines and not in the horizontal manner of peoples who possess alphabets Since the characters signify "things," the Chinese "have no need to assemble the parts one with another, and therefore they may well write from the toppe to the bottom "[415] This language, which the Chinese themselves spend so much time mastering, has been "studied day and night above tenne years" by the devoted fathers of the Society [416] The learned throughout China, Acosta realizes, understand a common dialect called Mandarin and they are able to communicate orally with one another through this medium.

Acosta is somewhat troubled and vague about how the pictorial characters can be used as verbs, conjunctions, articles, and other non-substantive parts of speech. His response to this query is that they use determinatives, or "certaine points, strikes, and dispositions of the figure," to indicate qualities or to express action. From examination of certain of their writings, he deduces that the Japanese "should have some kinde of letters"[417] or syllabary which they use in addition to the Chinese characters. A man of extraordinary perception, Acosta correctly concludes from scanty information that the Japanese characters have phonetic qualities not found in the Chinese symbols. Acosta is puzzled, however, as to how the proper names of foreigners for which no characters exist can be written in Chinese. To learn the answer to this question, he buttonholed certain Chinese who were then (1587) in Mexico He asked them to write in their language. "José de Acosta has come from Peru" and other sentences involving similar problems of translation. ". . . the Chinois was long pensive," he observes, "but in the end hee did write it, the which other Chinois did after reade, although they did vary a little in the pronountiation of the proper name."[418] Acosta tells us that Alonzo Sánchez, whose name was recorded by more than one Chinese magistrate, also noticed that "they seeke out something in their tongue that hath resemblance to that name, and set downe the figure of this thing."[419] The Japanese youths who came as envoys to Europe, Acosta hears, were able to write down everything quite readily in their language, including European names.

In a short section on the schools and universities of China, Acosta reports that the Jesuits on the scene have not found any great centers where philosophy and the natural sciences are taught. Not aware of the learning of other peoples,

[415] *Ibid*, p 408
[416] *Ibid*, p 399.
[417] *Ibid*, p. 401
[418] *Ibid.*, p. 400.
[419] *Ibid.*

the Chinese spend their time mastering their intricate language and their traditional books. Their knowledge of the natural sciences is limited to common sense observations, astronomy, and the empirical administration of drugs. Their fine arts, in his view, seem to be limited to lengthy plays based on moral themes. From the reports of his colleagues in the Far East, Acosta judges that the Chinese "attaine to no high knowledge"[420] either in religious or secular thought because they are forced to devote most of their intellectual effort to language study. Essentially Chinese is a primitive language which inhibits learning, a view that many later Europeans were likewise to assume even after they had much closer acquaintance with the characters. It is only from their skill in government and in the preservation of good order that the Chinese have been able to maintain their greatness for more than two thousand years.[421]

Acosta, primarily through his association with Alonzo Sánchez,[422] became deeply involved in the bitter debate convulsing the Society over the best means of penetrating China Like many of his colleagues, Acosta saw the union of the crowns of Portugal and Castile as a splendid opportunity for united Iberian action in spreading the Gospel to the entire world.[423] That the overseas exploits of the two Iberian nations, one by way of the East and the other by way of the West, should have met off the China coast shortly before the union of the two crowns in Europe seemed almost to be a mandate from heaven to merge their "discoveries" and their missions for a concerted enterprise to break down the gates of China. Even so, the "empresa de China," Sánchez' detailed plan for a military campaign against China, was sharply rejected by Acosta when he first heard about it in Mexico in 1587. In March of that year Acosta wrote memorials to King Philip and General Acquaviva denouncing the military plan.[424] Soon thereafter Acosta and Sánchez embarked for Spain. In December, 1587, Sánchez was received by Philip II with whom he conversed for two hours about the Philippines and with whom he left a special memorial on the China project [425] Ultimately, under pressure from Rome and probably because of the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the whole matter of the "empresa de China" was shelved in Europe. An incidental by-product of Sánchez' mission was the appearance in Europe of a ten-year-old Filipino convert, Martin Sancho, who was received by Philip II and in 1593 admitted to the Society of Jesus in Rome as the first Filipino member of the Order.[426]

[420] *Ibid*, p 402.

[421] *Ibid*, pp. 410–11

[422] See above, p. 301.

[423] Markham (ed.), *op. cit.* (n 411), I, 172

[424] Text of these memorials in Francisco Mateos, S J., *José de Acosta. Obras* ("Biblioteca de autores españoles," Vol LXXIII [Madrid, 1954]), pp. 331–45 For a summary of their contents see H de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768* (Cambridge, Mass , 1961), pp 85–87 The ramifications of the Sánchez episode and its meaning for mission history is examined in Henri Bernard, S J , "La théorie du protectorat civil des mission en pays infidèles, ses antecedents historiques et sa justification théologique par Suarez," *Nouvelle revue théologique*, LXIV (1937), 261–83.

[425] De la Costa, *op cit* (n 424), p. 88

[426] *Ibid*, p. 84. The young Jesuit returned to the Philippines in 1601 and died soon thereafter.

The Jesuit historian, L. Guzman, in the account of China published in 1601 in Volume I, Book IV of his *Historia de las missiones* . . . leans, like Maffei, on Valignano's more or less official account.[427] In introducing his chapter on China, Guzman writes as follows of his sources and his method:

> The information which we get of the Kingdom of China is so plentiful and of such a nature that I would not have ventured to write about it if the authors I have confirming it were not so truthful, and were not many of them eye-witnesses I will put in only that which I find to be most truthful and ascertained from those writings on the particulars of this land, leaving out many others about which there is some doubt and less probability [428]

Evidently, Guzman considered that Mendoza, as well as the Jesuit writers, should be considered a reliable source, for he depends upon the Augustinian in a number of instances.[429] What sources were in his possession but not considered reliable enough to use Guzman does not indicate. His seventy-page "book" is very limited in its description of China and fails to add significantly to the information already generally available in Europe.

The last decade of the sixteenth century saw the English and Dutch becoming a dangerous threat to the Iberian powers in the waters of Europe and the overseas world. The capture near the Azores of the Portuguese carrack, "Madre de Dios," in 1592 by a squadron of British vessels under Sir John Burrough, brought new information to England and Protestant Europe about China. Aside from a rich cargo of Oriental wares and Indian riches, the "Madre de Dios" carried a valuable book printed in Latin at Macao in 1590. The younger Richard Hakluyt ultimately obtained this treasured volume which was brought to him "inclosed in a case of sweete cedar wood and lapped up almost an hundredfold in fine Calicut cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell."[430] Though he printed it without credit to its author, Hakluyt wrote that he believed Duarte de Sande, the Jesuit superior at Macao, to be its author And this document he "held to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light."[431]

The "excellent treatise of the kingdome of China" translated into English in Hakluyt's second edition (1599) of his *Principal Navigations* was extracted from the book actually compiled by Valignano and Duarte de Sande from information derived in part from the reports of Ricci and the other Jesuits who had penetrated China's isolation. The Jesuit collaborators in Macao

[427] Cf Wicki (ed), (n 386), p 103.

[428] L Guzman, *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañia de Iesus* (Alcalá de Henares, 1601), I, 311

[429] Compare, for example, his figures (*ibid* , pp 316–17) on the "king's" revenues with those given by Mendoza in Staunton (ed), *op cit* (n 57), I, 83–84 Of course, it is also possible, but not likely, that they used a common source If so, it can be stated definitely that it was not Valignano

[430] E G R Taylor, *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts* (London, 1935), II, 461

[431] *Ibid* , p. 467.

designed their work in dialogue form,[432] presumably to be used as Latin reading for the students of the Jesuit seminaries in Japan to instruct them about Europe and other places, such as China, which were on the route followed by the Japanese embassy. Used as reading in England, where it was never intended to circulate, the dialogue on China undoubtedly answered many questions regularly asked of those who related the stories of missions or trading expeditions to the "Middle Kingdom."

This Jesuit discourse as printed in Hakluyt is designed to be "a true rather than a large . . . narration" based upon reports from Jesuits "which even now at this present are conversant in China."[433] The country is said to have "more then 540 leagues in direct extension to the north," and "according to a map wherein the people of China describe the forme of their kingdom, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed ye longitude "[434] The emperor of this "most large and spacious" land receives more than "all others . . . the richest" revenues and tributes "both in regard of the fertilitie and greatnes of his dominions, and also by reason of the severe collection and exaction of his duties." No other authorities, contrary to contemporary European practices, may "levie unto himself any peculiar revenues, or collect any rentes within the precincts of his seigniories." The Ming court was constrained to move from Nanking to Peking "by reason of the manifold and cruell warres mooved by the Tartars" and to place on the northern frontier "many moe fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of soldiers." In their defense system the Chinese use the Great Wall which "runneth alongst the borders of three Northerlie provinces, Xensi (Shensi), Xansi (Shansi), and Paquin (Peking) "for almost three hundred leagues [1,200 miles] in length." The Wall is constructed to supplement the natural fortifications such as rivers and mountains "which are by their owne naturall strength . . . a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemie."[435]

While China is deemed "a most populous kingdom," its multitudes are "not pel-mel and confusively dispersed over the land, but most conveniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities." The "number of the greater cities [*fu*] throughout the whole kingdom is more than 150"; there are even more cities classed as *chou*; and "of walled townes not endued with the privileges of cities there are mo then 1120."[436] The Portuguese, with some truth, accounted for China's ability to maintain its gigantic population by reference

[432] For bibliographical details of the *De missione legatorum Japonesium* (Macao, 1590) see J. Laures, S J , *Kirishitan Bunko* (Tokyo, 1940), pp 11–13

[433] This quotation and those that follow are from R Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow, 1904), VI, 348–77

[434] Cf. above, p 739.

[435] The Great Wall runs from the present province of Kansu to the Gulf of Pohai, or for a distance of 1,684 miles. For details see Couling, *op. cit.* (n 180), p 218.

[436] Cf above, p 740 The confusion over capital cities and the various levels of government persists throughout the sixteenth century among the Europeans The *Ming Shih* records the following for the latter years of the dynasty: 159 prefectures (*fu*), 240 subprefectures (*chou*), and 1,144 counties (*hsien*). Hucker, *loc. cit.* (n 36), p. 7.

to its fertility, salubrious air, internal peace, and freedom from those "most heavy and sharpe scourges of mankind, warre, famine and pestilence." But, according to the Jesuits, such an "opinion is more common then true." Chinese history records "most terrible intestine and civile warres," and even "in these oure days" the people "have beene afflicted with pestilence, and contagious diseases, and with famine." China's fertility surpasses "all other kingdoms of the East: yet it is nothing comparable unto the plentie and abundance of Europe." The Portuguese, according to the Jesuits, also overestimate the abundance of merchandise in China, since their conclusions are drawn from what they know of Canton "which perhaps is the greatest Mart throughout the whole kingdome." Here it should be recalled that the Jesuits originally prepared their analysis to educate Japanese converts about the world and to impress them with the greatness of European civilization. Still the Jesuits concede that China is endowed "both in excellencie and in abundance" with gold, silver, and "sundry kinds of mettals." At Hainan there is a "wonderful store of pearls."

The Jesuits also present some interesting details about the industrial crafts of China. While the men labor in the paddies, "likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preserving of silke-wormes, and in keeming [combing] and weaving of silke." The Jesuits also allude to the annual spring fertility rites when "the King and Queene with great solemnitie come foorth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberie tree." Cinnamon, camphor, and musk are "very principal and good." From "cotton wooll" they make a wide variety of clothes that are "like unto linen." Porcelain, which comes in three qualities, is so highly prized by the Portuguese that they do, though "with great difficulty, transport" it to Japan, India, and "into sundry provinces" of Europe. Though the Chinese have numerous useful plants and roots, including sugar cane, they know nothing of olives or grapes. While wheat is "sowen in all the provinces, howbeit rise [rice] is in farre more use and request then it."

Those who have visited the interior of China "report it to be a most amiable countrey" adorned with an abundance of forests, fruits, grass, and "a wonderful variety of rivers." Some of the rivers "doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are derived into sundry places." The people who live in this garden are "very constant in their own customes" and "lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people." The magistrates dress differently than the common people, and use "one and the very same kinde of language" among themselves. There are a variety of shops and hosts of craftsmen. Painters are numerous and they use "either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine upon cloth either of linnen or of cotton."[437] They use gunpowder to make "many rare and artificiall fire-works." In printing they cut the characters "in wood or in brasse" plates, and "with marvellous facilitie they dayly publish

[437] Cf. the article on "embroidery" in Couling, *op. cit.* (n. 180), pp. 161–63.

huge multitudes of books." The Chinese, knowing the art of sailing, managed in times past to bring "some part of India under their owne dominion." And for a long period China itself was under the heel of "the Tartarian [Mongol] race," though "for these 200 yeeres last they have enjoyed exceeding peace and tranquillity" under their own rulers.[438]

In discussing Chinese education, the Jesuit authors modify some of the earlier statements made about it. "For although it be commonly reported" that the Chinese study many "liberall sciences," natural and moral philosophy, and "that they have Universities there" for teaching them, "this opinion is to be esteemed more popular than true." It is correct, however, that the Chinese "above all things professe the arte of literature," and spend "a better part of their age" in learning it. Schoolmasters "are hired for stipends to teach children" who are "put to schole even from their infancy." Those who are not fitted for learning "are trained up to marchandise or to manuary sciences." Those who follow a career in letters work upward through a series of three degrees: "Siusai" (*hsiu-ts'ai*, "budding genius" or Bachelor), "Quiugin" (*chu-jen*, "promoted scholar" or Master), "Chinzu" (*chin-shih*, "entered scholar" or Doctor). Each city or walled town "has a publique house called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and pety-schooles that are minded to obtaine the first degree." Here they "do amplifie a sentence or theame propounded unto them . . . and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined are . . . graced with the first degree." Those who aspire to the second degree are examined every third year in the "principall city of the province" where they "doe . . . make an oration of another sentence obscurer than the former, and doe undergo a more severe examination." Those who seek the highest degree are examined "at the Kings Court onely, and that also every third year next insuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in each province."[439] After the imperial examinations, "the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled even with the Kings owne hand."[440] Once having completed the third degree they are admitted to "divers functions" in government, but only after "being awhile trained in the lawes of the realme and in the precepts of urbanity." Though possibly not correct in all its detail, this description of the Chinese examination scheme coincides much more with what we know from the Chinese sources than those given by earlier European writers. The system of degrees, the assertion that universities in the Western sense did not exist, and the highly competitive character of the examinations and the periods when they were held are all clearly brought out. In a marginal comment, Hakluyt remarks: "Note

[438] The Mings expelled the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty in 1368

[439] Cf Hucker, *loc cit* (n. 36), pp 13–14 The major examination of the first series was held in the prefectural city about twice every three years, the major examination of the second level was held triennially at the provincial capital, the final examination for the *chin-shih* degree was held triennially at Peking See Wang, *loc cit* (n 107), p. 247

[440] In Manchu times the first three successful "Doctors" could leave the imperial palace by the central portal after being presented to the emperor See Couling, *op cit.* (n. 180), p 155.

the extraordinary honor vouchsafed by the great king of China upon his learned graduates."

Though they are conversant with moral philosophy, medicine, war, and astronomy, government is recognized as the "chief arte" of the Chinese. Each province has three "principall Magistrates."[441] The "first" deals with criminal matters and is called "Ganchasu" (*An-ch'a-shih* or Chief Justice); the second is the "Puchinsu" (*Pu-chêng-shih* or governor) and acts as "the Kings Fosterer"; the third is the "Chumpin" (*Tsung-ping* or Regional Commander) in charge of military affairs. All three provincial officials have their headquarters in the chief city of the province and are subordinate to the "Tutan" (*Tu-t'ang* or Viceroy). The civilian officials "have certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferior authority, appointed in divers cities and Townes" who have jurisdiction over the other local officials. The magistrates "beare office for the space of three yeeres together," and are always "men of another province" so that they "may give sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde." Annually a "Chaien (*Ch'a yuan* or censor) visits each province to "make inquisition of all crimes and especially the crimes of Magistrates." These censors are extremely powerful and may even "admonish the kings himselfe" regarding "the faults of the great magistrates."

The central authority is headed by the emperor who is aided by a Senate[442] "at either court, namely in the North [Peking] and in the South [Nanking]." The provincial authorities refer "affairs of greater weight and moment" to one of the Senates "according to the neereness and distance of the place." Both Senates appoint officials, "howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed unto the Senate of Paquin." Annually magistrates are "appointed in each province to goe unto the king"; triennially "all the Governors of cities and of Townes do visit him at once." Such a hierarchy open to all men "without all respect of gentry or blood" helps to produce "sweet peace and tranquillity" within the country.

The Chinese "does use a kinde of gradation in advancing men unto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senators of Paquin." In changing offices they often move from province to province. After serving in the lower ranks, they finally advance to Viceroy, "Senators of Nanquin, and last of all . . . into the Senate of Paquin." Much the same order of advancement by merit is observed in the military hierarchy, "except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected." But, though the hereditary rights of the military officers are observed, they "are in all things subject unto the Viceroy."

On matters regarding the emperor and the imperial family the Jesuits can report only what they know "by certaine rumours" because they "have no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society have not as yet proceeded unto

[441] See Hucker, *op cit* (n. 41), pp 68–70, for details.

[442] Cf. Mendoza's "council" See above, pp. 756–57, and particularly the commentary in the notes.

Paquin." However, they are certain that the emperor "is honoured with woonderfull reverence and submission thorowout his whole Realme." In speaking to him, an official "calleth him Van-Svi, signifying thereby that he wisheth tenne thousands of yeeres unto him."[443] Succession is by primogeniture as in Europe, and the Chinese rulers, in contrast to the Japanese, do not "deprive themselves of the kingly authority in their life time." The younger brothers of the emperor are not permitted to live at court "that the safety and life of the king may stand in more security." They are assigned to various provinces at a distance from the capital, where they live in style at the emperor's expense "howbeit they exercise no authority over the people."[444] The emperor himself "is most chary in observing the Chinian lawes and customes, and deligently exerciseth himself in learning so much as concernes his estate." He seldom leaves his palace, though he "sheweth himself dayly unto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme." In religion he follows the "opinions of the Magistrates, attributing divine power unto heaven and earth as unto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing unto them." Numerous "sumptuous temples" dedicated "unto his ancestors" are the scene for the imperial sacrifices before the ancestral tablets. Still the emperor tolerates and provides financial support for all sects and priests, so that "he doeth in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of this Realme" and seems personally prepared "to embrace any false religion whatsoever."[445]

The Jesuit authors show a much greater acquaintance than their predecessors with the classical Confucian tradition. They list the "five vertues" as being "urbanity or courtesy . . . , piety, a thankefull remembrance of benefites, true dealings in contracts or bargaines, and wisdome in achieving of matters."[446] In "urbanity or courtesy" there are two basic relationships "whereof one is observed betweene equals, and the other between superiours and inferiours." To recount the number of rules regulating social intercourse would "require a long time."[447] In the matter of "piety" the Jesuits expound most on the duties observed towards parents and particularly on the rules governing mourning. Perhaps most striking is their observation that if a man does not perform his filial duties properly he is looked upon "as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China."

And here for the first time a Western account gives a relatively accurate

[443] *Wan-sui-yeh* or Lord of Ten Thousand Years was a common mode of address to the emperor.

[444] The imperial princes (*ch'in-wang*) were salaried dignitaries whose status passed on to their eldest sons. See Hucker, *loc. cit.* (n 36), p. 8.

[445] In the sixteenth century both Buddhism and Taoism experienced a revival. See Goodrich, *op. cit.* (n. 179), pp. 200–201.

[446] Cf. the "five constant virtues" or *wu-ch'ang* of the Confucian tradition These are usually given as love (*jen*), righteousness (*yi*), propriety (*li*), good faith (*hsin*), and wisdom (*chih*) See Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. Derk Bodde (Princeton, 1953), II, 104.

[447] For a discussion of the various degrees of politeness traditionally observed see S. W. Williams, *op. cit.* (n. 137), I, 801.

description of the three principal Chinese religions. The one that is "more famous than the rest" is derived from "the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher." His treatises "above all other books are seriously read and perused by the Chinians." All officials and the literati follow his teachings and worship "before his image . . . upon the dayes of the new and full Moone." The Confucian doctrine teaches that "men should follow the light of nature as their guide" in endeavoring "to attaine to the five vertues." In so doing they should "employ their labour about the orderly government of their families and of the Common-wealth." No other Chinese doctrine "approacheth so neere unto the trueth as this doeth." Still Confucianism is charged with "the crime of idolatry," for it makes no mention of God or "the life to come" and it ascribes too large a place to the heavens, "fatal necessity," and ancestor worship.

Buddhism (the doctrine of "Xequiam")[448] is also "fraught with errors." Since the Jesuits from their experience in Japan are already well acquainted with the teachings of Buddhism, the authors deem it "bootlesse" to repeat them. In China the priests are called "Cen."[449] They shave their heads and beards and live in the temples where they "doe rehearse certaine prayers after their manner, upon books or beads." These followers of the Buddha "have some inckling of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked." But, as in Japan, their ideas are "notably refuted" by Christian teachings.

The members of a third sect are those "which are called 'Tauzu.' "[450] They worship "a certain other man [Lao-tzu], to be adored, as they think, for his holinesse." The Taoist priests "let their hair growe" and practice rites different from those of the Buddhists. Neither the Buddhists nor the Taoists are "much addicted unto learning, their religion prevailing onely among the common sort." The priests in both of these non-Confucian sects "leade a most base and servile life" and are sometimes even "abased unto the punishment of the bastinado." China also has its Saracens who, it is said, "are originally descended of the Tartars."[451] These people have propagated their own kind "though not their religion"[452] and "doe live altogether after the Chinians fashion."

[448] In Chinese, Shakyamuni, the founder, is called *Shih-chia-fo* or *Shih chia-mu-ni*.

[449] "Cen" refers to the popular name given the monks from the fact that they sometimes used *sêng* on their calling cards rather than their family names. See K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism* (Shanghai, 1927), pp. 228–29.

[450] *Tao-tzu* or Taoists.

[451] "Tartars" means Mongols here. Probably the first Muslims settled in western China in the eighth century. Under Kublai Khan, the Muslims came into China over the trade routes on land and sea and were sometimes employed as governors and administrators by the Mongol rulers of China. See Goodrich, *op. cit.* (n. 179), pp. 175–76.

[452] Couling, *op. cit.* (n. 180), p. 379, remarks: "They [the Muslims] of China hold tenaciously to their religion in its external sense, but its doctrines set lightly upon them, or they could not hold office and worship the tablet of the Emperor."

5

The Evidence of Maps

The mapping of China, like its penetration, was a slow and discouraging process. From the early manuscript maps it can readily be learned that China was a prime object of commercial interest at an early date in the history of Eastern expansion. The Cantino planisphere of 1502 vaguely shows the eastern coast of Asia and adds a legend which indicates that from this region come silk, musk, drugs, and many precious stones.[453] Francisco Rodrigues, the Portuguese pilot and cartographer who went to the Spice Islands with Antonio de Abreu's fleet, prepared around 1513 a short narrative on maritime routes in the East and accompanied it with twenty-six cartographic sketches. He gives a short, expository description of the route from Malacca to China, probably based on information garnered from sailors on the wharves of Malacca. He also provides four sketches which give in hazy outline the south coast of China, the entrance to the river of Canton, the northeast coast of China, and the general shape of Formosa.[454]

But Rodrigues' charts evidently were not used by the early cartographers working in Lisbon. In the Lopo Homem-Reinels atlas of 1519 the fourth folio gives a Ptolemaic-type sketch of the *magnus golfus Chinnarum maris*. A legend recounts that many great islands exist within this gulf at which a brisk trade is transacted in rich products and goods, but it does not mention the Portuguese voyages to China of 1514 to 1517.[455] It was the cartographers working in Spain who first began to pinpoint the location of places on the China coast. Pedro Ruis de Villegas, native of Burgos, and one of his country's representatives at the demarcation conference of 1524 at Badajoz-Elvas, clearly identifies China with the rich *Sinarum regio* of the Ptolemaic maps and seeks to place it within the Spanish demarcation.[456] On Diogo Ribeiro's planisphere of 1529 a legend reads: "In this province of China they have much silk, musk, rhubarb, and porcelain. . . ."[457] Ribeiro's map is most notable, however, for being the first European cartographic representation to show Canton, its environs, and the Pescadores Islands.[458] Other manuscript maps prepared outside of Portugal and Spain, such as the Antwerp map of 1544 attributed to Sebastian Cabot and those

[453] Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI* (Lisbon, 1935), I, 151, Kammerer, *op cit.* (n 21), pp. 189–90.

[454] For an interpretation of these maps see Cortesão (ed), *op. cit.* (n. 9), II, 523–25. He also translates the text (*ibid* , pp. 301–3) of the route to China, and reproduces Rodrigues' sketches (*ibid* , I, 113, 120, 121, 128).

[455] Armando Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica* (Lisbon, 1960), I, 57, Kammerer, *op cit.* (n. 21), p. 192.

[456] Cortesão, *op. cit.* (n 453), I, 175.

[457] *Ibid.*, II, 158.

[458] Kammerer, *op. cit.* (n. 21), p. 204.

prepared at Dieppe, began before mid-century to show on the basis of Iberian prototypes the coastal features of China and the names of its major ports.[459]

The printed maps of the first half of the century generally preserve many of the Ptolemaic conventions somewhat longer. Still, the revised Ptolemaic atlases of 1513 and 1522, like the Cantino planisphere, begin to outline the China coast on the basis of the new information and to give a hint of its northward extension. These maps, and those based on them, preserve many of the older names (Cathay, Mangi, and India Superior) as labels for China or its parts.[460] The physical features of eastern Asia are likewise similar to those presented on maps of the fifteenth century Sebastian Munster on the map in his *Cosmographia universalis* (1550) shows almost no indebtedness to the portulans for his depiction of eastern Asia The map of the East published by Ramusio in 1554 includes a few of the newer names and coastal features of China within a general portraiture that is essentially traditional.

A more accurate and detailed depiction of coastal China begins to appear on the manuscript maps beginning with the planisphere of Lopo Homem dated 1554. He appears to know its tortuous outlines in hazy detail as far north as the Gulf of Pohai, and records the names of a number of coastal, trading towns.[461] Diogo Homem's world atlas of 1558 gives sharp detail on the physical features of the south China coast and lines it with six place names.[462] In his atlas of 1561, Diogo Homem puzzlingly labels southern China as "Terra leucorr."[463] New detail on northern China appears on Bartholemeu Velho's Asian chart of 1561 in which he places a wall between China and Tartary.[464] He also shows a huge, round body of water between Peking and the coast which is explained by the following legend. "City of Shansi which was submerged with seven cities and 153 villages in the year 1557."[465] This must almost certainly be a reference to one of the periodic floods of the Yellow River. The reference to Shansi is possibly a mistake for "Xanton," a Portuguese transliteration of Shantung. The portulan in Lazaro Luiz' atlas of 1563 begins to show the location of Chinese fortresses along the southern coast as far north as the Yangtze.

Plate 8 in the Vaz Dourado atlas of 1568, which is most interesting on Japan and Korea, shows Korea as bordering the "kingdoms" of China. China itself he divides into two large provinces: "Camtam" (Canton) and "Liampo" (Ningpo) and he graces these provinces with three exotic towers.[466] The estuaries of Canton and Ningpo are proportionally much too large. Macao,

[459] Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 259

[460] The medieval names for China likewise appear on manuscript maps from time to time See especially André Homem's planisphere of 1559 in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit.* (n. 455), II, Plate 187.

[461] Cortesão, *op cit.* (n. 453), II, Plate XVIII.

[462] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit.* (n 455), I, Plate 105.

[463] *Ibid.* Possibly Land of Liu-ch'ius? For a comparative table of European nomenclature of China on the European maps of the sixteenth century see Kammerer, *op. cit* (n 21).

[464] Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op. cit* (n. 455), Plate 204.

[465] *Ibid.*, Plate 203

[466] Cortesão, *op. cit.* (n. 453), II, Plate XXVII.

founded just about a decade earlier, here first appears on a European map. In the 1571 edition of Vaz Dourado's atlas, "Chimchc" (Chinchow or the "Zayton" of Marco Polo)[467] is inserted between the other two divisions of the kingdom of China and the exotic towers are increased in number from three to five. "Macao" and "Liampo" appear in red lettering to set them apart from the numerous towns named along China's eastern coast.[468] In the revised atlas of 1575 the great lake as the source of China's numerous rivers mysteriously disappears—possibly an indication of growing knowledge about the interior of the country. The manuscript maps as a rule are mainly devoted to depiction of coastal features.

The first separate map of China to appear in Europe was published in the 1584 version of Ortelius' atlas. The work of Luis Jorgé de Barbuda, a Portuguese cartographer, this map became the prototype for a number of later European representations of China.[469] Barbuda, who was in the pay of Philip II of Spain, probably prepared the map shortly after the publication of Escalante's Spanish work on China in 1577. In the narrative printed in Latin on the back of the map, Barbuda acknowledges his indebtedness to Escalante and even reproduces the Chinese characters which Escalante had first brought to the attention of the European public. The cartographer, according to the testimony of this Latin text, also used as sources the China materials included in Barros, Duarte Barbosa, Pigafetta, Andrea Corsali, and the Jesuit letters.[470] It is probable, too, that he had at his disposal the geographic and cartographic material sent to Spain from the Philippines.

Barbuda's map is the first European representation on which an attempt is made to show the placement of all "fifteen" provinces, the location of interior cities and towns, and the complete inland frontiers of China. Examination of the manuscript maps, especially those of Velho (1561) and Vaz Dourado (1571), reveals that Barbuda was well acquainted with them and probably used them as the bases for the outlines of China, for specific physical features, and for the information contained in their legends. The neighboring people and provinces, only faintly suggested on earlier maps, Barbuda firmly places on his map of China as he follows his European literary sources and possibly the Chinese maps and geographical works sent to Spain in 1574 and in 1576 from the Philippines. Escalante, who imitates Barros in describing the placement of China's provinces, is the main European source which Barbuda used. Like the Portuguese chronicler, Escalante divides the Chinese provinces into two groups of six maritime provinces and nine interior provinces. Both Escalante and Barros

[467] For discussion of this identification see Kammerer, *op. cit.* (n. 21), pp. 102–5

[468] Cortesão, *op. cit* (n 453), II, Plate XXXVIII.

[469] On Barbuda as the "Ludovicio Georgio" of the map see *ibid*, II, 276–77, and also Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit.* (n. 455), II, 123–25 For its influence on later maps see B. Szczesniak, "The Seventeenth-Century Maps of China," *Imago mundi*. XII (1956), 120 n. See illustrations in this chapter.

[470] It should be noticed that excerpts from the writings of this group of authors could be readily found in Ramusio.

are unclear on the exact placement of the internal provinces, and so Barbuda, left to make his own decisions, mistakenly places Yunnan to the north of Szechwan. His location of the maritime provinces is roughly correct.

The riverine networks of China originate, according to Barbuda, at various interior points, most of them in several large lakes. This is in contrast to some of the earlier manuscript maps which include very few rivers and often have those shown coming from a single, great interior lake. The large, interior lake is moved by Barbuda to China's extreme western frontier.[471] To it he applies a legend apparently derived from Velho's Asian chart, which records the overflowing of this lake in 1557 and the inundation of seven cities of Shansi province. It should be noticed that Velho's legend includes no specific reference to a lake, and as previously mentioned,[472] probably refers to one of the periodic floods of the Yellow River. In this connection it is striking that neither Barbuda nor the earlier cartographers have any real sense of the course of the Yellow River. By contrast, Barbuda, as well as some of his predecessors, vastly exaggerates the mouth of the Yangtze, an area in which the Portuguese were active from their base at Ningpo. While Barbuda does show "C. Liamton" (Liaotung Peninsula) as the northernmost point on the coast, he does not depict the peninsular shape of Shantung or the Yellow Sea. Like Velho, Barbuda places the Great Wall between two ranges of mountains, notes that it is 400 leagues (1,600 miles) long, and that it is designed to protect China against the forays of the Tartars. North of the wall is a list of names, pictures of pointed Mongol or Eastern tents, and notice of a vast desert. Directly to the west of China are the "Bramas" (Burmans), the "Gouros,"[473] and the "Pantanes" (Afghans). On the northern and western borders the blank spaces are filled in with pictures of land-ships.

While Barbuda's map was far from perfect, it was immeasurably better than the primitive map of China's coast which was inserted into the Bologna (1589) edition of Mendoza's book.[474] This map, apparently designed as a piece of missionary propaganda for Europe, shows a huge European establishment with a cross over the main portal standing across central China. Here and there on the landscape other edifices are placed, a number of which are topped with spires. In the north a legend misplaces the city of "Quinsai" (Hangchow), where the Venetian Marco Polo had resided while serving the Mongol dynasty. The entire west and north of China is surrounded by high and apparently impassable and uninhabited mountains. The best part of the map is the relative proportions given to China and Japan. The insular kingdom is shown as a single island only a fraction of the size of the "great empire of China." It is possible

[471] Suggestion in Cortesão and Teixeira da Mota, *op cit* (n 455), II, 123 Possibly a reference to Lake Baikal, but I am more inclined to believe that this was a conventional interior lake which Barbuda moved to the unknown west rather than discard it completely It should also be recalled that in Chinese tradition the rivers of this land all originate in a great Western lake

[472] Above, pp. 753, 817.

[473] See the discussion of these people, above, p. 653.

[474] This edition is very rare. For a reproduction see Sanz, *op. cit.* (n. 49), p. 66.

that this highly imaginative map of Christian achievement in China is based upon news of the successes which the Italian Jesuits had recently had in penetrating the land where Marco Polo, an Italian of an earlier date, had functioned as a trusted official.[475]

The last depiction of China published in the sixteenth century was that included on Linschoten's map of Asia (1596). From the general configuration given to coastal China and from the transliterations of place names it is clear that the author of this map (probably prepared in Goa) was heavily indebted to the Portuguese cartographers.[476] Though similar in its nomenclature to Barbuda's map, it shows only that part of China from 40 degrees north latitude southward. It also includes a provincial name, "Suchuan" (possibly Szechwan), which is not to be found on Barbuda's map. In its general outlines of the China coast it follows the Vaz Dourado atlas of 1580, but it includes more coastal names and much more data on the interior.[477] Some of this may have been borrowed from Barbuda, but it has fewer interior towns and cities. The cartographer of Linschoten's map probably knew the planisphere of Pedro de Lemos (about 1590) and the atlas of Bartolemeu Lasso (about 1590), but appears to have relied on them mainly for maritime routes. That this is not a complete catalogue of his sources is indicated by the fact that the Linschoten map includes nomenclature not to be found on any extant maps of an earlier date. As a depiction of China, it is generally less satisfactory than the Barbuda map published twelve years earlier—but then it must be remembered that it is not a special map of China but a general map of Asia.[478]

Little did the Portuguese or anybody in Europe know how much they were asking of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira when he was sent out from Lisbon in 1508 with instructions to "ask after the Chins."[479] For in the following ninety years merchants and missionaries, haphazardly at first and systematically later, were able to collect only a relatively few details of the sort that Sequeira had been urged to provide. Still the information that began to trickle into Europe through Portugal in the first half of the century rapidly became a stream of broad proportions before 1600 as the isolated and secret reports of the early Portuguese were brought together, integrated, and amplified by data taken from the European classical and medieval traditions by the chroniclers of discovery, the compilers of travel literature, the writers of secular and religious

[475] It should be recalled that Father Michele Ruggiero, one of the first Italian Jesuits to penetrate China, was sent back to Europe in 1588 to report on the successes and needs of the China mission (see above, p. 302). He arrived in Rome in 1590 About his influence on the European mapping of China see Szczesniak, *loc cit.* (n. 469), pp 118–20. The map which Ruggiero may have helped to prepare on the basis of Chinese maps taken from a Ming atlas were not published in Europe until the seventeenth century.

[476] Burnell and Tiele (eds.), *op cit* (n. 267), I, xxxii–xxxiii, point out that the printer of Linschoten's book received maritime charts and a map of Asia made in Goa from Bartolemeu Lasso

[477] Kammerer, *op cit.* (n. 21), p 214.

[478] See illustrations in this chapter.

[479] See above, p. 731.

history, and the cartographers. The European image of the "mightie kingdome" was shaped largely by the books, like those of Mendoza and Maffei, which enjoyed the widest distribution. And the impressions derived from them were reinforced by the maps and firsthand accounts published in the chronicles, travel collections, and Jesuit letters and histories. Greater clarity was given to the image by the regular appearance in Europe of the products of China's arts and crafts, and by the few Chinese who managed to reach there. From such sources an overwhelming impression of China's wealth and greatness was clearly conveyed to the European public.

The fact that the sources disagree on certain points or contradict each other on detail should not be too surprising. The observers at first hand were forced to generalize on the basis of limited experiences and in spite of their inability to cope with the language. Ricci, whose contributions before 1600 were relatively slight, was evidently the only one of the Europeans to learn more than a few polite expressions in Chinese.[480] Still these works, as sources for Ming history, should not be lightly dismissed. For the Europeans were inclined to comment on aspects of life in China which native writers took for granted. It is also possible to see from these writings, particularly on matters relating to trading regulations, that affairs in Ming China were constantly changing—an observation that may seem banal until one recalls how often, even yet, the various dynastic periods of Chinese history are treated as static epochs. Finally, close perusal of these writings gives the reader, not only an overwhelming impression of the evolutionary character of life in Ming China, but also a feeling for the dynamic quality in Europe's awakening to it.

The earliest accounts stress the material wealth, technological skills, and complex organization of Chinese society. Those who try after mid-century, like Cruz, Mendoza and Maffei, to present a synthesis tend to emphasize the rational order prevailing in China's governmental, educational, and social structure. These writers also begin to bring out in more detail the predominant features of the tribute system of international relations and trade. The missionaries, through their interest in evangelizing China by cultural penetration, added an intellectual dimension to the image which previously had been wanting. Since many of the missionaries were scholarly men, they were not content with hurried observations and surmises. They began seriously to collect Chinese books, to have translations prepared, and to ask questions of learned Chinese informants. Though Europe's image of China remained blurred, distorted, and misshapen in many details, its essential outlines had emerged clearly by 1600 for practically every salient feature of life there was touched upon in the European literature even before Ricci successfully established himself at Peking.

[480] Ruggiero, who was the first European to learn the language systematically, apparently never acquired great proficiency in it. It is sometimes said that he was too old when he began, suffered from poor health, and was not endowed with a very retentive memory. See Dunne, *op cit.* (n. 377), p 30.

CHAPTER X

Epilogue: A Composite Picture

In the eyes of Europe, the image of Asia was constantly changing in detail while remaining surprisingly constant in general outline. No matter what caption it carried—the Land of Ophir, India, or Asia—the world east of the Indus never lost its color or attraction for Europeans. The light from the East, even when it all but flickered out in the Middle Ages, constantly sent out vagrant rays, and Europe at times saw Asia only in flashing, rainbow patterns. While visual distortions became fewer in the Renaissance and the sixteenth century, the concrete and the fantastic continued to be intermingled in varying proportions in the European view of the East.

The fantasies of one age are often the facts of another; contrariwise, the facts of one age sometimes become the myths of another. Nowhere is the truth of these aphorisms more clearly illustrated than in the revelation of Asia to Europe. The India conquered by Alexander was transmuted into a medieval myth which was itself then accepted in the eleventh century as a concrete depiction of the scene of the Macedonian's exploits. The colorful stories associated with the Alexander myth became a part of Islamic tradition, were circulated in Asia by the Muslim spice merchants, were incorporated into Asian folklore and traditional history, and then found their way back to Europe in the reports of Portuguese merchants and Jesuit missionaries. Knowledge of the existence of an ancient Christian community in south India was converted into the medieval legend of Prester John, and this bit of fanciful self-deception helped to inspire the Christians of Europe to launch a real quest for their Eastern co-religionists which lasted well into the sixteenth century. With these examples before him, the modern historian dares not exclude from his considerations of the awakening of Europe to the existence of Asia those elements from the record of the past which appear to be fanciful or unrealistic from the perspective of today.

The heritage of interrelated fact and myth from the prediscovery era colored Europe's vision of the East throughout the sixteenth century. It is ironical, but

perhaps not surprising, that the conventionalized Ptolemaic picture of the world gained its widest acceptance during the first half of the century, or in the very years when the Europeans in the East were gathering the concrete data which would eventually modify the Ptolemaic tradition radically. That the Portuguese government regulated the spice trade, information, and the missionary enterprise undoubtedly contributed to Europe's delay in perceiving a newer and more realistic Asia. Nonetheless, enough evidence was piling up in Europe before 1550 to stimulate the growth of a non-Ptolemaic cartography and to pique general interest about Asia as a rich field for commercial and religious endeavor.

Even though Europe's focus was still blurred before 1550, a perceptive European could begin to see the separate parts of Asia distinctly. Both Conti and Varthema in the accounts of their travels to India and southeast Asia had stressed regional differences with respect to climate, customs, and commercial practices. While little was known directly about China or Japan before mid-century, the Europeans in south Asia had relayed back to their homelands a vivid picture of the great reputation which the empire of China enjoyed throughout the East. It was the spice trade, however, and the general involvement of Europeans in it, which first dominated Europe's vision. This meant that Europeans before 1550 generally centered their attention upon the Spiceries and the international marts of India and south Asia.

While the Far East still lay beyond the horizon, the prediscovery view of China and Japan prevailed in Europe. Marco Polo and Mandeville remained the authorities on East Asia, and no serious question existed in the sixteenth century about their veracity. The few firsthand reports of the early discoverers to circulate in Europe had the effect for a time of enhancing the reputation of the medieval writers by confirming their stories about the vast wealth and influence of China. Their general reliability being established, the details in the medieval reports were checked out, though unsystematically, against contemporary observations. A few scholarly observers began at an early date to wonder whether Cathay and China were actually different names for the same place. While the academic debate went on sporadically until the beginning years of the seventeenth century, the merchants, in contrast to the Jesuits, appear not to have been troubled by this problem. Practical businessmen working in Asia probably felt that if Cathay and China were two independent countries so much the better—they were both reputed to be wealthy, civilized, and tolerant[1]

While China still remained the great hope of the future, India and southeast Asia were stark realities to both merchants and missionaries. Their initial ventures being dramatically successful in Malabar, Goa, Malacca, and the Spiceries, the Portuguese and the Jesuits were soon faced by the arduous and unglamorous business of keeping their precarious footholds, eliminating their competitors, and extending their fields of operation. In south Asia this proved to be an expensive, draining, and unrewarding experience. A number of the earlier commentators soon began to sound warnings about overextending the empire, about the insecurity of its strategic outposts, and about the unbridled

rapaciousness of the Europeans in the East. Even with the best intentions, there was little that the administrative heads of the Portuguese empire could do to direct and control the people in the field. The crown itself was badly victimized by the freebooters whose sole concern was to pile up personal fortunes as quickly as possible. As the Portuguese pushed eastward, their reputation for being trouble-makers preceded them into the most remote parts of Asia. The Muslim traders, whom they dislodged and discomfited, broadcast far and wide what evils might be expected to attend the appearance of the hated Christians.

From its beginnings the Portuguese overseas enterprise was under attack by powerful enemies in Europe. Stories of the extravagant and immoral lives being led by the Portuguese in Asia were soon being circulated, and they were finally put into print at the end of the century by Linschoten. The policy of secrecy itself probably contributed at an early date to the growing suspicion that all was not well within Portugal's rich, Asian commercial empire. Nobody had trouble in remembering that certain of the early voyages had been financed in part by confiscations extracted from the Portuguese Jews. Lisbon's monopoly of the spice trade had dealt a heavy blow to the Venetian economy. The effort to maintain pepper prices at a level far higher than the free market would ordinarily support, as well as the refusal of Lisbon to permit the great commercial houses of Europe free access to India, helped to give the Portuguese the reputation for being grasping. The least of the charges hurled at them was that they sold adulterated pepper at outrageous prices. To the disappointment of the older religious orders, the Portuguese also gave over the leadership in the Asian mission to the new, untried, and elite Society of Jesus. For these reasons, as well as others, the Portuguese were branded as monopolists and exploiters in both Asia and Europe.

Though the Portuguese set no new records in human history for pillage or exploitation, their bad reputation certainly put huge stones in the path of empire. The lot of the Europeans in south Asia was never a happy one, and both merchants and missionaries constantly pushed eastward to locate a more congenial atmosphere for trade and evangelizing. In the reports to Europe about India and southeast Asia the disillusionment of the Westerners comes through sharply and helps to produce a hostile and antipathetic view of Indian civilization. The great expectations for China and Japan, particularly when contrasted with the adverse reaction to India, gives to the writings on the Far East an overly buoyant and optimistic quality. While such differing estimates may or may not reflect the situation in Asia accurately, they undoubtedly helped to create a portrayal in Europe that was generally antagonistic to India and overwhelmingly favorable to Japan and China.

The corollary of this observation is the fact that China and Japan after mid-century began to loom much larger in Europe's view of the East than the countries of south Asia. The books and maps printed before 1550 in Italy and northern Europe had centered mainly on India, the East Indies, and the Philip-

pines. The great Spanish and Portuguese chronicles of mid-century continued to dwell on south Asia as the scene of the great Iberian triumphs of the first half of the century. China was treated in some detail by the Portuguese chroniclers, but Japan was barely mentioned. Once the great travel compilations began to appear, beginning with Ramusio's in 1550, both the medieval and the newer materials on eastern Asia figured more prominently than they had earlier. It was, however, the Jesuit letters, histories, and the Japanese embassy sponsored by them which brought Japan clearly into Europe's range of vision. While the Jesuits likewise provided glimpses of China, it was the non-Jesuit writers of Portugal and Spain who first revealed to Europe a few of China's internal dimensions. In two highly influential works by the Portuguese Dominican Cruz and the Spanish Augustinian Mendoza, China is portrayed as a model empire, a delineation which it would retain for at least two more centuries.

In the preceding four chapters of this book, the images of the individual countries of Asia have been sketched out separately. By following this organizational scheme, we have so far failed to show what Asia *as a whole* looked like to sixteenth-century Europe. Nor have we been able to bring out the shadings and contrasts which give relief and highlights to the broader panorama. The comparisons and contrasts implicit in the observations of the European writers as they epitomize the various cultures, peoples, and nations of Asia often reveal more to the Western eye than is gained through straightforward description. A comparative phrase, word, or sentence sometimes sparks a flash of insight which helps illuminate a previously dark and mysterious landscape. Comparisons, likewise, whether conscious or unconscious, help to reveal something about the biases, beliefs, and perceptivity of the observers themselves. What follows is designed as a representation of Asia in its more general aspects as it emerges from reviewing our more detailed surveys of the individual countries.

The physical landscape of Asia, except for Australia and eastern New Guinea, had been uncovered by 1600 from western India to eastern Japan, as far south as Java and as far north as the Hokkaido and the Liaotung Peninsula. Even the approaches from the Pacific Ocean to insular and eastern Asia are described in books and depicted on maps. The revelation is by no means total, because the Europeans were naturally far better informed about the coastal areas than about the interiors. With the passage of time the Europeans improve their knowledge of interior areas and acquire steadily a more exact knowledge of spatial relationships. They continue to overemphasize the regions and physical features which they know most intimately: the Ghats and the deltas of the Irrawaddy, Ganges, Mekong, and Yangtze. They remain relatively ignorant of the Indus and Yellow River valleys and the internal geography of northern India and Japan. Nonetheless, before the century ends, they know a few details about the peoples of the Himalayas (Tibetans), the steppe north of the Great Wall, and the topographical outlines of Korea and the Hokkaido (Yezo).

Implicit in their discussions is an acute sense of the importance of geography

as a basis for the existing political divisions. The Himalayas and adjacent mountain barriers separate China sharply from the countries of south Asia, so that the only feasible approach to China from the south and west is by sea. Mountains, rivers, and deserts help to keep India divided into a large number of diverse states and prevent its political unity. Similarly, physical features contribute to the political disunity and instability of Ceylon and continental southeast Asia. The great insular complexes which they know (Philippines, Japan, and the Spiceries) have all the divisive problems of insularity as well as internal geographical barriers. Even China, the Asian land to which nature has been most kind, is divided by the Yangtze into distinct northern and southern sections.

The elements likewise contribute to the instability of life and hamper maritime and internal trade. Tidal floods in the Gulf of Cambay and the delta of the Irrawaddy constitute dangers to keeled ships. Typhoons and tidal waves buffet Japan, and life there is made unpredictable by periodic tremors and earthquakes. Volcanic eruptions and earthquakes in the Indonesian archipelago endanger the Spiceries and frighten European sailors and missionaries Periodically floods engulf the deltas of China and bring widespread death and destruction with them. Droughts parch the Coromandel coast and produce starvation, misery, and disease. But nature is not all bad. The monsoons appear with unchanging regularity and their constancy makes sailing and maritime trade possible over vast distances. The more intellectually curious among the Europeans, like the Italian Humanist Sassetti, recorded the dates of the monsoons and made a few tentative efforts to explain them as meteorological phenomena.

The wealth of Asia is in its resources, even though precious metals are not found in deposits comparable to those unearthed in America. Small amounts of gold are produced in Malaya, Sumatra, Mindanao, northern Celebes, and Korea. Silver comes mainly from Laos, Japan, and Korea, but its very scarcity keeps the price high and makes it profitable for the Europeans to export silver to Asia. Tin, iron, copper, and sulfur are available in small quantities, in southeast Asia especially. Precious and semiprecious stones, carnelians, rubies, amethysts, diamonds, and sapphires are native to India and Burma. Pearls are successfully fished for at Ormuz, the Straits of Manaar, and off the China coast near Canton. The products of agriculture, however, are infinitely more valuable: the spices of India, Ceylon, and the Indonesian archipelago; the coco palm of India and southeast Asia and its vast number of by-products; the opium of Cambay; and the rice of Malabar, Coromandel, Java, Siam, Champa, China, and Japan. The Europeans also notice that rice is cultivated by wet and dry methods, that certain places in eastern Asia have two or three crops each year, and that in south China the paddies are watered by a complex and efficient system of irrigation. Other crops of more than incidental interest are the sago palm of the East Indies and the rhubarb and ginseng of China. Animals are generally of very little interest except as exotic curiosities; special comments are limited to water buffalo, elephants, rhinoceroses, tigers, snakes, crocodiles, sea mammals, flying fish, and Birds of Paradise.

The human masses of continental Asia and Japan leave the Europeans aghast, and the densely populated and extensive cities of the East astound them. They give rough estimates of the numbers living in Vijayanagar, Kyōto, Pegu, and Canton From these statistics it appears that Kyōto, and possibly Canton, were estimated to be larger than any European city of the sixteenth century. They describe in vivid detail a number of great Asian cities which have since disappeared: Dabhul, Gaur, Vijayanagar, Golconda, Pegu, and Ayut'ia. Frequently they compare the Asian capitals or lesser centers to European cities. Sakai and Pegu to Venice, Chāmpāner to Evora, Canton to Lisbon, and Kyōto to Rome. The Europeans were not similarly impressed with the agricultural and village centers of Asia, and in many instances find rural conditions shocking and inexcusable. They are impressed, however, particularly in China and Japan, by the great productivity possible in a crowded countryside.

In the port cities where they do business, the Europeans acquaint themselves with the arts and crafts of Asia. Textiles from all parts of the East—silks, brocades, cotton cloths, damasks, muslins, calicos, satins, embroideries, and rugs—engage their attention and attract their money. Porcelains from China, lacquered screens from Japan, the gold filigree work of Sumatra, and the jewelry of Cambay are among the leading luxury items which they purchase Many Asian craftsmen exhibit remarkable ingenuity in quickly learning how to manufacture European items. Portuguese ships are built on the west coast of India mainly by Javan carpenters Guns of good design and fire power are produced in Sumatra. Indians, Japanese, and Chinese are employed in setting up and running the Jesuit mission presses in Goa, Nagasaki, and Macao. The Chinese are usually considered to be the most adept craftsmen in the world.

The peoples of Asia are divided roughly into types by color: black, shades of brown, and white. The black people are the Africans, the natives of south India, and the East Indians. The indigenous people of north India and continental southeast Asia are often described as being tawny or swarthy. The Japanese and Chinese are white both to the merchants and to the missionaries. That their colors are related to habits and abilities is most clearly brought out by Valignano. The black peoples are generally conceived of as being inferior, incapable of improvement, and hopelessly sunk in superstition. The whitest peoples generally meet European standards, may even be superior in certain regards, and are certainly good prospects for conversion. The males of Asia are generally divided into those who are fighters and those who are timid; the only truly warlike groups are the Muslims of the Mughul Empire, the Japanese, the Nāyars of Malabar, and the Malays. Asian women are universally attractive; respectable women are closely watched and not permitted to go about freely except in Japan; the Japanese women are also exceptional inasmuch as upper-class ladies can usually read and write. Concubinage, polygamy, and prostitution are to be found in all the Asian lands.

The Europeans are mainly interested in those countries where effective unity

and central authority help to provide stable conditions for trade and a favorable climate for evangelizing. China, Siam, and Pegu seem to meet these conditions best, though the missionaries certainly managed to reap a bountiful harvest in Japan despite divided and uncertain political conditions. Nonetheless, both the religious and secular commentators concentrate their attention on the kingship, the aristocracy, the bureaucracy, and the governing techniques employed in the most effectively unified states of Asia. Burma, Siam, and Cambodia are deemed to have the most absolute rulers, the land being entirely the royal domain and the tillers of the soil being royal chattels. Most of the Asiatic rulers have religious and ceremonial as well as political functions; the ruler of Japan, they realize, has had his political functions usurped by the *shōgun* and the *daimyo*. While the ruler of China is the greatest and most influential of Asian kings, his domestic power is shared with an elaborate bureaucracy recruited and advanced through a merit system based on examinations. In China there is no hereditary aristocracy of the type known in Europe; in Siam, similarly, grants of land are never given in perpetuity and so a landed aristocracy cannot become an entrenched establishment standing between the king and his people. In Japan and the Deccan, where aristocracies exist, the custom is for the powerful lords to live away from their jurisdictions and to be at the royal court under the watchful eye of the king at appointed times or for stated periods. The Europeans also observe and comment upon the intermediary political role played by the eunuchs at the courts of Bengal, China, Pegu, and in the Mughul empire. The problem of succession in an absolute state is also examined and remarks are made upon the system of primogeniture obtaining in China and Japan, of assassination in Sumatra and Bengal, and of self-immolation in Malabar. Royal monopolies of key economic activities are likewise highlighted: horses in Vijayanagar, land in Siam and Cambodia, the ruby commerce of Pegu, the clove trade of Ternate, and the mining of precious metals in China. While exercising control over religion, the rulers of Siam, China, and the Mughul empire are willing to let their subjects make their choices in faith and do not seek to impose religious uniformity on their realms.

In a vast, well-organized country like China the royal administration has its hand in every phase of human activity. While a system of mutual surveillance (*pao-chia*) manages justice at the local level, its members are individually responsible to the administrative hierarchy which culminates in Peking. The Chinese emperor not only controls; he also uses the power of the state to encourage his subjects. The national system of civil service examinations is supported by a national system of state-supported schools. The state even provides hospitals and homes for the blind, the indigent, and the orphans within its elaborate public welfare program. A bureaucratic state like China naturally has many official posts, and the Europeans provide the titles of many of these officials and describe their functions. Many of the Europeans note with considerable approval that a governor may never rule in the province of which he is a native. China's encompassing bureaucratic organization wins great admiration,

and the Middle Kingdom is placed in a class entirely by itself for achievements in government.

The Asiatic system of international relations based on the tribute system of China, does not win sympathetic understanding or approval from the Europeans. The relationship between trade and tribute is never clearly understood, even though the Europeans are quick to realize that most of the Asiatic states involved in international commerce have a vassal relationship to China. They also seem to comprehend the double vassalage of the Liu-ch'ius to China and Japan, and clearly indicate that Malacca in its pre-European days was in vassalage to Siam, itself a vassal of China. They also bring out clearly how Malacca bypassed Siam to achieve greater independence by appealing directly for help to China. A number of the commentators describe the customs followed in receiving embassies at the courts of Pegu, Siam, and China, and outline the conditions under which trade may be carried on in their capital cities.

Malacca as a vital nexus of trade continues, even after its capture by the Portuguese, to follow long-established commercial practices. At both Malacca and Cambay, the great entrepôts of the pre-European era, foreign merchants live in communities of their own under conditions resembling what later comes to be called extraterritoriality. The interposition of the Portuguese in the trade between India and southeast Asia inflicts great losses upon the Gujarati-Muslim merchants who had previously dominated this commerce. Throughout southeast Asia the Malay language is universally understood in the trading centers and is the main language of commerce in other parts as well. Most of those engaged in international trade willingly accept Chinese "cash" as a medium of exchange, a further indication of China's traditional predominance. Chinese products likewise are to be found in all the markets of the East, even in places as distant as Surat or as remote as Chiengmai. While forbidden officially to venture abroad, Chinese merchants continue to appear occasionally in most of Asia's marts.

In negotiating trade agreements with the Chinese, Japanese, and Siamese, the Europeans, possibly because they had no alternative, apparently accept written assurances and guarantees at their face value. Elsewhere, the Portuguese take pains to make certain that native oaths and guarantees are binding in heathen terms. For example, to testify to their sincerity the Deccanese in Goa are asked to swear to their own gods and to put ashes on their bare heads. In the Philippines the Europeans often follow local customs by engaging in blood compacts. The initial commercial agreement between Portugal and Pegu is ratified only after the Buddhists and Christians, each following their own rites, have sworn by their own deities to honor their obligations. The Christians, it may be recalled, often question whether their own oaths are binding when given to a pagan.

The social beliefs and attitudes held in some parts of pagan Asia appear intolerable to the Europeans. The caste system of India (particularly of Malabar)

is especially repugnant, particularly the beliefs in untouchability and distance pollution. The missionaries react very strongly against the idea that Christians may pollute the higher castes. The matrilineal customs of the Nāyars, and the strange sexual practices which they follow, fascinate and repel the Europeans almost as much as do *sati* and cremation. Even the otherwise admirable Japanese shock the missionaries by their callousness toward human life, particularly in their indifference to infanticide and their addiction to suicide. Such shortcomings in the civilized Japanese seem to them far more abhorrent than the cannibalism which they hear about among the primitive peoples of Sumatra, Borneo, the Philippines, the Spice Islands, and the northern border region of Siam. While mildly interested in the tattooed tribesmen of northern Celebes and northern Siam, the Europeans generally react with hostility to savage customs and seem always to fear that they are the work of the devil. The missionaries are absolutely horrified at the universality of sodomy (practiced even by the Buddhist priests) and by the widespread existence of concubinage, polygamy, and prostitution.

The social institutions of China and Japan, especially the family, arouse admiration and even stimulate suggestions for emulation. In China the social tone is set by the court and the mandarins. While Chinese officialdom is far from faultless, it sets a high standard. Class lines are far sharper in Japan, where interclass marriages are rare and different languages are used when speaking to women, inferiors, and superiors. Among the secular classes, the warrior occupies a much higher station in Japan than in China. Even the Buddhist monks of Japan have no hesitation in organizing themselves into military bands to fight against secular authorities. The nations of East Asia, however, have been spared from the caste system of Hinduism and are therefore much less strange and repugnant. Slavery is common, even in Japan, but it is clearly an institution different from European slavery. In Asia, slaves are not mere property: they intermarry with free persons, possess property of their own, and may regain their freedom by several relatively easy routes.

Freemen of all social levels may obtain an education in China at state expense. Centers of learning exist in every provincial capital and in smaller cities as well where students prepare themselves to take the civil service examinations. Printed books of all sorts are available in China, and the state of literacy is high by sixteenth-century standards. Both China and Japan are reported to have universities, but India has no major centers of learning. In Siam and Burma the Buddhist priests teach religious and secular subjects and are credited with maintaining the cultural traditions of their lands. Pali, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Malay are all international languages through which the peoples of the area communicate with one another about religion and trade. In all of the great continental countries and Japan, the architectural and sculptural masterpieces overawe the Westerners. From local informants much of the traditional oral history and mythology passed into the European learned tradition. Although not intimately involved themselves in the cultures of Asia, the Europeans were interested

enough to gather significant materials on early Asian history, language and literature, arts, crafts, and sciences.

Most of the social, moral, and intellectual deficiencies of the Asians can be traced to the nefarious teachings of the Muslims and to the stubborn devotion of the pagans to their native faiths. The hated Muslims are prominent and influential everywhere except in China, Japan, and the Philippines. The Europeans first conclude that the Muslims are not powerful in China after learning that the Chinese eat pork. In India, where there are both Sunnites and Shiites, the followers of the Prophet impeded or perverted the development of an early form of Christianity. The Malabar Christians furnish living proof of the antiquity of Christian teachings in south India. St. Thomas, the founder of the Indian Christian community, presumably carried the Gospel as far east as China before returning to India to die. His followers, located mainly in the Serra behind the spice centers of southern Malabar, have retained a prominent place in the social and commercial life of south India. Unfortunately, left without proper spiritual guidance, the Malabar Christians fell into error by accepting the Nestorian heresy and by adopting the caste system of the Hindus. The Jews, the only other Western sect with followers in the East, are most prominent at Ormuz and Cochin and have spread as far east as China.

The only international religion native to Asia is Buddhism. Its priests and monks dominate the spiritual life of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, and Japan. While Buddhism flourishes in China, its clergy is not so powerful there and its teachings face strong competition from other native creeds. The Jesuits get their first real understanding of Buddhist teachings in Japan. There they learn that Buddhism originated in India from whence it was carried into China, Korea, and finally Japan. Possibly because the Jesuits were never active themselves in continental southeast Asia, no clear understanding emerges of the relationships between Japanese and southeast Asian Buddhism, or of the differences between the Mahayana and Hinayana dispensations. The monastic system of Buddhism, often compared to its Christian counterpart, particularly attracts the attention of both secular and religious observers. The hierarchical organization of Buddhism, its relations to the ruler, its temples, idols, and stupas are described for all the Buddhist lands. Information on Buddhism's cosmography and doctrines emerges mainly from the missionary accounts of "pagan errors." The Buddhists are acknowledged as being the group mainly responsible for education in Burma, Siam, and Japan

Hinduism is the greatest of the pagan faiths of India, though it is vaguely understood that certain of its dogmas and practices had emigrated in the past as far east as Cambodia. Brahmans and Gurus act as the secular clergy of Hinduism; the Yogis are cast in the role of ascetics or mendicant friars. The Hindus revere many idols reminiscent of Christian saints, and the Christians persist in seeking in Hinduism for the vestiges of a primitive Christianity. Yogis are far more saintly, informed, and tractable than other Hindu teachers, since they live abstemiously and will listen to Christian arguments. The Brahmans are particularly

recalcitrant in their devotion to caste, and are hard to deal with because of their great political and social influence with the other castes. They also persist in living pristinely as vegetarians while making heavy exactions from other social groups and desecrating their own temples by supporting them from the earnings of prostitutes. Believing in the transmigration of souls, Hindus will not take life; but they persist in maintaining caste and slave systems which relegate some souls to an earthly perdition. The Jains and Parsees likewise come in for comment as superstitious sects with incomprehensible social practices. The holy places of India, especially the Ganges, are revered by people all over the subcontinent for reasons which generally escape or puzzle the Christians.

Far greater is Christian understanding for the practices of Shintō and Taoism. These are simple, animistic religions which are popular with the commoners of Japan and China. The Japanese faith is founded on the belief that the people of Japan are the children of the *kami* and the emperor is descended from the Sun-Goddess. Neither Shintō nor Taoism has a highly complex or powerful ecclesiastical organization. Both faiths, like the animistic beliefs of the East Indians and the Filipinos, are unsophisticated, unsystematized, and replete with obvious superstitions. Confucianism, mentioned only at the very end of the sixteenth century, is described primarily as a moral philosophy held by the ruler of China and his mandarins. Very little is known about its intellectual content, and it is mainly thought of in connection with the spring plowing ceremony presided over by the emperor. Practically nothing is known about the precepts of either Confucius or Lao-tzu. It is clear, however, that none of the Asian countries, except perhaps Burma, Siam, and Cambodia, is religiously united. And none of the pagan religions is militant, except Buddhism in Japan, or bent upon proselytizing.

While religious warfare is not a problem in Asia, it does not follow that Asians are devoted solely to the arts of peace. Warfare and militarism are chronic evils, witness the existence of the Nāyars and Samurai as professional warrior classes. Indeed, warfare involves greater masses of people than anything conceived of in Europe. In India, Burma, and Siam huge armies, constituting almost the entire population of the state, supplemented by numerous mercenaries, move into battle against each other. Such mass military movements leave in their wake badly ravaged land, totally devastated cities, and permanently dislocated multitudes. While most Asian states are rarely mobilized totally, most of them keep permanent military establishments. Vijayanagar, for example, regularly recruits, enlists, trains, and maintains large corps of mercenaries, including Christians, Muslims, and Africans. Siam likewise hires mercenaries and requires military service of its own people. A few Indian rulers employ Amazons as palace guards and as warriors. Rivers, mountains, and ports are fortified permanently; sluices, walls, and moats protect capital cities like Chāmpāner and Kyōto. China keeps fleets of war junks constantly in its coastal waters and garrisons its northern frontier with a Great Wall and permanent

military settlements. The latest in firearms and artillery are quickly incorporated into the arsenals of these armies. Native arms and elephant cavalry are used in conjunction with more modern equipment.

In the sixteenth century the Europeans witness and participate in a number of major Asian wars. They record details about the wars between the Deccan states and Vijayanagar, between the Mughuls and Cambay and Bengal, between the Siamese and the Burmese, between the Burmese and the Arakanese, between the Siamese and the Cambodians, between the rival contestants for power in Japan, and between Japan and China in Korea. On the seas pirates are a constant menace, and the Europeans participate in a number of sea-sweeping operations as well as in the defense of their outposts at Diu, Goa, and Malacca against maritime and overland attacks. Despite all their experiences, however, the Europeans persist in believing in the superiority of their own arms and martial valor. Siam, Cambodia, China, and Japan are designated, by many in the field, as being easy and worthwhile conquests. It may be presumed that what they had in mind were limited acquisitions of territory in strategically located areas through which broader regions could be controlled. In their prospectuses sent to Europe the men in the field document these optimistic hopes by reference to the timidity and unaggressiveness of the peoples of continental East Asia; the weakness of their large but slow, disorganized, and ineffective armies; the superiority of European vessels in size, maneuverability, and fire power; and the readiness of the East Asian populations to revolt against their arbitrary and despotic rulers.

While the Europeans in the field bemused themselves with hopes of conquest, their fellows collected weird bits of fact and fiction about Asian customs and traditions. Some of these stories are reportorial and true; others are myths, some of which are still current in Asia; and still others are probably distorted or imaginary. The dog-headed Indians and the gold-digging ants of antiquity have disappeared, but Asia has not lost any of its exoticism. For example, Javans and Malabars run amuck as a form of protest or revenge. Self-torture or self-destruction is proof of sincerity. In Malacca nobody may wear yellow colors without royal permission. The Burmans have a temple guarded by tame fish which can be called to the surface by a particular spoken word. Neither a Javan nor a Malay will permit anything to be above his shoulders or head. The king of Arakan selects his harem by submitting his prospective brides to a smell test. Strangers are called upon in Tenasserim to deflower a virgin before her marriage. In Pegu merchants may legally contract temporary alliances with native women. Burmese and Cantonese will eat anything no matter how distasteful it appears to others. A vast lake stands high in the mountains of central Asia from which all the continental rivers descend. Eclipses are traditionally believed in Siam to be caused by a huge snake which has swallowed the moon. Horses are unable to reproduce in India, hence the scarcity of them there. Hogs are ceremonially killed in the Bisayan Islands and their flesh is reserved for old women to eat. White elephants are sacred in Siam and Burma, and wars

begin over their possession. In Siam the nobles of the land delight in washing in the urine of the white elephant. Malabars worship for the day the first thing they meet each morning. Foot-binding was introduced into China by the men to keep their women at home and at work. These and a multitude of other curious stories added immeasurably to the repertory of the imaginative, and soon became a part of the stockpile of exotic items from which artists and poets still draw examples.

European characterizations of the national or regional qualities of various Asian people are likewise a mixture of the factual and fanciful, and, not surprisingly, resemble many of the beliefs still popular in the West. All the islanders are fantastic swimmers and divers. The Sinhalese are effeminate and weak. Natives of Tana are brutish and self-centered. Malabars are dirty, superstitious, belligerent, and unperceptive. Bengalis are wary and treacherous but clever. Peguans are industrious, honest, peaceful, and timid. Provincialism, temperance, and peace are the fundamental qualities of the Siamese. Malays are frivolous poetasters who are more afraid of work than war. Moluccans are stupid and lazy. Cebuans love peace, ease, and quiet. The proud Japanese are overly sensitive, intellectually curious, self-controlled, and warlike. The wise Chinese exhibit rational, just, and frivolous sides to their nature, are clever and industrious in the peaceful arts, and timid about fighting. Notice from the above how inferior the "blacks" of Asia are held to be in contrast to the "whites."

This stark picture of Asia with its shortage of grays and other shadings was transmitted to Europe over the entire sixteenth century through various channels. Pieced together from pamphlets, books, maps, and marketplace gossip, such an adumbration was reinforced and given reality in Europe by the influx in a steady stream of Asian products, works of art and craftsmanship, and peoples. More than two hundred different spices and drugs from all parts of the East filled the shops of Europe. Ship-builders in Portugal soon learned to use coir from India and tung oil from China to calk and varnish their ships. Persons interested in sailing heard about keeled and unkeeled vessels without nails, Javan ships with four masts, Chinese junks with ingenious pumps, and sailing chariots for use on land. The nautically minded also added new types of ships and names to their vocabularies: *cuttar* (from which "cutter" may possibly derive), sampans, houseboats, barangays, and praus. Those interested in the arts could find fancy textiles and embroideries, oriental rugs, finely wrought jewelry, swords inlaid with precious stones, lacquered screens and beds, printed books published in China, manuscript books written in Gujarati, and Jesuit-printed books in Tamil, Chinese, and Japanese. Curiosa collectors might cherish plumages of the Bird of Paradise, poisoned arrows and darts, cowrie shells, bamboo furniture, costumes, carnelians, strange sexual devices, new plants, seeds, and fruits as well as live and stuffed animals from the East. Others interested in language could find sample words and terms from Malayālam, Kanarese, Konkani, Marāthi, Tamil, Sanskrit, Pali, Mon, Talaing, Thai, Cambodian, Malay, Tagalog, Bisayan, Chinese, and Japanese. Sample characters from Chinese

and Japanese were available in printed and manuscript writings. Of Asian persons in Europe we have references and sometimes considerable detail on the activities of Arab and Malay pilots, Malabar students, Chinese merchants, Gujarati translators, Japanese emissaries, and a Filipino convert.

While concrete samples from Asia's life and cultures certainly testified to its existence as a civilized, rich, and variegated part of an expanding world, what were the products, institutions, and ideas which stimulated the Europeans most and which ones most caused them to speculate about their own? On a realistic level they were especially fascinated by the mere existence of new places, by exotic varieties of flora and fauna, and by the crafts of silk production, rice cultivation, book-making, weaponry, and ship-building. Of the innumerable artistic products of Asia the Europeans are rapturous in their admiration for monuments, sculptures, porcelains, lacquers, and embroideries. They also evince profound interest in statistics on Asian populations, products, armies, exports, and imports. On a more abstract plane the Europeans were impressed by mass warfare techniques, the widespread existence of the lunar calendar, and the use of Malay as the *lingua franca* of Asian commerce. While merchants and missionaries used various Asian languages in their work, a few speculative minds began to concern themselves with the relationship of the Asian tongues to one another and of the possible relationships between the ideographic languages of the Far East and the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the Indian languages of America. Considerable scholarly interest also appeared with respect to the pre-European history of Asia, the oral and written sources for Asian history, the relative reliability of European and Asian chronologies and methods of dating, and the correlation or disparity between Europe's pre-discovery and post-discovery knowledge of Asia.

The nations of Asia were also billed as exemplars. China, the model state, was quickly recognized to be the possessor of unique and effective governmental and educational institutions: examinations for public office; state-supported schools; social services; and courier systems; and the law of avoidance or the requirement that provincial governors should never be natives of their jurisdictions. The West also had lessons to learn from Japan, particularly in physical and mental discipline. But perhaps what is most significant of all is the dawning realization in the West that not all truth and virtue were contained within its own cultural and religious traditions. The century of the great discoveries, viewed from the perspective of the present, can be taken as the date from which Westerners began self-consciously to question their own cultural premises, to weigh them in a balance against the presuppositions and accomplishments of other high cultures, and to initiate fundamental revisions in their own views of the world, man, and the future.

General Bibliography

As a convenience to the reader the bibliography is divided as follows:

General Bibliography.

Reference Materials

Source Materials

Chapter Bibliographies—nine in number—each divided into books and articles.

The chapter bibliographies are limited, in general, to relevant secondary books and articles most important to the individual chapters Certain titles appear in more than one of the chapter bibliographies. The reference materials and sources for each chapter will be found in the general bibliography. The most important sources are listed under the names of both the author and the editor or compiler. Chinese and Japanese titles are given in characters, transliteration, and translation.

REFERENCE MATERIALS

ACADEMIA DAS SCIÊNCIAS DE LISBOA. *Bibliografia geral portuguesa.* Século XV. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1941–44.

———. *Collecção de noticias para a história e geographia das nações ultramarinas.* 7 vols. Lisbon, 1812–41.

ALMEIDA E SILVA, H. *Relação de todos os documentos existentes nos 62 volumes da collecção da biblioteca da Ajuda intitulada 'Jesuitas na Asia.'* Lisbon, 1941.

AMAT DI SAN FILIPPO, PIETRO. *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiani ordinata cronologicamente.* . . . Rome, 1874.

———. *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiana.* (*Studi biografici e bibliografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia,* Vol. I.) Rome, 1882.

———. *Gli illustri viaggiatori italiani, con una antologia dei loro scritti.* . . . Rome, 1885.

AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITEIT BIBLIOTHEEK. *Catalogus.* (*Geographie en reizen.* 1st gedeelte.) Amsterdam, 1923.

ANESAKI MASAHARU. "A Concordance to the History of Kirishitan Missions . . . ," *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy* (Tokyo), Suppl. to Vol. 6 (1930).

Annual bibliography of Indian History and Indology. Bombay, 1938.

ANSELMO, ANTONIO JOAQUIM. *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI.* Lisbon, 1926.

———. *Bibliografia das bibliografias portuguesas.* Lisbon, 1923.

Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu; periodicum semestre a Collegio scriptorum de historia S.I. in urbe editum. Rome, 1932——.

Arquivo português oriental, nova edição Bastorá-Goa, 1936——.

ASHER, ADOLPH. *Bibliographical Essay on the Collection of Voyages and Travels Edited and Published by Levinus Hulsius and His Successors at Nuremberg and Francfort from Anno 1598 to 1660.* Berlin, 1839.

ATKINSON, G. *La littérature geographique française de la Renaissance.* Paris, 1927.

AZEVEDO, P. A. DE S. B. DE, and BAIÃO, ANTONIO. *O Archivo da Torre do Tombo: sua história, corposo que o compoem e organização* Lisbon, 1905.

BACKER, AUGUSTIN DE. *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (9th ed.). Augmented and edited by Carlos Sommervogel. Brussels, 1890.

BAGROW, L. *Die Geschichte der Kartographie.* Berlin, 1951.

BALDENSPERGER, FERNAND, and FRIEDRICH, WERNER. *Bibliography of Comparative Literature.* Chapel Hill, 1950.

BARTHOLD, W. *Die geographische und historische Erforschung des Orients, mit besonderer Berucksichtigung der russischen Arbeiten.* Leipzig, 1913.

BEAULIEUX, CHARLES. *Catalogue de la réserve XVIe siècle (1501–1540) de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris.* Paris, 1910.

BECKMANN, JOHANN. *Litteratur der alteren Reisebeschreibungen.* 2 vols. Gottingen, 1808–09.

BERLIN JAPAN-INSTITUT. *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog, 1542–1853,* compiled and edited by the Japaninstitut in Berlin and by the Deutschen Forschungsinstitut in Kyoto. Kyoto, 1940.

Bibliographie de l'orientalisme japonais. Paris, 1959.

Bibliography Commemorating the 4th Centenary of St Francis Xavier's Arrival in Japan. Tokyo, 1949.

Bibliography of Thailand. A Selected List of Books and Articles with Annotations by the Staff of the Cornell Thailand Research Project, Lauriston Sharp, Director. Ithaca, N.Y., 1956.

BIKER, JULIO (ed.). *Collecção de tradatos e concertos de pazes que o estado da India portugueza a fez com os reis e senhores com que teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa oriental.* 14 vols. Lisbon, 1881–87.

Boletim de bibliografia portuguesa. Lisbon, 1940——.

BOUCHER DE LA RICHARDERIE, GILLES. *Bibliothéque universelle des voyages anciens et modernes.* 6 vols. Paris, 1808.

BOUDET, PAUL, and BOURGEOIS, REMI. *Bibliographie de l'Indochine française, 1913–1926.* Hanoi, 1929.

BOXER, C. "A Tentative Check-list of Indo-Portuguese Imprints, 1556–1674," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* (Bastorá-Goa), No. 73 (1956), 19–41.

BRAGANÇA, CUNHA, VICENTE DE. *Literatura Indo-Portuguesa, figuras e factos.* Bombay, 1926.

BRANDMAIR, E. *Bibliographische Untersuchung uber Enstehung und Entwicklung des Ortelianischen Kartenwerkes.* Munich, 1914.

BRÉBION, ANTOINE. *Bibliographie des voyages dans l'Indochine française du IXe au XIXe siècle.* Saigon, 1910.

———. *Dictionnaire de bio-bibliographie générale, ancienne et moderne de l'Indochine française.* Paris, 1935.

BRITISH MUSEUM. DEPT. OF PRINTED BOOKS. *Short-title Catalogue of Portuguese Books Printed before 1601 Now in the British Museum, by Henry Thomas.* London, 1940.

BURNELL, A. *Tentative List of Books and Some MSS. Relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper.* Mangalore, 1880.

BURNEY, JAMES. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean* 5 vols London, 1803–17.

BUZETA, E. M. and BRAVO, F. *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de las islas Filipinas.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1850.

CARAYON, AUGUSTE. *Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus . . . depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours.* Paris, 1864.

CASTRO, AUGUSTIN MARIA DE *Misioneros augustinos en el extremo oriente, 1565–1780 (Osario venerable).* With introduction and notes by M[ANUEL] MERINO. Madrid, 1954.

CHAMBERLAIN, B. *Things Japanese.* 6th rev. ed. London, 1939.

CHEESEMAN, H. R. (comp.). *Bibliography of Malaya . . a Classified List of Books Wholly or Partly in English. . .* London and New York, 1959.

CIVEZZA, MARCELLINO DU, O F M. *Saggio di bibliografia geografica, etnografica san-francescana.* Prato, 1879.

CONGRESSO INTERNACIONAL DE ORIENTALISTAS. *Escritos de los portugueses y castellanos referedentes a las lenguas de China y el Japon.* Lisbon, 1892.

CONSIGLIERI PEDROSO, ZOPHIMO. *Catálogo bibliográfico das publicaçoes relativas aos descobrimentos portugueses.* Lisbon, 1912.

CORDIER, HENRI. *Bibliotheca Sinica* 5 vols Paris, 1904–08.

———. *Bibliotheca Indosinica; dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à la péninsule Indochine.* 4 vols. Paris, 1912–15.

———. *Bibliotheca Japonica.* 3 vols. Paris, 1912.

CORREIA, ALBERTO CARLOS GERMANO DA SILVA. *Catálogo bibliográfico das publicações relativas à India Portuguésa.* New Goa, 1938.

CORTESÃO, A., and TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, A. *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica.* 5 vols. Lisbon, 1960–62.

COULING, SAMUEL. *The Encyclopaedia Sinica.* London, 1917.

COUTINHO, BERNARDO XAVIER COSTA *Bibliographie franco-portugaise, essai d'une bibliographie chronologique de livres français sur le Portugal.* Porto, 1939.

COX, EDWARD GODFREY. *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel, including Voyages, Geographical Descriptions, Adventures, Shipwrecks and Expeditions.* 3 vols. Seattle, 1935–49.

CRAWFORD, JAMES LUDOVIC LINDSAY. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana.* London, 1884.

CRAWFURD, JOHN. *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries.* London, 1856.

DALGADO, SEBASTIÃO RODOLFO. *Glossário Luso-Asiático.* 2 vols. Coimbra, 1919–21.

DAVENPORT, FRANCES GARDINER (ed.). *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies to 1648.* 4 vols. Washington, D.C., 1917–37.

DAVIES, CUTHBERT COLLIN. *An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula.* 2d ed. Madras, 1959.

DEY, NUNDO. *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India.* 2d ed. London, 1927.

DOZY, R. P. A. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes.* 2 vols. Leyden, 1881.

EBISAWA ARIMICHI (comp.). *Christianity in Japan, a Bibliography of Japanese and Chinese Sources.* Part 1: *1543–1858.* Tokyo, 1960.

EMBREE, JOHN F., and DOTSON, LILLIAN O. (eds.). *Bibliography of the Peoples and Cultures of Mainland Southeast Asia.* New Haven, 1950.

Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie. 2d. ed. The Hague, 1917–39.

Encyclopedia of Islām . . . (1938, Suppl.). 4 vols. Leyden, 1913–24.

EVORA, PORTUGAL. *Biblioteca Publica. Catálogo dos manuscriptos . . . ordenados pelo bibliothecario Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara.* 4 vols. Lisbon, 1850–71.

FERRAND, GABRIEL. *Les poids, mesures et monnaies des mers du sud aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles.* Paris, 1921.

FIGANIÈRE, JORGE CESAR DE. *Bibliographia histórica portugueza.* Lisbon, 1850.

FOURNIER, P. *Voyages et découvertes scientifiques des missionnaires naturalistes français. . . .* Paris, 1932.

FREITAS, JORDÃO A. DE. "Subsidios para a bibliografia portugueza relativa ao estudo da lingua do Japão," *O Instituto,* LI (1904), 762–68. LII (1905), 115–28, 310–20, 437–48, 499–505.

GEIJER, AGNES. *Oriental Textiles in Sweden.* Copenhagen, 1951.

GOLUBOVICH, G. *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano.* Florence, 1906–27.

GÓMEZ RODELES, CECILIO. *Imprentas de los antiguos Jesuitas en Europa, América y Filipinas durante los siglos XVI al XVII.* Madrid, 1910.

GONÇALVES, JULIO *Bibliografia dos descobrimentos e navegações existente na Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa.* Lisbon, 1954.

GRANIZO RODRIGUEZ, LEÓN MARTIN. *Aportaciones bibliográficas. Viageros y viajes de espanoles, portugueses e hispano-americanos.* Madrid, 1923.

Garcia da Orta (A journal of the Ministério do Ultramar, Portugal), Special Volume Lisbon, 1956.

GUILHERMY, ELESBAN DE. *Menologe de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 2 vols. Poitiers, 1867–68.

HAGUE. KOLONIALE BIBLIOTHEEK. *Catalogus der Koloniale Bibliotheek van het Kon. Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indie en het Indisch Genootschap, door G. P. Rouffaer en W. C. Muller.* 4 vols. The Hague, 1928–37.

HALL, JOHN WHITNEY. *Japanese History; a Guide to Japanese Reference and Research Materials.* Ann Arbor, 1954.

HANAYAMA SHINSHO. *Bibliography on Buddhism.* Edited by the Commemoration Committee for Prof. Shinsho Hanayama's 61st birthday. Tokyo, 1961.

HARRISSE, HENRY. *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima. A Description of Works Relating to America, Published between 1492 and 1551.* New York, 1866; 2d ed., Paris, 1872.

HAY, STEPHEN and CASE, MARGARET H. (eds.). *Southeast Asian History; A Bibliographic Guide.* New York, 1962.

HAYM, N. F. *Notizia de libri raro nella lingua italiana.* London, 1726.

HUNTER, SIR WILLIAM WILSON. *Imperial Gazetteer of India.* 2d ed 14 vols. London, 1885–87.

Imperial Gazetteer of India. New ed., Published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. 26 vols. Oxford, 1908–31.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. COMMISSION POUR L'HISTOIRE DES GRANDS VOYAGES ET DES GRANDES DÉCOUVERTES. *Travaux. Bibliographie, 1912–1931.* Paris [1932].

ITALY. R. COMMISSIONE COLOMBIANA. *Raccolta di documenti estudi pub . . . pel quarto centenario dalla scoperta dell' America.* 14 vols. Rome, 1892–96.

JESUITS. *Catalogus patrum ac fratrum e Societate Jesu qui a morte S. Fr. Xaverii ad annum MDCCCLXXII evangelio Christi propagando in Sinis adlaboraverunt.* Shanghai, 1873.

JOPPEN, CHARLES, *Historical Atlas of India.* 3d ed. London, 1929

KAMMERER, ALBERT. *La mer rouge, l'Abyssinie et l'Arabie depuis l'antiquité.* 2 vols. in 3. Cairo, 1929–35.

KEITH, A. B. *A History of Sanskrit Literature.* Oxford, 1928.

KLOOSTERBOER, W. *Bibliografie van nederlandse publikaties over Portugal en zijn overzeese gediedsdelen.* The Hague, 1957.

LAGOA, JOAO ANTONIO DE MASCARENHAS JUDICE. *Glossário toponímico de antiga historiografia portuguesa ultramarina . . . por nomes que divergem dos actuais* 2 vols. Lisbon, 1950.

LAURES, J. *Kirishitan Bunko.* Tokyo, 1940. Supplement I, 1941, Supplement II, 1951. 3d rev. ed., Tokyo, 1957.

LEON PINELO, ANTONIO DE. *Epitome de la biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica y geografica.* Madrid, 1629.

Livros do século XVI impressos em Evora; núcleo da Biblioteca e Arquivo distrital de Evora. Evora, 1941.

LONDON UNIVERSITY. SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES. *The Far East and South-East Asia: a Cumulative List of Periodical Articles.* London, 1954.

MACHADO, DIOGO BARBOSA. *Biblioteca Lusitana, histórica, crítica e cronológica.* 2d ed. 4 vols. Lisbon, 1930–35.

MADURELL MARIMON, JOSÉ MARIA, and RUBIO Y BALAGUER, JORGE (comps. and eds.). *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta en Barcelona, 1474–1553.* Barcelona, 1955.

MAGGS BROTHERS, LONDON. *America and the East Early Geographies.* London, 1921.

———. *Bibliotheca Asiatica.* Parts 1–3. London, 1924–1929.

———. *Printed Books and Manuscripts on Japan, Arranged Chronologically.* London, 1926.

MANUEL II, KING OF PORTUGAL. *Early Portuguese Books (1489–1600) in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal.* 3 vols. London, 1929.

MARTINEAU, ALFRED A. *Bibliographie d'histoire coloniale (1900–1930).* Paris, 1932.

MARTINEAU, ALFRED A., and MAY, L. P. *Tableau de l'expansion européene à travers le monde de la fin du XII^e au début du XIX^e siècle.* Paris, 1935.

MASON, JOHN BROWN, and PARISH, H. CARROL. *Thailand Bibliography.* Gainesville, Fla., 1958.

MEDINA, J. T. *Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas (1523–1810).* Santiago de Chile, 1897.

———. *Nota bibliográfica sobre un libro impreso en Macao en 1590.* Seville, 1894.

MERRILL, E. D., and WALKER, E. H. *A Bibliography of Eastern Asiatic Botany.* New York, 1938.

MOLS, ROGER. *Introduction à la démographie des villes d'Europe du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècles.* 2 vols. Gemblaux, 1954–56.

MOLUKKEN INSTITUUT, AMSTERDAM. *Overzicht van de literatuur betreffende de Molukken.* Amsterdam, 1928.

MOREL-FATIO, ALFRED. *Catalogue des manuscrits espagnols et des manuscrits portugais [de la Bibliothèque Nationale].* Paris, 1892.

MULLER, FREDERIK, AND CO., AMSTERDAM. *Catalogue annuel de livres et de documents sur la cartographie, la géographie, les voyages XV^e–XIX^e siècles.* Amsterdam, 1912.

MURRAY, JOHN, publisher. *A Handbook for Travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. . . .* 16th ed. London, 1949.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. BURMA RESEARCH PROJECT. *Annotated Bibliography of Burma.* Directed and edited by FRANK N. TRAGER. New Haven, 1956.

OPORTO. PORTUGAL. *Biblioteca Publica. Catálogo dos manuscritos ultramarinos da Bibliotheca Publica Municipal do Porto.* Lisbon, 1938.

Orientalistische Literaturzeitung Monatsschrift fur die Wissenschaft vom ganzen Orient . . . Im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin, 1898.

PALAU Y DULCET, A. *Manuel del librero hispano-americano.* 2d ed. 14 vols. Barcelona, 1948——.

PAPINOT, E. *Historical and Geographical Dictionary of Japan.* Ann Arbor, Mich., 1948.

PARKER, JOHN (comp.). *A List of Additions, 1951–1954.* Minneapolis, 1955.

PATTERSON, MAUREEN L. P., and INDEN, RONALD B. (comps). *South Asia: An Introductory Bibliography.* Chicago, 1962.

PEDROSO, ZOPHIMO CONSIGLIERI; *see* CONSIGLIERI PEDROSO, ZOPHIMO.

PEITERS-FONTAINES, J. *Bibliographie des impressions espagnols des Pays-Bas.* Louvain and Antwerp, 1933.

PÉREZ, PASTOR CRISTÓBAL. *Bibliografía madrileña . . . 1566–1625.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1891–1907.

PFISTER, ALOYS. *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552–1773.* 2 vols. Shanghai, 1932–34.

PHILIPS, C. H. (ed.). *A Handbook of Oriental History.* London, 1951.

PICATOSTE Y RODRIGUEZ, FELIPE. *Apuntes para una bibliografía científica española del siglo XVI.* Madrid, 1891.

PORTUGAL. CASA DA INDIA. *Registo da Casa da India [1512–1633].* With introduction and notes by LUCIANO RIBEIRO. Lisbon, 1954.

PORTUGAL. MINISTÉRIO DAS COLÓNIAS. *Junta das missões geográficas e de investigações coloniais. Atlas de Portugal ultramarino e das grandes viagens portuguesas de descobrimento e expansão.* Lisbon, 1948.

RAHNER, HUGO, and POLGÁR, LADISLAUS. "Bibliographie des P. Georg Schurhammer S.I.," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* XXVI (1957), 422–52.

RIVADENEIRA, PEDRO DE. *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu. . . .* Antwerp, 1643.

ROBERTSON, JAMES A. *Bibliography of the Philippine Islands.* Cleveland, 1908.

———. *Bibliography of Early Spanish-Japanese Relations.* ("Asiatic Society of Japan Transactions," Vol. XLIII.) Manila and Yokohama, 1915.

RODELES, CECILIO GOMEZ, *see* GOMEZ RODELES, CECILIO.

RODRÍGUEZ MOÑINO, A. "Bibliografía hispanoriental. Apuntes para un catálogo de los documentos referentes a las Indias orientales de las colecciones de la Academia." *Boletín, Academia de la historia* (Madrid), No. 98 (1931), 417–73.

SABIN, JOSEPH. *Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from Its Discovery to the Present Time.* 29 vols. New York, 1868–1936.

SAN FILIPPO, PIETRO AMAT DI; *see* AMAT DI SAN FILIPPO, PIETRO.

SANTIAGO VELA, G. DE. *Ensayo de una biblioteca Ibero-Americana de la orden de San Augustin.* 7 vols. Madrid, 1913–25.

SATOW, E. M. "Bibliography of Siam," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* No. 17 (1886), 1–75; No. 18 (1887), 163–89.

SILVA CORREIA, ALBERTO CARLOS GERMANO DA, *see* CORREIA, ALBERTO CARLOS GERMANO DA SILVA.

SILVA RÊGO, A. DA, "Outre-mer portugais," *Revue d'histoire des colonies,* XLIV (1957), 102–11; XLV (1958), 159–60; XLVI (1959), 288–99.

SILVER, STEPHEN WILLIAM. *Catalogue of the York Gate Library Formed by S. William Silver; an Index to the Literature of Geography, Maritime and Inland Discovery, Commerce and Colonisation, by Edward Augustus Petherick.* 2d ed. London, 1886.

SINGER, CHARLES. *A History of Technology.* 5 vols. Oxford, 1954–58.

SIMON DIAZ, JOSÉ *Bibliografía de la literatura hispanica.* 4 vols. Madrid, 1950.

STAMP, L. D. *Asia, a Regional and Economic Geography.* 8th ed. London, 1950.

STREIT, ROBERT. *Bibliotheca missionum.* 21 vols. Aachen, 1916–55.

STUCK, GOTTLIEB HEINRICH. *Verzeichnis von altern, und neuern Land-und Reisebeschreibungen, Versuch eines Hauptstucks der geographischen Litteratur mit einen vollstandigen Real Register.* . . Halle, 1784–87.

SWECKER, ZOE. "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960.

TAYLOR, C. R. H. *A Pacific Bibliography.* Wellington, N.Z., 1951.

TÊNG S. Y., *et al. Japanese Studies on Japan and the Far East.* . . . Hong Kong, 1961.

TERNAUX-COMPANS, HENRI *Bibliothèque asiatique et africaine, ou, Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs à l'Asie et à l'Afrique qui ont paru depuis la découverte de l'imprimerie jusqu'en 1700.* 2 vols. Paris, 1841–42

THORNTON, E. *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East-India Company.* . . . London, 1857.

TORRES LANZAS, PEDRO. *Catálogo de legajos del Archivo General de Indias.* Seville, 1919.

———. *Catálogo de los documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla.* 8 vols. Barcelona, 1925–33.

UNDERWOOD, HORACE H. "A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature on Korea, from Early Times to 1930," *Transactions from the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* XX (1931), 16–183.

U. S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. GENERAL REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DIVISION. *Netherlands East Indies, a Bibliography of Books Published after 1930, and Periodical Articles after 1932, Available in U.S. Libraries.* Compiled by the Netherlands Studies Unit, Washington, D.C., 1945.

U. S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. ORIENTALIA DIVISION. *Southeast Asia; an Annotated Bibliography of Selected Reference Sources.* Compiled by Cecil Hobbs. Washington, D.C., 1952.

U. S. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. REFERENCE DEPT. *Indochina, a Bibliography of the Land and People.* Compiled by Cecil C. Hobbs and Others. Washington, D.C , 1950.

VINDEL, PEDRO. *Biblioteca oriental. Comprende 2,747 obras relativas a Filipinas, Japón, China y otras partes de Asia y Oceanía.* . . . 2 vols. in 1. Madrid, 1911–12.

WATT, SIR GEORGE. *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of India.* 7 vols. in 10. Calcutta, 1885–96

WEIGEL, THEODOR. *Bibliographische Mittheilungen uber die deutschen Ausgaben von de Bry's Sammlungen der Reisen.* . . . Leipzig, 1845.

WILSON, PATRICK. "A Survey of Bibliographies on Southern Asia," *Journal of Asian Studies,* XVIII (1959), 365–76.

YUAN TUNG-LI. *China in Western Literature; a Continuation of Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica* New Haven, 1958.

YULE, HENRY, and BURNELL, A. C. *Hobson-Jobson: Being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms.* London, 1886.

SOURCE MATERIALS

ACOSTA, EMANUEL. *Historia rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum ad annum usque a Deipara Virgine M. D. LXVIII.* . . . Dillingen, 1571.

ACOSTA, JOSÉ DE. *Obras.* Edited by FRANCISCO MATEOS, S.J. Madrid, 1954.

———. *The Natural & Moral History of the Indies.* . . Reprinted from the English translated edition of EDWARD GRIMSTON, 1604, and edited by CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Nos. LX and LXI) 2 vols. London, 1880.

ALBERI, EUGENIO (ed.); *see* QUIRINI, VINCENZO.

ALBUQUERQUE, AFFONSO DE. *Cartas.* ("Publications of the Academia das sciências".) 7 vols. Lisbon, 1884–1935.

———. *Commentarios de Afonso Dalboquerque.* Edited by BRAZ DE ALBERQUERQUE. Lisbon 1557.

———. *Commentaries.* Translated from the Portuguese edition of 1774 by WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Nos, 53, 55, 62, 69.) 4 vols. London, 1875–84.

ALFONCE, JEAN. *Les voyages avantureux du Capitaine Jean Alfonce, sainctongeois.* . . . Rouen, 1578.

ALVAREZ, FRANCISCO. *The Prester John of the Indies . . . Being the Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Ethiopia in 1520.* . . . Edited by C. F. BECKINGHAM and G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. CXIV–CXV.) 2 vols. Cambridge, 1961.

ANDRADE, FRANCISCO DE. *O primeiro cêrco que os Turcos puzerão na fortaleza de Dio nas partes da India.* Coimbra, 1589.

ANGHIERA, PIETRO MARTIRE D'. *De rebus oceanicis et novo orbe, Decades tres . . . De rebus aethiopicis, indicis, lusitanicis & hispanicis.* Cologne, 1574.

ARBER, EDWARD (ed.). *The First Three English Books on America: ?1511–1555 A.D. . . . by Richard Eden, from the Writings . . . etc. of Pietro Martire . . . Sebastian Munster . . . Sebastian Cabot . . . with Extracts, etc., from the Works of Other Spanish, Italian, and German Writers of the Time.* Birmingham, 1885.

ARGENSOLA, B. L. *Conquista de las islas Malucas.* Madrid, 1608. (Reprinted by the "Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses" [Saragossa, 1891].)

AZEVEDO, PEDRO DE (ed.); *see* LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, FERNÃO.

BADEN-POWELL, B. H. (ed.). "The Villages of Goa in the Early 16th Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1900,* pp. 261–91. (A translation of the official charter, *Foral dos usos e costumes* . . . dated Sept. 16, 1526.)

BAIÃO, ANTONIO (ed.). *Historia quinhentista (inédita) do segundo Cérco de Dio* . . . . Coimbra, 1925.

———. (ed); see BARROS, JOÃO DE. *Documentos.* . . .

———. (ed.) *Itinerários da India a Portugal por Terra.* Coimbra, 1923. (Includes the journals of MESTRE AFFONSO and ANTÓNIO TENREIRO.)

BALAK, JOHN. "A learned Epistle written 1581. . . . Giving Good Light to the Discovery of the Northeast Passage to Cathay, China, and the Malucaes." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), III, 450–57. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

BALBI, GASPARO. *Viaggio dell' Indie Orientali di Gaapo o Balbi.* . . . Venice, 1590.

———. "Gasparo Balbi his Voyage to Pegu." In SAMUEL PURCHAS (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas his Pilgrimes*, X, 143–64. 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905–07.

BARBOSA, DUARTE. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa . . . Completed About the Year 1518 A.D.* Translated from the Portuguese by MANUEL LONGWORTH DAMES. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. XLIV, XLIX.) 2 vols. London, 1918–21.

BAR SAUMA. *The History of the Yaballaha III, Nestorian Patriarch, and of his Vicar, Bar Sauma, Mongol Ambassador to the Frankish Courts at the End of the Thirteenth Century.* Translated by JAMES A. MONTGOMERY. New York, 1927.

BARRET, WILLIAM "The Money and Measures of Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies . . . 1584." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 10–34. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

BARROS, JOÃO DE. *Ásia.* 6th ed. Edited by HERNANI CIDADE and MANUEL MÚRIAS. 4 vols. Lisbon, 1945–46.

———. *Compilação de varias obras do insigne Portuguez João de Barros.* . . . Porto, 1869.

———. *Documentos inéditos sobre João de Barros.* . . . Edited by ANTONIO BAIÃO. Coimbra, 1917.

BEAZLEY, C. R. (ed.). *The Texts and Versions of John of Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis.* London, 1903.

BELLEFOREST, FRANÇOIS DE. *L'histoire universelle du monde.* . . . Paris, 1570.

BEMBO, PIETRO. *L'histoire du nouveau monde descouvert par les Portugaloys.* . . . Lyons, 1556.

BERGAMO, JACOPO FILIPPO FORESTI DA. *Supplementum Chronicarum.* Venice, 1483.

BETHUNE, CHARLES R. DRINKWATER (ed.); *see* GALVÃO, ANTÓNIO. *The Discoveries.* . . .

BIRCH, WALTER DE GRAY (ed.); *see* ALBUQUERQUE, AFFONSO DE *Commentaries.* . . .

BLAIR, E. H., and ROBERTSON, J. A. (eds.). *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1803.* 55 vols. Cleveland, 1903–09.

BOEMUS, JOHANN. *The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of all Nations.* . . . Translated by EDWARD ASTON. London, 1611. (First published at Lyons in 1536 in Latin.)

BOTERO, GIOVANNI. *Practical Politics.* Translated from the Italian. Turin, 1596. (Republished in G. E. MOORE [ed.]. Washington, D.C., 1948.)

———. *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificencie and Greatness of Cities.* . . . London, 1606.

BOXER, C. R., *South China in the Sixteenth Century.* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. CVI.) London, 1953.

BRITO, ANTONIO DE. "La lettre d'Antonio de Brito, capitaine de la fortresse de Ternate, au Roi de Portugal, Dom João III (6 mai 1523)," *La géographie*, XLIX (1928), 1–17.

BUDGE, SIR E. A. WALLIS (ed.). *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China.* . . . London, 1928.

BURNELL, A. C., and TIELE, P. A. (ed.); *see* LINSCHOTEN, JAN HUYGHEN VAN.

BURROUGH, SIR JOHN. "A True Report of the Honourable Service at Sea Perfourmed by Sir John Burrough Knight . . . wherein . . . Two East Indian Caraks . . . Were Forced . . . , 1592." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VII, 105–18. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

CABRAL, PEDRO ALVARES. *The Voyage . . . to Brazil and India from Contemporary Documents and Narratives.* Translated by WILLIAM BROOKS GREENLEE. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. 81) London, 1938.

CA'MASSER, LEONARDO DA. "Relazione . . . alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia sopra il commercio dei Portoghesi nell'India . . . 1497–1506," edited by G. SCOPOLI, *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. I, Appendix 2 (1845), pp. 9–51.

CANDISH [CAVENDISH], THOMAS. "The third circumnavigation of the globe . . . 1586 . . . 1588." In SAMUEL PURCHAS (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus; or, Purchas His Pilgrimes*, X, 143–64. 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905–07.

———. "A letter . . . to . . . Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine, One of Her Majesties most honourable Privy Councell, touching the Successe of his Voyage about the World." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), XI, 376–78. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

———. "Certaine Notes of References taken out of the large Map of China, brought Home by M. Thomas Candish, 1588." In *ibid.*, pp. 378–81.

CARACCIOLO, VIRGILIO. *Compendio della descrittione di tutto il mondo.* Naples, 1567.

CARDANO, GERONIMO. *Iuizio de la rayz China, que es palo medicinal, i assi lo es el tratado, i por ello permitido deste Aut.* Antwerp, 1564.

CARPINI, JOHN OF PLANO. *The Journey of William of Rubruck . . . with two Accounts of the earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine.* Translated and edited by W. W. ROCKHILL ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. IV) London, 1900.

———. "Libellus historicus Joannis de Plano Carpini . . . 1246 . . . ." In Richard Hakluyt (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), I, 55–179. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

CASTANHEDA, FERNÃO LOPES DE; *see* LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, FERNÃO.

CASTRO, JOÃO DE. *Lettres.* Edited by ELAINE SANCEAU. Lisbon, 1955.

[CAVENDISH], THOMAS; *see* CANDISH, THOMAS.

CENTALLAS JOACHIM DE. *Les voyages et conquestes des roys de Portugal es Indes d'orient. . . .* Paris, 1578.

Chroniques de João de Barros, Damiao de Goes, Gaspar Correa, Garcia de Resende la découverte de l'Inde par Vasco da Gama. (Les grands navigateurs et colons portugais du XVe et XVIe siècles . . . , Vol. III. Paris, n.d.

CIDADE, HERNANI, and MÚRIAS, MANUEL (eds.); *see* BARROS, JOÃO DE. *Ásia.*

CLAVIJO, RUY GONCALEZ DE. *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the Court of Timour . . . A.D. 1403–06.* Translated by C. R. MARKHAM. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 26.) London, 1859.

CLIFFE, EDWARD, "The Voyage of M. John Winter into the South Sea . . . 1577." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons) IV, 12–15. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

COBO, JUAN. *Beng Sim Po Cam o espejo rico del claro corazón. Primer libro chino traducido. en lengua castellana [ca. 1592].* Edition prepared by CARLOS SANZ. Madrid, 1959.

COEDÈS, GEORGES (ed.). *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient depuis le IVe siècle av. J. C. jusqu'au XIVe siècle.* Paris, 1910.

COLERIDGE, H. J. (ed.); *see* XAVIER, SAINT FRANCIS. *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.*

COLÍN, FRANCISCO. *Labór evangélica . . . en las Islas Filipinas . . . Manuscritos . . . que passó de los Reynos de España. . . .* (new ed.). Edited by PABLO PASTELLS. 3 vols. Barcelona, 1900–02.

Collecção de monumentos inéditos para a História das Conquistas dos Portuguezes em Africa, Asia e America, pub. sob a direcção de Rodrigo José de Lima Felner. ("Publications of the Academia das Sciências de Lisboa") Lisbon, 1858—— (see especially Vol. V, *Subsidios para a História da India.* Lisbon, 1876.)

CONTI, NICOLÒ DE', *see* RAMUSIO, G. B. (comp.).

CORDIER, HENRI (ed.), *see* YULE, SIR HENRY, and CORDIER, H. (eds.).

———. (ed.), *see* ODORIC DE PORDENONE.

CORRÊA, GASPAR. *Lendas da India, pub. sob a dirrecção de Rodrigo José de Lima Felner.* 5 vols. Lisbon, 1858–66.

CORSALI, ANDREA; *see* RAMUSIO, G. B. (comp.), CORSALI, ANDREA.

CORTE REAL, JERONIMO. *Successos do segundo cêrco de Dio.* Lisbon, 1574.

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO (ed.), *see* PIRES, TOMÉ.

COSTA, MANUEL DA, *see* ACOSTA, EMANUEL.

COUTINHO, LOPO DE SOUSA. *História do Cêrco de Dio.* Coimbra, 1556.

———. *Livro primeyro do cerco de Diu, que os Turcos poseram a fortaleza de Diu.* Lisbon, 1556.

COUTO, DIOGO DO. "Of the Famous Island of Salsette . . . Of the . . . Pagoda of Elephanta," translated from Couto's *Década* VII by W. K. FLETCHER, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* I (1841–44), 34–45.

CROS, L. J. M. (ed.), *see* XAVIER, SAINT FRANCIS. *Saint François de Xavier. . . .*

CRUZ, GASPAR DA. *Tractado em que se cõtam muito por estẽso as cousas da China, cõ suas particularidades, e assi do reyno dormuz. . . .* Evora, 1569.

———; *see* BOXER, C. R. (ed). *South China. . . .*

CRUZ, JOÃO DA. "Letters of D. João da Cruz," edited by GEORG SCHURHAMMER, *Kerala Society Papers* (Trivandrum), VI (1930), 304–17.

CUNHA, NUÑO DA. *Epitome rerum gestarum in India . . . MDXXX. Auctore Angelo Andrae Resendio lusitano.* Louvain, 1531.

CYSAT, RENWARD. *Cosmographische und warhafftige Beschreibung der newerfundenen orientalischen japponischen Konigreichen . . . Aus der italianischen Sprache ins Teutsche vertiert.* Freiburg, 1592 (colophon has date 1586).

DAMES, MANUEL LONGWORTH (ed.); *see* BARBOSA, DUARTE.

DAVYS, JOHN. *The Voyages and Works of John Davis, the Navigator.* Edited by ALBERT HASTINGS MARKHAM. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. LIX.) 2 vols. London, 1880.

DE BRUYN, ABRAHAM. *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Aphricae, atque Americae gentium habitus.* Antwerp, 1581.

DE BRY, JOHANN THEODOR, and DE BRY, JOHANN ISRAEL (eds.). *India Orientalis.* Frankfurt am Main, 1598——.

DE LOS RIOS, J. A. (ed.); *see* OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, G. F. DE. *Historia general y natural de las Indias. . . .*

D'ELIA, P. M. (ed.); *see* RICCI, MATTEO. *Fonti Ricciane. . . .*

DÍAZ DE LUGO, JUAN BERNARDO. *Lettres envoyees au Chapitre General des Freres Mineurs . . . touchãt les Affaires des Indes, & Parties orientalles.* Translated from Latin into French. n.p., 1532.

Doctrina Christiana, the First Book Printed in the Philippines, Manila, 1583. (A Facsimile with an Introductory Essay by EDWIN WOLF.) 2d ed. Washington, D.C., 1947.

DRAKE, FRANCIS. "Two Famous Voyages . . . round about the World, by Sir Francis Drake, and M. Thomas Candish, Esquire . . . Whereunto Are Annexed Certaine Rare Observations touching the Present State of China, and the Kingdom of Coray. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), XI, 101–33. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

DU JARRIC, PIERRE. *Akbar and the Jesuits. . . .* Translated by C. H. PAYNE. London, 1926.

EDEN, RICHARD (ed.). *The History of Trauayle in the West and East . . . done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden. Newly Set in Order, Augmented, and Finished by Richard Willes.* London, 1577.

EGLAUER, ANTON (ed.). *Die Missionsgeschichte späterer Zeiten; oder, gesammelte Briefe der katholischen Missionare aus allen Theilen der Welt. . . .* 6 vols. Augsburg, 1794–98. (The series is in two parts: *Der Briefe aus Ostindien.* 3 vols. Augsburg, 1794–95, *Der Briefe aus Japan,* 3 vols. Augsburg, 1795–98.)

ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND. "A Letter . . . to Zelabdim Echebar, King of Cambaia . . . 1583." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), V, 450–51. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

———. "A Letter . . . to the King of China . . . 1583." In *ibid.*, pp. 451–52.

———. "The Letters . . . Sent in the Yere 1596 unto the Great Emperor of China. . . ." In *ibid.*, XI, 417–21.

EMPOLI, GIOVANNI DA. "Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli a Leonardo suo padre intorno al viaggio da lui fatto a Malacco e frammenti di altri lettere del medisimo aggiuntavi la vita di esso Giovanni scritta da Girolamo da Empoli suo zio," *Archivio storico italiano,* Appendix, III (1846), 7–91.

ESCALANTE, BERNARDINO DE. *Discurso de la navegación que los portugueses hazen a los reinos y prouincias del Oriente y . . . las grandezas del reino de la China.* Seville, 1577.

"An Excellent Treatise of the Kingdome of China . . . Printed in Latine at Macao a Citie of the Portugals in China, An. Dom. 1590. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 348–77. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

FEDRICI, CESARE. *The Voyage and Travalie of M. Caesar Frederick . . . into the East Indies, the Indies, and Beyond the Indies. . . . Out of Italian by T. Hickok.* London, 1588.

———, "The Voyage and Travell . . . into the East India and Beyond the Indies. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), V, 365–449. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

———. *see* RAMUSIO, G.B. (comp.).

FERGUSON, DONALD (ed.). "Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, Written in 1534 and 1536 . . . ," *Indian Antiquary,* XXX (1901), 420–36.

FICALHO, CONDE DE (ed.); *see* ORTA, GARCIA DA. *Coloquios dos simples. . . .*

FITCH, RALPH. "Voyage of Master Falph Fitch . . . to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, Ganges, Bengala . . . to Pegu, to Iamahay in the Kingdome of Siam . . . to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin . . . 1583 . . . 1591. In SAMUEL PURCHAS (ed.), *Hakluyt Posthumus; or Purchas His Pilgrimes,* X, 165–204. 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905–07.

———. "A Letter Written from Goa. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), V, 463–64. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

FITCH, RALPH. "The Voyage of M. Ralph Fitch . . . to . . . the East India, to Cambaia, and the Kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the Great Mogor . . . to Pegu . . . Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the Coast of the East India . . . 1583 . . . 1591. . . ." In *ibid.*, pp. 464–505.

FRANCK, SEBASTIAN *Warhafftige Beschreibunge aller Theil der Welt. . . .* 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, 1567.

FRICIUS, VALENTINUS. *Religionstandt der ganzen neuen Welt, beider Indien gegen auf und Niedergang der Sonnen.* Ingolstadt, 1588.

FRÓIS, LUIS. *Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578). . . .* Translated and annotated by G. SCHURHAMMER and E. A. VORETZSCH. Leipzig, 1926.

———. *Kulturgegensatze Europa-Japan (1585). . . .* Published in the Portuguese original with a German translation by JOSEF FRANZ SCHÜTTE. Tokyo, 1955.

FULIN, RINALDO (ed.); *see* SANUTO, MARINO.

FULLER, THOMAS. "A Note of the Windes . . . betweene the Coast of New Spaine and Islands of the Philippinas on the Coast of Asia." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), XI, 375–76. 12 Vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

GACHARD, L. P. (ed.). *Relations des ambassadeurs vénitiens.* Brussels, 1885.

——— (ed.); *see* PHILIP II, KING OF SPAIN.

GALVÃO, ANTÓNIO. *The Discoveries of the World. . . .* Edited by CHARLES R. DRINKWATER BETHUNE. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 30) London, 1862.

———. *Tratado . . . dos . . . descobrimentos.* Lisbon, 1563. Reproduced and edited by the VISCONDE DE LAGOA and ELAINE SANCEAU. Porto, 1944.

GAMA, VASCO DA. *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497–1499.* Translated and edited by E. G. RAVENSTEIN. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 99.) London, 1898.

General Chronica das ist: Warhafftige eigentliche und kurtze Beschreibung vieler namhaffter . . . Landtschafften. . . . Frankfurt am Main, 1581.

GÓIS, DAMIÃO DE. *Opúsculos históricos. . . .* Translated from Latin by PROF. DIAS DE CARVALHO. Pôrto, 1945.

———. *Chronica do felicissimo rei Dom Emanuel.* 2 vols. Lisbon, 1566.

GOMARA, FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE. "The Debate and Stryfe . . . for the Diuision of the Indies. . . ." In EDWARD ARBER (ed.), *The First Three English Books on America: ?1511–1555 A.D.* Birmingham, 1885.

GONÇALVES, SEBASTIÃO. *Primeira parta da historia dos religiosos da Companhia de Jesus . . . nos Reynos e provincias da India Oriental. . . .* Edited by J. WICKI. Coimbra, 1957.

GONZAGA, FRANCISCUS. *De origine seraphicae religionis franciscanae eiusque progressibus.* Rome, 1587.

GONZÁLEZ DE MENDOZA, JUAN. *Historia de las cosas mas notables ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China.* Rome, 1585.

———. *The History of the Great and Mighty Kingdom of China. . . .* Reprinted from the translation of R. PARKE. Edited by SIR GEORGE T. STAUNTON. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Nos. 14–15.) 2 vols. London, 1853–54.

———. *Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reino de la China.* Edited by FÉLIX GARCÍA. Madrid, 1944.

GREENLEE, WILLIAM BROOKS (ed.), *see* CABRAL, PEDRO ALVARES.

GREIFF, R. (ed.); *see* PEUTINGER, KONRAD. *Brief und Berichte. . . .*

——— (ed.); *see* REM, LUCAS.

GRYNAEUS, SIMON (ed.); *see Novus orbis regionum.*

GUZMAN, LUIS DE. *Historia de las missiones que han hecho los religiosos de la Compañía de Iesús . . .en la India Oriental . . . China y Iapón.* 2 vols. Alcalá de Henares, 1601.

HAKLUYT, RICHARD (comp.). *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America and the Island Adjacent . . . 1582.* Edited by JOHN WINTER JONES. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 7.) London, 1850.

HAKLUYT, RICHARD (comp.). *Principall Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation . . . within the Compasse of these 1500 Yeeres. . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons) 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05. (First ed., London, 1589; 2d ed., 3 vols., London, 1598–1600.) For the most relevant items *see:* BALAK, JOHN, BARKER, EDWARD, BARRET, WILLIAM; CANDISH, THOMAS, CARPINI, JOHN OF PLANO; DRAKE, FRANCIS; ELIZABETH I, QUEEN OF ENGLAND; "Excellent Treatise of the Kingdom of China . . ."; FEDRICI, CESARE; FITCH, RALPH; FULLER, THOMAS, HOLMES, GILES, [JESUITS]; JOHNSON, RICHARD; LINSCHOTEN, J. H. VAN; MERCATOR, GERARD, PEREIRA, GALEOTTA; PETER OF LISBON; PRETTY, FRANCIS; STEVENS, THOMAS, "A True Report of the Honourable Service at Sea . . ."; WILLIAM OF RUBRUQUIS.

HAKLUYT, RICHARD, and HAKLUYT, RICHARD. *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the Two Richard Hakluyts. . . .* Edited by E. G. R. TAYLOR. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser. Nos. 76–77.) 2 vols. London, 1935.

HAMY, ALFRED (ed.). *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des domiciles de la Companie de Jésus dans le monde entier de 1540 à 1775.* Paris, 1892.

HARFF, ARNOLD RITTER VON. *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff . . . 1496 to 1499.* Translated from the German by MALCOLM LETTS. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. 94.) London, 1946.

Herodotus. The History of Herodotus. Edited by J. E. POWELL. London, 1930.

HESE, JOANNES DE. *Peregrinatio . . . ab urbe Hierusalem instituta, et per Indiam . . . ducta. . . .* Antwerp, 1565.

HESSELS. J. H. (ed.); *see* ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM.

HICKOK, T. (trans.); *see* FEDRICI, CESARE.

HOLMES, GILES. "The Instructions of one of Permia, Who Reporteth He Had Bene at Cathay the Way before Written, and also Another Way . . . which Note Was Sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), II, 482–83. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

HORTOP, JOB. *The Rare Travailes of Iob Hortop. . . .* London, 1591.

HOUTMAN, CORNELIS DE. "The Description of a Voyage Made by Certaine Ships of Holland . . . 1595 . . . 1597. In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VII, 161–64. 12 vols, Glasgow, 1904–05.

HOYARSABAL, MARTIN, *Les voyages avantureux du Captaine Martin de Hoyarsabal. . . .* Bordeaux, 1579.

HOYLAND, J. S. (trans.); *see* LAET, JOANNES DE.

INDIA, PORTUGUESE. CONSELHO DE ESTADO. *Assentos; documentos coordenadoes e anotados por Panduronga S. S Pissurlencar.* Bastorá-Goa, 1953——.

"Instructions given by the Right Honourable the Lordes of the Counsell, to M. Edward Fenton . . . for the East Indies and Cathay, Aprill 9, 1582." In RICHARD HAKLUYT

(comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VIII, 42–46. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

JACOB, MAR. "Three letters of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Malabar [to King John III] 1503–1550," edited by GEORG SCHURHAMMER, *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 62–86.

JAMES, MONTAGUE R. (ed.). *Marvels of the East; a Full Reproduction of the Three Known Copies*. Oxford, 1929.

JESUITS. "History of the Jesuits' Entrance into Japan and China, 1542–99. . . ." In SAMUEL PURCHAS (ed.), *Hakluytus Posthumus, or, Purchas his Pilgrimes*, VI, 12–36. 20 vols Glasgow, 1905–07.

———. "Of the Island Japan and other litle Isles in the East Ocean." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 327–48. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

———. "Three Severall Testimonies concerning the Mighty Kingdom of Coray . . . , Collected out of the Portugale Jesuites Yeerely Japonian Epistles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c." In *ibid.*, XI, 422–43.

———. *Letters from Missions* (*The East*).

The following list is extremely selective. For a more complete run-down for India, see John Correia-Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History* (Bombay: 1955), Appendix D, for a virtually complete bibliography of all published as well as unpublished missionary reports on Asia, see R. Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*, Vol. IV (Aachen, 1928).

Copie dunne lettre missive envoiee des Indes, par monsieur maistre Francois Xauier, frere treschier en Ihesuchrist, de la societe du nom de Ihesus, a son preuost monsieur Egnace de Layola, & a tous ses freres estudians aux lettres a Romme, Pauie, Portugal, Valence, Coulogne, & a Paris. Item deux aultres epistres faictes & enuoiées par ledict seigneur maistre . . . lune de la cite de Goa, & lautre de Tatucurim. On les vend a Paris a lenseigne des Porcelletz deuant le college des Lombards, chez Iehan Corbon. Auec Priuilege. 1545. (Streit, IV, item 480.)

Avisi Particolari delle Indie di Portugallo Riceuuti in questi doi anni del. 1551. & 1552. da lie Reuerendi Padri de la cõpagnia de Iesu, doue fra molte cose mirabili, si uede delli Paesi, del de genti, & costumi loro & la grande cõuersione di molti populi, che cominciano a riceuere il lume della sãta fede & Relligione Christiana. In Roma per Valerio Dorico & Luigi Fratelli Bressani Alle spese de M. Batista di Rosi Genouese, 1552. (Streit, IV, item 669.)

Copia de vnas Cartas de algunos padres y hermanos dela compañia de Iesus que escriuieron dela India, Iapon, y Brasil a los padres y hermanos dela misma compañia, en Portugal trasladadas de portugues en castellano. Fuerõ recibidas el año de mil y quinientos y cincuenta y cinco. Acabaronse a treze dias del mes de Deziembre. Por Ivan Aluarez. Año. M. D. LV. Probably published at Coimbra. (Streit, IV, item 777.)

Epistolae Indicae, In Qvibvs Lvcvlenta Extat Descriptio Rerum Nvper In India Orientali praeclarè gestarum à Theologis societatis Iesv: qui paucis abhinc annis infinita Indorum milia Christo Iesv Christiq. Ecclesiae mirabiliter adiunxerunt. Eiusdem Argumenti Epistolae complures breui prodibunt, quae omnes bona fide narrant incredibilem Ecclesiae Catholicae apud Indos & non ita pridem repertas Insulas propagationem: estq. historia illa sil ulla quidem alia, nunc lectu dignissima

iucundissimaq. Cum Gratia & Priuil. Caes. Mai. Dilingae, Apud Sebaldum Mayer. Anno M. D. LXIII. (Streit, IV, item 904.)

Copia De Las Cartas que los Padres y Hermanos de la Compañia de Jesvs que andan en el Iapon escriueron a los de la misma Compañia de la India, y Europa, desde el año de M. D. XLVIII. que começaron, hasta el passado De LXIII. Trasladados de Portugues en Castellano. Y con licencia impressas. En Coimbra. Por Iuan de Barrera, y Juan Aluarez. M. D. LXV. Enpressas en Coimbra por Iuan Aluarez & Iuan de Baerrera impressores de la Vniuersidad año de 1564. For contents and the dating at 1565 see Zoe Swecker, "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East, 1550–1600" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago), (1960), pp. 289–91.

Iesvs Cartas Qve Os Padres E Irmãos Da Companhia De Iesus, que andão nos Reynos de Iapão escreuerão aos da mesma Companhia da India, o Europa, des do anno de 1549. ate o de 66. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, e bondade da Christandade da quellas partes, e varios costumes, e idolatrias da gentilidade. Impressas por mandado do Illustrissimo, e Reuerendissimo Senhor Don Ioão Soarez, Bispo de Coimbra, Conde de Arganil, &c Forão vistas por sua Senhoria Reuerendiss. e Impressas com sua licença, e dos Inquisidores, em Coimbra em casa de Antonio de Marijs. Anno de 1570. (Streit, IV, item 1496.)

Novveavx Advis de L'Estat Dv Christianisme Es Pays Et Royaulmes Des Indes Orientales & Iappon, Enuoyés au R. P. general de la compagnie du nom de Iesvs. A Paris, Chez Thomas Brumen, au Cloz Bruneau à l'enseigne de l'Oliuier. M. D. LXXXII. Avec permission. (Streit, IV, item 1011.)

Lettera Annale Delle cose del Giapone del M. D. LXXXII. Con Privilegio In Roma, Per Francesco Zannetti, alla Sapientia. M. D. LXXXV. (Streit, IV, item 1636.)

Avvisi Del Giapone de Gli Anni M. D. LXXXII. LXXXIII. Et LXXXIV. Con alcuni altri della Cina dell' LXXXIII. Et LXXXIV. Cauati dalle Lettere della Compagnia di Giesù. Riceuute il mese di Dicembre M. D. LXXXV. In Roma, Per Francesco Zanetti M. D. LXXXVI. Con Licentia De' Superiori. (Streit, IV, item 1669.)

Sendtschreiben Auss den weitberhümpten Landschafften China Japon vn India dess sechs vnnd achtzigisten vnnd siben vnd achtzigisten Jahrs. Sampt Angehenkter erzehlung eines mercklichen Schiffbruchs wie in andern schreiben dess P. Petri Martonez an den Ehrwurdigen P. General der Societet Jesv den 9. Decembris Anno 1586. gethan vermeldet wirdt. Mit Röm. Kay. Majestet Freyheit. Gestruckt zu Dilingen durch Johannem Mayer. M. D. LXXXIX. (Streit, IV, item 1057.)

Historia Del Reyno De Iapon Y Descripcion De Aqvella tierra, y de algunas costumbres, cerimonias, y regimiento de aquel Reyno: Con la relacion de la venida de los embaxadores del Iapón a Roma, para dar la obediencia al Summo Pontefice, y todos los recibimientos que los Principes Christianos les hizieron por donde passaron, y de las cartas y presentes que dieron a su Magestad el Rey nuestro señor, y a los demas Principes. Con la muerte de Gregorio XIII. y election de Sixto V y las cartas que dio su Sanctitad para los Reyes de aquel Reyno, hasta la partida de Lisboa, y mas seys cartas de la China y del Iapón, y de la llegada de los señores Iapones a Goa. Recopilada por el Doctor Buxeda de Leyua, vezino de la ciudad de Toledo. Dirigida al Doctor Diego Clauero, del Real Cõsejo de su Magestad, en el Reyno de Aragon En Çaragoça. Impressa con licencia, en casa de Pedro Puig, Impressor de Libros, Año 1591. A Costa de Antonio Hernandez mercader de libros. (Streit, IV, item 1731.)

Iesvs. Cartas Qve Os Padres E Irmãos da Companhia de Iesvs escreuerão dos Reynos de Iapão & China aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa, desdo anno de 1549 atè o de 1580 Primeiro Tomo. Nellas se conta o principio, socesso, & bondade da Christandade da quellas partes, & varios costumes, & falsos ritos da gentilidade. Impresso por mandato do Reuerendissimo em Christo Padre dom Theotonio de Bragança Arcebispo d'Euora. Impressas com licença , approuação dos SS. Inquisidores & do Ordinario. Em Euora por Manoel de Lyra. Anno de M. D. XCVIII. (Streit, IV, item 1888.)

———; *see Litterae quadrimestres. . . .*

JOHN III, KING OF PORTUGAL. *Letters of John III, King of Portugal, 1521–1527.* Edited by J. D. M. FORD. Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

JOHNSON, RICHARD. "Certaine Notes . . . of the Wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of Divers and Strange People." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), II, 480–81. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

JORDANUS CATALANI, BP OF COLUMBUM. "Description des Merveilles d'une partie de l'Asie. Imprimée d'après un Manuscrit du XIVe siècle." In *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires* ("Publications of the Société de Géographie"), IV, 1–68. Paris, 1828.

JOVIUS, PAULUS. *Historiarum sui temporis.* Paris, 1550.

JUDICE BIKER, JULIO FIRMINO (ed.). *Collecão de tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portugueza fez com os reis e senhores com que teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental.* 14 vols. Lisbon, 1881–87.

KERR, ROBERT (ed.). *A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels. . . .* 12 vols. London, 1824.

KIMBLE, G. H. T. (ed.); *see* PACHECHO PEREIRA, DUARTE.

KÖNIG, ERICH (ed.); *see* PEUTINGER, K., *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel.*

LAET, JOHANNES DE. *The Empire of the Great Mogol. . . .* Translated by J. S. HOYLAND and annotated by S. N. BANERJEE. Bombay, 1928.

LAGOA, VISCONDE DE, and SANCEAU, ELAINE; *see* GALVÃO, ANTÓNIO. *Tractado . .*

LANCASTER, JAMES. *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies, 1591–1603.* Edited by SIR WILLIAM FOSTER. ("Hakluyt Society Publications, 2d ser., No. 85.) London, 1940. (Includes Barker's narrative, May's narrative, and Hakluyt's and Purchas' accounts.)

LEONARDO Y ARGENSOLA, BARTOLOMÉ; *see* ARGENSOLA.

LETTS, MALCOLM (ed.); *see* MANDEVILLE, J.

LINSCHOTEN, JAN HUYGHEN VAN. *The Voyage to the East Indies, from the English Translation of 1598.* Edited by A. C. BURNELL and P. A. TIELE. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, Nos. 70–71.) 2 vols. London, 1885.

———. "The Report . . . Concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches Imprisonment . . . Goa." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), V, 505–12. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

(*From*) *Lisbon to Calicut.* Translated by ALVIN E. PROTTENGEIER with notes by JOHN PARKER. Minneapolis, 1956.

Litterae quadrimestres ex universis praeter Indien et Brasiliam locis in quibus aliqui de Societate Jesu versabantur Roman missae. 7 vols. Matriti, 1894–1925; Rome, 1932.

LOCKE, J. C. (ed.). *The First Englishmen in India; Letters and Narratives of Sundry Elizabethans. . . .* London, 1930.

LONGHENA, MARIO (ed.). *Viaggi in Persia, India e Giava di Nicolo de' Conti, Girolamo Adorno e Girolamo da Santo Stefano.* Milan, 1929.

LOPES DE CASTANHEDA, FERNÃO. *História do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses.* 3d ed. Edited by PEDRO DE AZEVEDO. 4 vols. Coimbra, 1924–33.

———; *see* WESSELS, C.

LOYOLA, IGNACIO DE, SAINT. *Monumenta Ignatiana.* 15 vols. (The series is divided in two parts: *Epistolae et Instructiones.* 12 vols. Madrid, 1903–11; *Constitutiones.* 3 vols. Rome, 1934–38.)

LUCENA, JOÃO DE. *Historia da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier.* Lisbon, 1600. (Facsimile edition with a preface by ALVARO J. DA COSTA PIMPÃO published by Agência geral do ultramar. Lisbon, 1952.)

MACER, JEAN. *Les trois livres d'histoire des Indes . . . composez en Latin, & depuis nagueres faictz en Françoys. . . .* Paris, 1555.

MAGALHÃES GODINHO, VITTORINO (ed.). *Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa.* 3 vols. Lisbon, 1945–46.

MAFFEI, GIOVANNI PIETRO. *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI. Selectarum item ex India epistolarum eodem interprete libri IV . . .* Florence, 1588.

———. *L'histoire des Indes orientales et occidentales . . . tr. par M. D. P. . . .* 2 vols. Paris, 1665. (A rough and inaccurate translation.)

MAJOR, R. H. (ed.). *India in the Fifteenth Century; Being a Collection of Narratives of Voyages to India. . . .* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 22.) London, 1857.

———. *Early Voyages to Terra Australis. . . . A Collection of Documents . . . from the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. . . .* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 25.) London, 1859.

MAJUMDAR, R. C. (ed.). *The Classical Accounts of India, Being a Compilation of the English Translations of the Accounts left by Herodotus, Megasthenes, Arrian, Strabo, Quintus, Diodorus Siculus, Justin, Plutarch, Frontinus, Nearchus, Apollonius, Pliny, Ptolemy, Aelian and Others. . . .* Calcutta, 1960.

MANDEVILLE, SIR JOHN. *Mandeville's Travels.* Translated and edited by MALCOLM LETTS. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. 101–102.) 2 vols. London, 1953.

MANUEL I, KING OF PORTUGAL. *The Italian Version of a Letter from the King of Portugal . . . to the King of Castilla (Ferdinand) . . Giving an Account of the Voyages to and Conquestes in the East Indies from 1500 to 1505 A.D.* Reprinted from the Copy Printed by J. Besicken at Rome in 1505 with notes by A. C. BURNELL. London, 1881.

MARCUCCI, ETTORE (ed.); *see* SASSETTI, FILIPPO. Lettere edite. . .

MARKHAM, SIR CLEMENTS (ed.); *see* ORTA, GARCIA DA. *Colloquies. . . .*

——— (ed.); *see* ACOSTA, JOSÉ DE. *The Natural & Moral History of the Indies. . . .*

——— (trans.); *see* CLAVIJO, RUY GONCALEZ DE.

MARTINS, AFONSO. "Carta inédita de Afonso Martins, primeiro viagária de Malaca," edited by Georg Schurhammer, *Studia,* I (1958), 111–17.

MASSARA, ENRICO (ed.). *Nuove memorie e preziosi documenti intorno al P. Antonio Criminali, proto martire della Compagnia di Gesú.* Venice, 1900.

MAXIMILIANUS, TRANSYLVANUS. *De Moluccis Insulis. . . .* Facsimile in H. STEVENS, *Johann Schoner, A Reproduction of his Globe of 1523 . . . and the De Moluccis . . . ,* pp. 59–88. London 1888.

MAY, HENRY. "A Briefe Note of a Voyage to the East Indies . . . 1591. . . . In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), V, 120–22. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

MAYER, JOHANNES. *Compendium cronologicum seculi a Christo nato decimi sixti; Das ist. Summarischer Inhalt aller gedruck und glaubwirdigen Sachen . . . mit kurtzer Beschreibung etlicher Volcker und Lander mancherley Sittin und Gebrauchen ausz ansehelichen Authoribus zusamb getragen. . . .* Munich, 1598.

MAYNARDE, THOMAS. *Sir Francis Drake, His Voyage, 1595* . . . Edited from the original Mss. by W. D. COOLEY. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 4.) London, 1849.

MEDINA, J. T. (ed.). *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile.* 3 vols. Santiago, 1888–89.

MEDRANO, JULIAN DE. *La historia singular de seis animales· d'el Can, d'el Cauallo, d'el Lobo, d'el Cieruo, y d'el Elephante.* Paris, 1583.

MENDOZA, JUAN GONZÁLEZ DE, *see* GONZÁLEZ DE MENDOZA.

MERCATOR, GERARD. *Atlas sive Cosmographicae. . . .* (1st complete ed.) Duisburg, 1595.

———. "A Letter . . to M. Richard Hakluyt . . . touching the Intended Discoveries of the Northeast Passage, An. 1580." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), III, 275–82. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

MOLLEMA, J. C. (ed.). *De eerste Schipvaart der Hollanders naar Oost-Indie, 1595–97.* The Hague, 1935.

MOORE, G. E. (ed.); *see* BOTERO, GIOVANNI. *Practical Politics. . . .*

MONSERRATE, ANTONIO. *The Commentary . . . on his Journey to the Court of Akbar.* Translated by J. S. HOYLAND and annotated by S. N. BANERJEE. London, 1922.

MONTALBODDO, FRANCANZANO DA. *Paesi nouamenti retrouati. Et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato* Vicenza, 1507. (The contents includes materials on the Da Gama and Cabral voyages; letters of Venetian ambassadors and merchants, 1501–02, concerning Portuguese voyages to India; and an account of India by Priest Joseph of Cranganore [1502].)

MOULE, A. C. (ed.), *see* POLO, MARCO. *The Description of the World.*

MUNSTER, SEBASTIAN. "A Treatyse of the Newe India . . . as well Eastwarde as Westwarde. . . ." *See* ARBER, EDWARD (ed.).

N. H. "The Worthy and Famous Voyage of Master Thomas Cavendish . . . Begun in the Year 1586." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), XI, 290–348. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

NADAL, GERÓNIMO *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Jesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577.* 4 vols. Madrid, 1898–1905.

NAVARRETE, MARTIN FERNANDEZ DE (ed.). *Colleción de los viages y descubrimientos.* 4 vols. Madrid, 1837.

NICHOLAS, THOMAS. *The Strange and Maruvilous News Lately Come from the Great Kingdome of Chyna, which Adiouyneth to the East Indyz. Tr. out of the Castyln Tongue by T.N.* Reprinted in SIR SAMUEL E. BRYDGES. *Censuria literaria,* VI, 55–62. 2d ed. London, 1815.

NIKITIN, AFANASII NIKITICH. "Khozhenie za tri moria." In R. H. MAJOR (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century,* pp. 60–72. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 22.) London, 1857.

Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veterivus incognitarum . . . Praefatio Simonis Grynaei. Basel, 1532. (The contents includes *Epistola Emanuelis regis Portugalliae ad Leone X. Pont. Max. de uictorijs habitis in India & Malacha &c, Lodouici Rom. patritij nauigationum Æthiopiae . . . Indiae, intra & extra Gangem, libri VII;* M. PAUL VENETI. *De regionibus orientalibus libri III: Heithoni Armeni ordinis Praemonstrat. De Tartaris liber.* (The 1537 edition adds *De Moluccis insulis . . . Maximiliani Transsyluani . . . epistola.*)

NOWELL, CHARLES E. (ed.). *Magellan's Voyage around the World Three Contemporary Accounts.* Evanston, Ill., 1962.

NUNES, FERNÃO. "Chronica das Reis de Bisnaga." In ROBERT SEWELL (ed.), *A Forgotten Empire.* London, 1900.

NUNES, LEONARDO. *Crónica de Dom João de Castro (finished Feb. 22, 1550).* Edited by J. D. M. FORD. Cambridge, Mass., 1936.

OATEN, E. F. (comp.). *European Travellers in India during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* London, 1909.

ODORIC DE PORDENONE. *Les voyages en Asie du bienheureux Frère Odoric de Pordenone.* Edited by HENRI CORDIER. Paris, 1891.

"Of the Newe Landes and of ye People Founde by the Messengers of the Kynge of Portyngale Named Emanuel. . . ." In EDWARD ARBER (ed.), *The First Three English Books on America. ?1511–1555 A.D.* Birmingham, 1885.

ORTA, GARCIA DA. *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India.* Translated by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM. London, 1913.

———. *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India.* Edited and annotated by CONDE DE FICALHO. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1891–95.

ORTELIUS, ABRAHAM. *Abrahami Ortelii, geographi antverpiensis, et virorum eruditorum . . . Epistolae . . . 1524-. . . .* Edited by JOHANNES HENRICUS HESSELS. Cambridge, 1887.

OSORIO, JERONYMO, BP. OF SILVES. *The History of the Portuguese during the Reign of Emmanuel.* Translated into English by JAMES GIBBS. 2 vols. London, 1752.

OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, GONZALO FERNÁNDEZ DE, *see* RAMUSIO, G. B. (ed.).

———. *Historia general y natural de las Indias y tierra firme del mar oceano.* Pt. I. Seville, 1535; Pt. II, Book XX, Valladolid, 1557.

———. *Historia. . . .* Edited by J. A. DE LOS RIOS. 4 vols. Madrid, 1851–55.

PACHECO, DIOGO. *Obedienta Potentissimi Emanuelis Lusitaniae Regis . . . per clarissimum Iuris. V. Consultum Dieghum Pacettum Oratorem ad Iulium II Ponti Max. Anno Domini M.D.V. Pridie No. Iunii* n.p., 1505?.

PACHECO, JOAQUIN F., CÁRDENAS, D. FRANCISCO, and TORRES DE MENDOZA (comps.). *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonizacion de las posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía, sacados en su mayor parte del Real Archivo de Indias.* 42 vols. Madrid, 1864–84.

PACHECO PEREIRA, DUARTE *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis.* Translated by GEORGE H. T. KIMBLE. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. 79.) London, 1937.

PARMENTIER, JEAN. *Description novvelle des Merveilles de ce Mõde, & de la Dignite de lhomme, composee en rithme. . . . Deploration sur la Mort desditz Parmentiers composee par Pierre Crignon. . . .* Paris, 1531. (Facsimile reproduction. Boston, 1920).

PASTELLS, PABLO (ed.); *see* COLÍN, FRANCISCO.

PAWLOWSKI, CHRISTOPHE. "Les Indes portugais à la fin du XVIe siècle, d'après la relation du voyage fait à Goa en 1596 par Christophe Pawlowski, gentilhomme polonais," edited and translated by STEFAN STASIAK (Imprint, Lvov, 1927). Also in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny*, III (1925), 1–56.

PAYNE, C. H. (trans.); *see* DU JARRIC, PIERRE.

PEREIRA, GABRIEL (ed.). *Roteiros portuguezes da viagem de Lisboa á India nos seculos XVI e XVII.* Lisbon, 1898. (Contains rutters of Vicente Rodrigues, Gaspar Manuel, and Aleixo da Motta.)

PEREIRA, GALEOTTO. "Certain Reports of the Province of China Learned through the Portugals There Imprisoned. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 295–327. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

PERES. DAMIÃO. *Regimento das cazas das Indias e Mina.* Coimbra, 1947.

PÉREZ, LORENZO (ed.). *Cartas y relaciones del Japón.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1916–23.

PERUSCHI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA. *Informatione del regno, e stato del gran Rè di Mogor. Raccolta per il reuer. padre* ———. Brescia, 1597.

PETER OF LISBON. "A Briefe Relation of the Great Magnificence and Rich Traffike of the Kingdome of Pegu. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations* . . . (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 385–87. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

PEUTINGER, KONRAD. *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel.* Edited by ERICH KONIG. Munich, 1923.

———. *Brief und Berichte uber die fruhesten Reisen nach Amerika und Ostindien . . . 1497 bis 1506. . . .* Edited by R. GREIFF. (*Jahresbericht des hist. Kreis Vereins im Reg. Bez. von Schwaben und Neuburg, fur das Jahr 1860, XXVI.*) Augsburg, 1861.

PHILIP II, KING OF SPAIN. *Lettres de Philippe II à ses filles les Infantes Isabelle et Catherine . . . 1581–83.* Edited by LOUIS P. GACHARD. Paris, 1884.

PIERIS, P. E., and FITZLER, M. A. H. *Ceylon and Portugal.* Leipzig, 1927.

PIGAFETTA, ANTONIO. *Magellan's Voyage Around the World by Antonio Pigafetta.* Edited by J. A. ROBERTSON. 2 vols Cleveland, 1906.

PIRES, TOMÉ. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, an Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan written . . . in 1512–1515. And the Book of Francisco Rodrigues, Rutter of a Voyage. . . .* Translated and edited by ARMANDO CORTESÃO. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. 89–90.) 2 vols. London, 1944.

PISSURLENCAR, PANDURONGA S. S. (ed.). *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India. . . .* Bastorá-Goa, 1951.

——— (ed.); *see* INDIA, PORTUGUESE. CONSELHO DE ESTADO.

PIXANI, DOMENEGO. *Copia et Sumario di una Letera di Sier Domenego Pixani, 27 de Julho de 1501.* Coimbra, 1907.

POLANCO, JOANNES ALPHONSUS DE. *Vita Ignatii Loiolae et Rerum Societatis Jesu Historia.* 6 vols. Madrid, 1894–98.

POLO, MARCO. *Marco Polo. The Description of the World.* Edited by A. C. MOULE and PAUL PELLIOT. 2 vols. London, 1938.

———. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.* 3d ed. Edited by SIR HENRY YULE and HENRI CORDIER. 2 vols. New York, 1926.

PORCACCHI, THOMASO. *L'isole piu famose del mondo.* Venice, 1572.

PORTUGAL. MINISTÉRIO DO ULTRAMER. *Fundaçao do estado da India em 1505. Livro comemorativo.* Lisbon, 1955.

POSSEVINO, ANTONIO. *Bibliotheca selecta qua agitur de Ratione Studiorum. . . .* Rome, 1594.

POSTEL, GUILLAUME. *Des Merveilles du Monde, et principalemẽt des admirables choses des Indes, & du nouveau monde. Histoire extraicte des Escriptz tres dignes de Foy.* [Paris?, 1553?]

PRETTY, FRANCIS. "The Admirable and Prosperous Voyage of . . . Thomas Candish . . . into the South Sea . . . and from Thence round about the Circumference of the Whole Earth . . . 1586 . . . 1588. . . ." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), XI, 290–347. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

———. "The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea and There hence about the Whole Globe of the Earth, Begun . . . 1577." In *ibid.*, XI, 101–32.

PROTTENGEIER, ALVIN E. (ed.); *see* (*From*) *Lisbon to Calicut.*

PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS. *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy.* Translated and edited by E. L. STEVENSON and based upon Greek and Latin manuscripts and important late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century printed editions. New York, 1932.

———. *La géographie de Ptolemée: L'Inde (VII, 1–4).* Edited by LOUIS RENOU. Paris, 1925.

———. *McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy; a Facsimile Reprint.* Edited by S. M. SASTRI. Calcutta, 1927.

PURCHAS, SAMUEL (ed.). *Hakluytus posthumus; or, Purchas his Pilgrimes.* 20 vols. Glasgow, 1905–07. (*see* especially: BALBI, GASPARO, CANDISH, THOMAS, FITCH, RALPH.)

QUEIROS, PEDRO. *Voyages . . . 1595* to *1606.* Translated and edited by SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. 14–15.) 2 vols. London, 1904.

QUIRINI, VICENZO. "Relazione delle Indie Orientali . . . nel 1506." In EUGENIO ALBERI (ed.), *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il Secolo Decimosesto, Appendice,* pp. 3–19. Florence, 1863.

RAMOS-COELHO, JOSÉ (comp.). *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguezas.* Lisbon, 1892.

RAMUSIO, G. B. (comp.). *Delle navigationi et viaggi. . . .* 3 vols. Venice, 1550–59.

Vol. I, 1st ed. (1550) unless a later edition is specified, includes the following materials relevant to our subject. They are arranged according to authors:

ARRIAN. La Navigatione di Nearcho . . . laquale scrisse Arriano Greco . . . , fols. 290v–95v.

BARBOSA, DUARTE. Libro, fols. 310–48v.

BARROS, JOÃO DE. Della Historia del Signor Giovan de Barros, 2d ed. (1554) of vol I, fols. 426–36.

CONTI, NICOLO DI. Viaggio di Nicolo di Conti Venetiano scritto per Messer Poggio Fiorentino, fols. 365–71v.

CORSALI, ANDREA. Lettera di Andrea Corsali Fiorentino, scritta in Cochin [India, January 6, 1515].

———. Della Navigatione del Mar Rosso & Sino Persico fino a Cochin [India, September 18, 1517], fols. 192–203v.

EMPOLI, GIOVANNI DA. Viaggio fatto nell'India [1503] per Gioanni da Empoli Fattore su la Nave, fols. 156–58.

GAETANO, JUAN. Relatione di Ivan Gaetan Piloto Castigliano del Discoprimento dell'Isole Molucche per la Via dell'Indie Occidentali, fols. 403–05v.

IAMBOLO. La Navigatione di Iambolo Mercatante, da i Libri di Diodoro Siculo, fols. 188v–89v.

[JESUITS]. Informatione dell'Isola novamente scoperta nella Parte di Settentrione chiamata Giapan, 2d ed. (1554) of vol I, fols. 418–25v.

LOPEZ, TOMÉ. Navigation verso le Indie Orientali [1502] sgritta [*sic*] per Thome Lopez . . , fols, 143v–56.

MAXIMILIANUS, TRANSYLVANUS. Epistola di Massimiliano Transilvano . . . della ammirabile & stupenda Navigatione fatta per il Spagnuoli lo Anno MDXIX attorno il Mondo, fols. 374-79v.

Narratione di un Portoghese Compagno di Odoardo Barbosa qual fu sopra la Nave Vittoria del Anno MDXIX, 2d ed. (1554) of vol. I, fols. 408v–09.

PIGAFETTA, ANTONIO. Viaggio attorno il Mondo scritto per M. Antonio Pigafetta Vicentino . . . , fols 379v–97v.

PIRES, TOMÉ. Sommario di tutti li Regni, Città, & Popoli Orientali . . . , fols. 349–63.

SAN STEFANO, HIERONIMO. Viaggio . . ., fols. 372–73.

SERNIGI, GIROLAMO. Navigatione di Vasco di Caman . . . fatta nell'Anno 1497 oltra il Capo di Buona Speranza in Calicut, scritta per un Gentilhuomo Fiorentino . . . in Lisbona, fols. 130–32.

VARTHEMA, LODOVICO. Itinerario . . ., fols 159–88v.

Viaggio scritto per un Comito Venitiano, che fu Menato di Alessandria fino al Diu nella India, fols. 296–302v.

Vol. II, 1st ed. (1559), includes (unless a later edition is specified):

HAYTON, PRINCE OF ARMENIA. Parte secondo dell'Historia del Signor Hayton Armeno, fols. 62v–65, 58 -64v (erroneous paging in the volume itself).

ODORIC OF PORDENONE. Viaggio del Beato Odorico da Udine . . . Delle Usanze, Costumi, & Nature, di diverse Nationi, & Genti del Mondo . . ., 2d ed. (1574), fols. 237v-45.

———. Viaggio del Beato Frate Odorico di Porto Maggiore del Friuli, 2d ed. (1574), fols. 245v- 48v.

PIANO CARPINI, GIOVANNI DA, and SIMON DE ST.-QUENTIN. Due Viaggi in Tartaria, per alcuni Frati . . . Mandati da Papa Innocentio IIII nella detta Provincia per Ambasciatori l'Anno 1247, 2d ed. (1574), fols. 225v–37v.

POLO, MARCO. De I Viaggi di Messer Marco Polo Gentil'huomo Venetiano, fols. 2–60v.

RAMUSIO, G. B. [Table of Asian Latitudes and Longitudes of Places Mentioned by Polo, as compiled by Ramusio from ABILFADA ISMAIL], fol. 18.

———. Discorso sopra il Libro del Signor HAYTON ARMENO, fols. 61–62.

———. Prefatione sopra il Principio del Libro del Magco M. MARCO POLO . . ., fols. 1–8v.

Vol. III, 1st ed. (1556), includes (unless a later edition is specified):

Discorso d'un Gran Capitano di Mare Francese del Luoco di Dieppa sopra le Navigationi [to Sumatra, etc] alle quali hanno navigato le Caravelle & Naui Francese, fols. 423–34.

Fedrici, Caesar. Viaggio di M. Cesare de'Fedrici nell'India Orientale, & oltra l'India, per Via di Soria, 3d ed. (1606), fols. 386–98.

Oviedo y Valdes, G. F. de. Della generale et naturale Historia delle Indie a Tempi nostri ritrovate, fols. 74v–224v.

Ravenstein, E. G. (ed.); *see* Velho, Alvaro. *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama....*

Rebello, Amador. *Compendio de algvnas cartas* ... Lisbon, 1598.

Rebello, Gabriel. *Informação das Cousas de Maluco.* In *Collecção de Noticias para a Historia e Geografia das Nações ultramarinas*... (published by the "Academia Real das Sciencias," Vol. VI, pp. 145–312.) Lisbon, 1856.

Rem, Lucas. *Tagebuch*... *1494*–... *1541 mit Briefen und Berichten uber die Entdeckung des neuen Seeweges nach Amerika und Ostindien.* Edited by B. Greiff. (*Jahresbericht des Vereins fur Geschichte von Schwaben und Neuburg*, XXVI.) Augsburg, 1861.

Renou, Louis (ed.); *see* Ptolemy, Claudius. *La géographie de Ptolemée....*

Resende, Garcia da. *Miscellanea e variedade de historias, costumes, casos, e cousas.* Coimbra, 1917.

Ribadeneyra, F. Marcello, O F. M. *Historia de las islas del archipielago, y reynos de la gran China....* Barcelona, 1601.

Ricci, Matteo. *China in the Sixteenth Century.* Translated and edited by Louis J. Gallagher. New York, 1953.

———. *Fonti Ricciane; Documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci*... *1579–1615....* Edited by Pasquale M. d'Elia. 3 vols. Rome, 1942–49.

Robertson, J. A. (ed.); *see* Pigafetta, Antonio.

Rodriques de Oliveira, Cristavão. *Sumario em que brevement se contem algumas Cousas (assim eclesiasticas como seculares) que ha na cidade de Lisboa.* Lisbon, 1938.

Román y Zamora, Friar Jeronimo. *Relación del descubrimiento de las Philippinas y del ataque á Manila por el pirata Limahon con noticias de Fr. Martin de Rada, Salamanca, 1595.* Edited by D. L. D'Orvenpipe. (Reprinted in *Colección de Libros raros o curiosos que tratan de America*, XV, 255–67. Madrid, 1897.)

———. *Repúblicas de Indias*... *Fielmente reimpresas según la Edición de 1575....* 2 vols. Madrid, 1897.

Rouffaer, G. P., and Ijzerman, J. W. (eds.). *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indie onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1596–1597. Journalen, Documenten en andere Bescheiden.* 3 vols. The Hague, 1915–22.

Rundall, Thomas (ed.). *Memorials of the Empire of Japon in the XVI and XVII Centuries.* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 8.) London, 1850.

Ryan, N. J. (ed.). *Malaya through Four Centuries: An Anthology, 1500–1900.* London, 1959.

Sá, Artur Basílio de (ed.). *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Oriente.... Insulíndia.* 5 vols Lisbon, 1954–58.

Sá de Miranda, Francisco de. *Obras completas.* Edited by Manuel Rodrigues Lapa. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1942–43.

SAINSBURY, W. N. (ed.). *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series: East Indies, China and Japan.* London, 1862.

SAN JANUARIO, VICOMTE de (ed.). "Documents sur les missions portugaises du Cambodge et en Cochinchine," *Bulletin de la Société académique Indochinoise de France*, 2d ser., II (1882).

SANCEAU, ELAINE (ed.); *see* CASTRO, JOÃO DE.

SANUTO, MARINO. *I Diarii . . . MCCCCXCVI–MDXXXIII. . . .* Edited by RINALDO FULIN and others. 58 vols. in 35. Venice, 1879–1903.

SANZ, CARLOS (ed.); *see* COBO, JUAN.

SASSETTI, FILIPPO. *Lettre indiane.* 2d ed. Edited by ARRIGO BENEDETTI. Turin, 1961.

———. *Lettere edite e inedite di Filippo Sassetti.* Edited by ETTORE MARCUCCI. Florence, 1855.

———. "Ragionamento sopra il commercio ordinato dal Granduca Cosimo I tra i sudditi," *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. I, IX (1853), Appendix, 165–88.

SASTRI, K. A. NILAKANTA (ed.) *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan.* Madras, 1939

SASTRI, S. M. (ed.), *see* PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS. *McCrindle's Ancient India. . . .*

SCHÖNER, JOHANN, *see* MAXIMILIANUS, TRANSYLVANUS.

SCHULZE, FRANZ (ed.); *see* SPRINGER, BALTHASAR.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG (ed.); *see* MARTINS, AFONSO.

——— (ed.); *see* CRUZ, JOÃO DA.

——— (ed.); *see* JACOB, MAR.

———. *Die zeitgenossischen Quellen zur Geschichte portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarlander (1538–1552).* Leipzig, 1932.

SCHURHAMMER, G. and VORETZSCH, E. A. (eds.); *see* FRÓIS, LUIS. *Die Geschichte Japans. . . .*

SCHURHAMMER, G. and WICKI, J. (eds.); *see* XAVIER, SAINT FRANCIS. *Epistolae. . . .*

SCHUTTE, J. F. (trans.), *see* FRÓIS, LUIS. *Kulturgegensatze. . . .*

——— (ed.), *see* VALIGNANO, ALESSANDRO. *Il cerimoniali. . . .*

Semeiança del Mundo; A Medieval Description of the World. Edited by WILLIAM E. BULL and HARRY F. WILLIAMS. Berkeley, Calif., 1959.

SEWELL, ROBERT (ed.). *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar).* London, 1900.

SIGNOT, J. *La Division du monde. . . .* Lyons, 1550.

SILVA REGO, ANTONIO DA. *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do Orient: India.* 12 vols. Lisbon, 1947–58.

SOUSA, LUIS DE. *Anais de D. Joao III.* Edited by MANUEL RODRIGUES LAPA. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1938.

SOUSA COUTINHO, LOPO DE; *see* COUTINHO, LOPO DE SOUSA.

SPRINGER, BALTHASAR. *Balthasar Springers Indienfahrt 1505/06. . . .* Edited by FRANZ SCHULZE. Strassburg, 1902.

STANLEY, HENRY E. J. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar.* ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. XXXV.) London, 1866.

STAUNTON, SIR G. T. (ed.); *see* GONZÁLEZ DE MENDOZA, JUAN. *The History . . . of China. . . .*

STEVENS, THOMAS. "A Letter Written from Goa . . . Anno 1579." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations . . .* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), VI, 377–85. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

STEVENSON, E. L. (ed.); *see* PTOLEMY, CLAUDIUS. *Geography. . . .*

TAYLOR, E. G. R. (ed.); *see* HAKLUYT, RICHARD, and HAKLUYT, RICHARD.

TEIVE, DIOGO DE. *Commentarius de rebus in India apud Dium gestis anno salutis nostri MDXLI.* Coimbra, 1548.

TEIXEIRA, PEDRO. *The Travels. . . .* Translated and edited by WILLIAM F. SINCLAIR with notes by DONALD FERGUSON. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., No. 9.) London, 1902.

TELLO, FRANCISCO. *Relación que embió de says Frayles espagnoles de la Orden de San Francisco que crucificaron los del Iapón . . . 1597.* Seville, 1598.

TEMPLE, R. C. (ed.); *see* VARTHEMA, LODOVICO. *The Travels. . . .*

TENREIRO, ANTÓNIO; *see* BAIÃO, ANTÓNIO (ed.). *Itinerários. . . .*

TH., F. B. *Advis moderne de l'estat et grand royaume de Mogor. Jouxte la copie imprimée à Rome depuis un mois, par Loys Zanneti.* Paris, 1598.

THEVET, ANDRÉ. *La cosmographie universelle.* Paris, 1575.

A True Report of the Gainefull . . . Voiage to Java . . . Performed by . . . Ships of Amsterdam. London, 1599.

TURSELLINUS, H. *Francisci Xaverii epistolarum libri quator.* Rome, 1596.

VALENTIM, FERNANDEZ. "Collection of News" [*ca.* 1508]. MSS. in State Archives, Munich, Codex monacensis hispanicus 27, fols. 1–315. Summary by J. A. SCHMELLER in *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der Koniglichen Bayerischen Akademie* (Munich), IV (1847), 41–47. Fols. 141–212 *in extenso* by GABRIEL PEREIRA in *Revista portuguesa colonial e maritima*, VI (1900), 92–102, 155–64, 219–28, 283–90, 347–56.

VALIGNANO, ALESSANDRO. *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales 1542–64.* Edited by JOSEF WICKI. Rome, 1944.

———. *Il cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone. . . .* Edited by J. F. SCHUTTE. Rome, 1946.

———. *Valignanos Missionsgrundsatze fur Japan.* Edited by J. F. SCHUTTE. Rome, 1951——.

VARTHEMA, LODOVICO. *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508. . . .* Edited by R. C. TEMPLE. London, 1928.

———. *Itinerario nello Egitto, nella Soria nella Arabia . . ., nella Persia, nella India, & nela Ethyopia. . . .* Venice, 1535.

———. *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in . . . India . . . 1503 to 1508.* Edited by JOHN WINTER JONES. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 32.) London, 1863.

VASQUEZ DE PRADA, VALETIN (ed.). *Lettres marchandes d'Anvers.* 4 vols. Paris, 1958–61.

VEER, GERRIT DE. *A True Description of Three Voyages by the North-East towards Cathay and China . . . 1594, 1595, and 1596. Pub. at Amsterdam . . . 1598 and . . . 1609.* Edited by W. PHILLIP and C. T. BEKE. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No 13.) London, 1853.

VELHO, ÁLVARO. *Diário da Viagem de Vasco da Gama.* Edited by ANTONIO BAIÃO and A. DE MAGALHÃES BASTO. 2 vols. Porto, 1945.

———. *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama.* Edited by E. G. RAVENSTEIN. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. 99.) London, 1898.

VESALIUS, A. *Del uso de la rayz China. . . .* [Paris?], 1547.

Viaggi fatti da Vinetia alla Tana, in Persia, in India, et in Constantinopoli. . . . Venice, 1543.

WESSELS, C., S.J. *Lopes de Castanheda Historia do descobrimento e conquista. . . . Thirty-one Chapters of the Lost "Libro IX" Rediscovered and Now Published for the First Time.* The Hague, 1929.

WICKI, JOSEF (ed.). "Auszüge aus den Briefen der Jesuitengenerale an die Obern in Indien, 1549–1613," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXII (1953), 114–69.

——— (ed.). *Documenta Indica* 7 vols Rome: 1948–62.

———. "Duas relações sobre a situação da India Portuguesa nos anos 1568 e 1569," *Studia* (Lisbon), VIII (July, 1961), 133–220.

———. (ed.); *see* VALIGNANO, ALESSANDRO. *Historia....*

——— (ed.), *see* GONÇALVES, SEBASTIÃO.

WICKI, J. and SCHURHAMMER, G. (eds.); *see* XAVIER, SAINT FRANCIS *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii.*

WILLES, RICHARD. *England and Japan ... 1577.* Kobe, 1928.

WILLIAM OF RUBRUQUIS. "Itinerarium ... 1253. ad Partes Orientales." In RICHARD HAKLUYT (comp.), *Principall Navigations ...* (James Mac Lehose and Sons), I, 179–293. 12 vols. Glasgow, 1904–05.

WITTICH, JOHAN *Von dem ligno guayaco wunderbawn res nova genandt von der China.* Leipzig, 1592.

XAVIER, SAINT FRANCIS. *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* (new ed.). Edited by G. SCHURHAMMER and J. WICKI 2 vols. Rome, 1944–45.

———. *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier.* Edited by H. J. COLERIDGE. 2 vols London, 1902.

———. *Saint François de Xavier, sa vie et ses lettres.* Edited by L. J. M. CROS. 2 vols. Toulouse, 1900.

———; *see* TURSELLINUS, H.

YULE, SIR HENRY and CORDIER, H. (eds.). *Cathay and the Way Thither, Being a Collection of Medieval Notices of China.* Newly edited by HENRI CORDIER. 4 vols. London, 1913–16. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," 2d ser., Nos. 33, 37–38, 41.) 4 vols. London, 1913–16.

——— (eds.); *see* POLO, MARCO. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo.*

Chapter Bibliographies

I. ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

BOOKS

ANDERSON, ANDREW. *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations.* Cambridge, 1932.

BALTRUVAITIS, J. *Le Moyen Age fantastique.* Paris, 1955.

BEAUVOIR PRIAULX, OSMOND DE; *see* PRIAULX, OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR.

BEAZLEY, C. R. *The Dawn of Modern Geography.* London, 1897.

BERTHELOT, A. *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée.* Paris, 1930.

BOSTOCK, J. and RILEY, H. T. (trans.). *The Natural History of Pliny.* London, 1890.

BRÉHIER, E. *La philosophie de Plotin.* Paris, 1928.

BRELVER, BERNHARD. *Altindisches Privatrecht bei Megasthenes und Kautilya.* Bonn, 1928.

BROWN, L. W. *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas. An Account of the Ancient Syrian Church of Malabar.* Cambridge, 1956.

BUDGE, E. A. W. *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China.* London, 1928.

BUNBURY, E. H. *A History of Ancient Geography. . .* (2d ed.). 2 vols. London, 1883.

CARY, GEORGES. *The Medieval Alexander.* Cambridge, 1956.

CARY, M., and WARMINGTON, E. H. *The Ancient Explorers.* London, 1929.

CLIFFORD, HUGH. *Further India.* New York, 1955.

COEDÈS, GEORGES. *Textes d'auteurs grecs et latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient depuis le IVe siècle avant J.C. jusqu'au XIVe siècle.* Paris, 1910.

DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. *The Mongol Mission.* New York, 1955.

DETLEFSEN, D. *Die Anordung der geographischen Bucher des Plinius und ihre Quellen.* Berlin, 1909.

DUBS, HOMER. *A City in Ancient China.* London, 1957.

ESTUGIÈRE, A. J. *La révélation d'Hermes Trismégiste.* Vol. I. Paris, 1944.

FILLIOZAT, JEAN. *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, ses origines et ses parallèles grecs.* Paris, 1949.

FISCHER. J. (ed.). *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecas 82.* Leyden, 1932.

FISCHER. JÜRGEN. *Oriens, Occidens, Europa: Begriff und Gedanke "Europa" in der spateren Antike und im fruhen Mittelalter.* Wiesbaden, 1957.

FRANZEMULLER, W. *Das Naturgefuhl im Mittelalter.* Leipzig, 1914.

GOULD, CHARLES. *Mythical Monsters.* London, 1886.

GROUSSET, R. *L'empire des steppes*. Paris, 1939.

HART, HENRY. *Venetian Adventurer*. Stanford, Calif, 1942.

HEHN, VICTOR. *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien. . . .* Berlin, 1887.

HERMANN, A. *Das Land der Seide und Tibet im Lichte der Antike*. Leipzig, 1939

HOURANI, G. F. *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*. Princeton, 1951.

HSIANG, PAUL STANISLAUS. *The Catholic Missions in China during the Middle Ages, 1294–1368*. Washington, D.C., 1949.

HUDSON, G. F. *Europe and China* London, 1931.

JACOBS, J. *Barlaam and Josaphat*. London, 1896.

JAMES, M. R. (ed.). *Marvels of the East*. Oxford, 1929.

LANGLOIS, C. *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au Moyen Age d'après les écrits français à l'usage des laics*. Paris, 1927.

LEITHAUSER, J. G. *Mappae mundi*. Berlin, 1958.

LÉVÊQUE, EUGÈNE. *Les mythes et les legendes de l'Inde et de la Perse dans Aristophane, Platon, Aristote, Virgile, Ovide, Tite Live, Dante, Boccace, Ariote, Rabelais, Perrault, et La Fontaine*. Paris, 1880.

LOPEZ, R. S. *Storia delle colonie Genovesi nel Mediterraneo* Bologna, 1938.

LOPEZ, R. S., and RAYMOND, I. W. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World*. New York, 1955.

LOUDET, S. M. *Les rapports de l'Inde avec l'Occident d'Alexandre à l'Empire romain*. Paris, 1948.

LUBAC, HENRI DE. *La rencontre du Bouddhisme et de l'Occident*. Paris, 1952.

MCCRINDLE, J. W. *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*. Westminster, 1901.

———. *The Topographia Christiana of Cosmas Indicopleustes*. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Old Series, No. XCVIII.) London, 1897.

MÂLE, EMILE. *L'art religieux du XII^e siècle en France*. Paris, 1922.

MERKELBACH, REINHOLD. *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* Munich, 1954.

MESSINA, G. *Christianesimo, Buddhismo, Manicheismo nell'Asia antica*. Rome, 1947.

MEYER, PAUL. *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du Moyen Age*. Paris, 1886.

MOULE, A. C. and PELLIOT, P. *Marco Polo. The Description of the World*. 2 vols. London, 1938.

NEEDHAM, JOSEPH. *Science and Civilization in China*. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1954–59.

NEWTON, A. P. (ed.). *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*. London, 1926.

NOUGIER, L. R., BEAUJEU, J., and MOLLAT, M. *Histoire universelle des explorations*. Paris [1955].

OLSCHKI, L. *Guillaume Boucher, A French Artist at the Court of the Khans*. Baltimore, 1946.

———. *Marco Polo's Asia*. Translated by JOHN A. SCOTT. Berkeley, Calif., 1962.

———. *Storia letteria delle scoperte geografiche*. Florence, 1937.

———. *Marco Polo's Precursors*. Baltimore, 1943.

———. *The Myth of Felt*. Berkeley, Calif., 1949.

Oriente Poliano. ("Publication of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente.") Rome, 1957.

PAASSEN, C. VAN. *The Classical Tradition of Geography*. Groningen, 1957.

PARTINGTON, J. R. *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder*. Cambridge, 1960.

PEARSON, LIONEL. *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great.* ("Publications of the American Philological Association," Philological Monographs, 20.) Philadelphia, 1960.

PELLIOT, PAUL. *Les Mongols et la papauté* Paris, 1923.

PENZER, N. M. *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo. . . .* London, 1929

PULLÉ, F. L. *La cartografía antica dell'India.* ("Studi italiani di filologia Indo-Iranica," Vol. IV). Rome, 1901.

RAWLINSON, H. G. *The History of Herodotus* New York, 1859.

———. *Intercourse between India and the Western World from the Earliest Times to the Fall of Rome.* Cambridge, 1916.

RICHARDS, G. R. B. *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici.* Cambridge, 1932.

ROGERS, FRANCIS M. *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal.* Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

ROSS, E. D., and POWER, E. *The Travels of Marco Polo.* London, 1931.

RUNCIMAN, S *A History of the Crusades.* 3 vols. Cambridge, 1954.

SARASIN, ALFRED. *Der Handel zwischen Indien und Rom zur Zeit der romischen Kaiser.* Basel, 1930.

SASTRI, K. A. NILAKANTA. *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan.* Madras, 1939.

SASTRI, S. R. (ed.). *McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy.* Calcutta, 1927.

SCHOFF, W. H. *Early Communication between China and the Mediterranean.* Philadelphia, 1921.

——— (ed.). *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* New York, 1912.

SILVANI, TOMASSO. *La civilità veneziani de sècolo di Marco Polo.* Florence, 1955.

SINAISKI, V. I. *Rome et Chine dans quelques rapprochements (juridiques, économiques, religieux, chronologiques, astrologiques, totemiques et folkloristiques).* Riga, 1936.

SLESSAREV, V. *Prester John. The Letter and the Legend.* Minneapolis, 1959.

SORANZO, GIOVANNI. *Il Papato, L'Europa Cristiana e i Tartari.* Milan, 1930.

STEIN, O. *Megasthenes und Kautilya.* Vienna, 1922.

STEVENS, H. *Johann Schoner.* London, 1888.

STEVENSON, E. L. (trans. and ed) *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy.* New York, 1932.

STOROST, J. *Studien zur Alexandersage in der alten italienischen Literatur.* Halle a. S., 1935.

TARN, W. W. *Alexander the Great.* Cambridge, 1948.

———. *The Greeks in Bactria and India.* Cambridge, 1951.

TEGGART, F. J. *Rome and China.* Berkeley, Calif., 1939.

THOMSON, J. O. *History of Ancient Geography.* Cambridge, 1948.

TSCHARNER, E. H. VON. *China in der deutschen Dichtung bis zur Klassik.* Munich, 1939.

T'SERSTEVENS, A. *Les precurseurs de Marco Polo.* Grenoble, 1959.

WARMINGTON, E. H. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India.* Cambridge, 1928.

WHEATLEY, PAUL. *The Golden Khersonese; Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500.* Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

WHEELER, SIR MORTIMER. *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers.* London, 1954.

WRIGHT, J. K. *The Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades.* New York, 1925.

WYNGAERT, A. VAN DEN. *Sinica Franciscana.* Quaracchi, 1929.

ZARNCKE, FRIEDRICH. *Der Prester Johannes.* In *Abhandlungen der koniglichensächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* ("Philologisch-historischen Classe," Vol. VII.). Leipzig, 1879.

ZEN HENG-CHE. *The Intercourse between China and the West . . . 221 B.C.–1367 A.D.* Chicago, 1920.

ARTICLES

ARMSTRONG, A. H. "Plotinus and India," *The Classical Quarterly*, XXX (1936), 22–28.

AYMONIER, E. F. "The History of Tchampa (the Cyamba of Marco Polo, now Annam or Cochin-China)," *Publications of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*. London, 1891, and Woking, Eng., 1893. Reprinted in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1893.

BAGROW, LEO. "The Origin of Ptolemy's Geographia," *Geografiska Annaler* (Stockholm), XVII (1945), 318–87.

BALAZS, ETIENNE. "Marco Polo dans la capitale de la Chine." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 133–54 Rome, 1957.

BHATTACHARYYA, KALIDAS. "Classical Philosophies of India and the West," *Philosophy East and West*, VIII (1958), 17–36.

BROWN, T. S. "The Reliability of Megasthenes," *American Journal of Philology*, LXXVI (1955), 18–33.

BUSSAGLI, MARIO. "An Important Document on the Relations between Rome and India," *East and West*, IV (1953–54), 247–54.

———. "Indian Events in Trogus Pompeius; Search for a Lost Source," *ibid.*, VII (1956–57), 229–42.

BYRNE, E. H. "Easterners in Genoa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVIII (1918), 176–87.

CHARLESWORTH, M. P. "Roman Trade with India: A Resurvey." In P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON (ed.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History*, pp. 131–43. Princeton, 1951.

DEMIÉVILLE, PAUL. "La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 193–234. Rome, 1957.

EGANN, N. "Olon-Sume et la découverte de l'église catholique romaine de Jean de Montecorvino," *Journal asiatique*, CCXL (1952), 155–67.

EINSTEIN, LEWIS. "A Chinese Design in St. Mark's at Venice," *Revue archéologique*, Ser. 5, XXIV (1926), 28–31.

ENOKI, K. "Marco Polo and Japan." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 23–44. Rome, 1957.

FILLIOZAT, JEAN. "La doctrine des Brâhmanes d'après Saint Hippolyte," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, CXXX (1945), 59–91.

———. "Les échanges de l'Inde et de l'Empire Romain aux premiers siècles de l'ère chrétienne," *Revue historique*, CCI (1949), 1–29.

———. "L'Inde et les échanges scientifiques dans l'antiquité," *Cahiers de l'histoire mondiale*, I (1953–54), 353–67.

———. "Les premières étapes de l'Indianisme," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, Ser. 3, No. 3 (1953), pp. 83–96.

GAMER, H. M. "The Earliest Evidence of Chess in Western Literature: The Einsiedeln Verses," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 734–50.

HAMILTON, J. R. "Cleitarchus and Aristobulus," *Historia*, X (1961), 448–58.

HENNIG, R. "Die Einfuhrung der Seidenraupenzucht ins Byzantinerreich," *Byzantinsche Zeitschrift*, XXXIII (1933), 295–312.

LOPEZ, R. S. "China Silk in Europe in the Yüan Period," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXI (1952), 72–73.

———. "European Merchants in the Medieval Indies," *Journal of Economic History*, III (1943), 164–84.

MAIURI, AMEDEO. "Statuetta eburnea di arte indiana a Pompei," *Le Arti*, I (1938–39), 111–15.

MOULE, A. C. "Marco Polo's Description of Quinsai," *T'oung pao*, XXXIII (1937), 105–28.

NEWTON, A. P. "The Conception of the World in the Middle Ages." In A. P. NEWTON (ed.), *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 4–7. London, 1926.

NOWELL, C. E. "The Historical Prester John," *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 435–45.

OLSCHKI, LEONARDO. "Der Presbyter Johannes," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXLIV (1931) 1–17.

ORIGO, IRIS. "The Domestic Enemy: the Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Speculum*, XXX (1955), 321–66.

PARIS, PIERRE. "Notes sur deux passages de Strabon et de Pline, *Journal asiatique*, CCXXXIX (1951), 13–27.

PEETERS, PAUL. "La prèmiere traduction latine de 'Barlaam et Joasaph' et son original grec," *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIX (1931), 276–312.

PETECH, LUCIANO. "Rome and Eastern Asia," *East and West*, II (1951), 72–76.

PETERS, J. P. "The Cock," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXIII (1913), 363–96.

POWER, EILEEN. "Routes to Cathay." In A. P. NEWTON (ed.), *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, pp. 124–58. New York, 1930.

PRIAULX, OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR, "The Indian Travels of Appolonius of Tyana," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XVII (1860), 70–105.

———. "On the Indian Embassies to Rome from the Reign of Claudius to the Death of Justinian," *ibid.*, XIX (1862), 274–98; XX (1863), 269–312.

PUECH, H. C. "Une statuette de divinité indienne retrouvée à Pompei," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (1942–43), p. 87.

ROBINSON, C. A., JR., "The Extraordinary Ideas of Alexander the Great," *American Historical Review*, LXII (1956–57), 326–44.

ROWLAND, BENJAMIN. "Rome and Gandhāra," *East and West*, N. S., IX (Sept., 1958), 199–208.

SABBE, E. "L'importation des tissus orientaux en Europe occidentale au haut Moyen Âge," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XIV (1935), 811–48, 1261–88.

SASTRI, K. A. NILAKANTA. "Marco Polo on India." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il media ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 111–20. Rome, 1957.

SCHOFF, WILFRED H. "Some Aspects of the Overland Oriental Trade at the Beginning of the Christian Era," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXV (1915), 31–41.

SINOR, DENIS. "Autour d'une migration de peuples au Ve siècle," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXXV (1946–47), 1–77.

SMITH, D. H. "Zaitun's Five Centuries of Sino-Foreign Trade," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IV (1958), 165–77.

THOMAS, P. "Roman Trade Centers on the Malabar Coast," *Indian Geographical Journal*, VI (1931–32), 230–40.

TUCCI, RAFFAELE DI. "Lineamenti storici dell'industria serica genovese," *Atti della società Ligure di storia patria*, LXXXI (1948), 19–77.

WINDEKENS, A. J. VAN "Les Hyperboréens," *Rheinisches Museum fur Philologie*, Vol. C (1957), Pt. 2, pp. 164–69.

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF. "Marvels of the East, a Study of Monsters," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V (1942), 159–97.

II. THE RENAISSANCE BEFORE THE GREAT DISCOVERIES

BOOKS

BALTRUVAITIS, J. *Le Moyen Age fantastique*. Paris, 1955.

BENFEY, THEODOR. *Panschatantra: Funf Bucher indischer Fabeln, Marchen und Erzahlungen*. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1859.

BENNETT, J. W. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York, 1959.

BERENSON, BERNARD. *A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend*. London, 1909.

BERTHELOT, A. *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée*. Paris, 1930.

BLAKE, JOHN W. *Europeans in West Africa*. London, 1942.

BUTLER, PIERCE. *The Origin of Printing in Europe*. Chicago 1940.

CARTER, T. F. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*. New York, 1931. Revised and edited by L. C. GOODRICH. New York, 1955.

CARVALHO, TITO AUGUSTO DE. *As companhias portuguesas de colonização*. Lisbon, 1902.

CORDIER, HENRI. *L'Extreme-Orient dans l'Atlas catalan de Charles V, roi de France*. Paris, 1894.

DAVILLIER, J. *Les origines de la porcelaine en Europe*. Paris, 1882.

DIXON, R. B. *The Building of Cultures*. New York, 1928.

DRESBACH, L. *Der Orient in der alt-franzosischen Kreuzzugsliteratur*. Breslau, 1901.

EBERSOLT, J. *Orient et Occident; recherches sur les influences byzantines et orientales en France pendant les Croisades*. 2 vols. Paris, 1928–29.

FALKE, OTTO VAN *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*. Berlin, 1913.

GATTERER, J. *Allgemeine Welthistorie*. Göttingen, 1792

GILL, JOSEPH S. J. *Council of Florence*. Cambridge, 1959.

GROUSSET, RENÉ. *L'empire des steppes*. Paris, 1939.

HALL, D. G. E. *A History of South-East Asia* London, 1960.

HALLBERG, IVAR. *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident des XIIIe XIVe et XVe siècles*. . . . ("Publications of the Göteborgs kungl. Vetenskaps- och Vitterhets-Samhället Handlingar," Ser. 4, Vols. 7–8.) Gothenburg, 1906

HART, H. *Sea Road to the Indies*. New York, 1950.

JACOB, GEORG. *Der Einfluss des Morgenlandes auf das Abendland vornehmlich wahrend des Mittelalters*. Hanover, 1924.

JACOB, J. *Barlaam and Josaphat*. London, 1896.

KENDRICK, A. F. *Italian Silk Fabrics of the Fourteenth Century*. London, 1905–06.

LANDAU, MARCUS. *Die Quellen des Dekameron*. Stuttgart, 1884.

LANE, A. *Italian Porcelain*. London, 1954.

LANGLOIS, C. V. *La connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen Âge*. . . . Paris, 1911.

LEE, A. C. *The Decameron, Its Sources and Analogues*. London, 1909.

LETTS, MALCOLM. *Sir John Mandeville, the Man and His Book.* London, 1949.
LEVÊQUE, E. *Les mythes et les legendes de l'Inde et de la Perse dans Aristophane . . . Dante, Boccace, Ariste, etc.* Paris, 1880.
LIVERMORE, H. V. *A History of Portugal.* Cambridge, 1947.
——— (ed). *Portugal and Brazil.* Oxford, 1953.
LÖHMANN, OTTO. *Die Rahmenerzahlung des Decameron: ihre Quellen und Nachwirkungen.* Halle, 1935.
MORISON, S. E. *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass , 1945.
NUNN, G. E. *The Diplomacy Concerning the Discovery of America.* Jenkintown, Pa., 1948.
OLSCHKI, LEONARDO. *Guillaume Boucher, a French Artist at the Court of the Khans.* Baltimore, 1946.
———. *The Myth of Felt.* Berkeley, Calif., 1949.
PENROSE, B. *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance.* Cambridge, Mass , 1955.
PERES, DAMIÃO, and CERDEIRA, ELENTÉRIO. *História de Portugal.* Vol. III. Barcelos, 1931.
POUZYNA, J. V. *La Chine, l'Italie et les débuts de la Renaissance, XIIIe–XIVe siècles* Paris, 1935.
PULLÉ, F. L. *La cartografía antica dell'India, Parte II: Il Medio-Evo Europeo e il Primo Rinascimento.* "Studi italiani di filologia Indo-Iranica," Vol. V. Florence, 1905.
RENOU, LOUIS. *La géographie de Ptolémée. L'Inde (VII, 1–4).* Paris, 1925.
ROGERS, F. M. *The Quest for Eastern Christians. Travels and Rumor in the Age of Discovery* Minneapolis, 1962.
———. *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal.* Cambridge, Mass., 1961.
RUNCIMAN, SIR STEVEN. *A History of the Crusades.* 3 vols Cambridge, 1954.
SENCOURT, ROBERT. *India in English Literature.* London, 1923
SORANZO, GIOVANNI. *Il Papato, l'Europa cristiana e i Tartari.* Milan, 1930.
SOULIER, GUSTAVE. *Les influences orientales dans la peinture toscane.* Paris, 1924.
STRZYGOWSKI, JOSEF. *Influences of Indian Art.* London, 1925.
WHEATLEY, PAUL. *The Golden Khersonese; Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500.* Oxford, 1960.
WHITEWAY, R. S. *The Rise of Portuguese Power in Asia.* London, 1899.
WILLIAMSON, J. A. *Maritime Enterprise.* Oxford, 1913.
WITTE, J. *Das Buch des Marco Polo als Quelle fur Religionsgeschichte.* Berlin, 1916.
WRIGHT, J. K. *Geographical Lore of the Time of the Crusades.* New York, 1925.
ZURLA, PLACIDO. *Di Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani. . . .* 2 vols. Venice, 1818–19.

ARTICLES

BAGROW, LEO. "The Origin of Ptolemy's Geographia," *Geografiska annaler* (Stockholm), XXVII (1945), 318–87.
BAYNES, HERBERT. "Oriental Characteristics in the Divina Commedia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom,* Ser. 2, XXXVI (1918), 181–201.
BECKINGHAM, CHARLES F. "The Travels of Pero da Covilhã and Their Significance." In *Resumo das comunicações* ("Publications of the International Congress for the History of the Discoveries,") pp. 93–95. Lisbon, 1960.

BENFEY, THEODOR. "Die alte spanische Uebersetzung des Kalîlah und Dimnah," *Orient und Occident*, I (1862), 497–507.

BRADDY, HALDUN. "The Oriental Origin of Chaucer's Canacee-Falcon Episode," *Modern Language Review*, XXXI (1936), 11–19.

CHARIGNON, A. J. H. "La grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine; étude de géographie historique d'après les sources chinoises et arabes," *Bulletin de la société des études indochinoises de Saigon*, N.S., IV (1929), 191–347.

CLAVIJO, RUY GONÇALEZ DE. "Clavijo's Embassy to Timur," *Calcutta Review*, XXXIV (1860), 251–79.

CRESSEY, G. F. "Chinese Traits in European Civilization. A Study in Diffusion," *American Sociological Review*, X (1945), 595–604

CRONE, G. R. "Fra Mauro's Representation of the Indian Ocean and the Eastern Islands." In *Studi colombiani* (Papers read before the International Meeting for Studies on Columbus), III, 57–64. Genoa, 1951.

———. "Martin Behaim, Navigator and Cosmographer: Figment of Imagination or Historical Personage." In *Resumo das comunicacões* ("Publications of the International Congress on the History of the Discoveries"), pp. 20–21. Lisbon, 1960.

———. "The Alleged Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," *The Geographical Journal*, LXXXIX (1937), 455–60.

FALKE, OTTO VON. "Chinesische Seidenstoffe des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der koniglich preuss. Kunstsammlung*, XXXIII (1912), 176–92.

FITZLER, M. A. HEDWIG. "Der Anteil der Deutschen an der Kolonialpolitik Philipp II. von Spanien in Asien," *Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, XXVIII (1935), 243–81.

———. "Portugiesische Handelgesellschaften des 15, und beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts," *ibid.*, XXV (1932), 209–50.

———. "Überblick über die portugiesischen Handelsgesellschaften des 15–18 Jahrhunderts," *ibid.*, XXIV (1931), 282–98.

GOLDSTEIN, THOMAS. "Florentine Humanism and the Vision of the New World." In *Resumo das comunicações* ("Publications of the International Congress for the History of the Discoveries"), pp. 132–34. Lisbon, 1960.

HENNIG, RICHARD. "Wahrscheinliche Kenntnis der Molukken im Altertum und Mittelalter," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXV (1949), 175–76.

KIBRE, PEARL. "The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VII (1946), 257–97.

KINGSMILL, THOMAS W. "The Serica of Ptolemy and Its Inhabitants," *Journal of the China Branch, Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., XIX (1884), 43–60.

KONETZKE, RICHARD. "Entrepreneurial Activities of Spanish and Portuguese Noblemen in Medieval Times," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, VI (1953), 115–20.

LAUFER, BERTHOLD. "Was Odoric of Pordenone Ever in Tibet?" *T'oung pao*, Ser. 2, XV (1914), 405–18.

LINDEN, HERMAN VAN DER. "Alexander VI and the Demarcation of the Maritime and Colonial Domains of Spain and Portugal," *American Historical Review*, XXII (1916), 1–20.

LOPEZ, ROBERT S. "China Silk in Europe in the Yüan Period," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXII (1952), 72–76.

———. "European Merchants in the Medieval Indies: The Evidence of Commercial Documents," *Journal of Economic History*, III (1943), 164–84.

LOPEZ, ROBERT S. "Les influences orientales et l'eveil économique de l'Occident," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, I (1953–54), 594–622.

——— "Nuovi luci sugli Italiani in Estremo Oriente prima di Colombo." In *Studi Colombiani* (Papers Read before the International Meeting for Studies on Columbus), III, 337–98. Genoa, 1951.

LYBYER, A. H. "The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade," *English Historical Review*, XXX (1915), 577–88.

MANLY, J. H. "Marco Polo and the Squire's Tale," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XI (1896), 349–62.

MARKINO, Y. "Chaucer and Chinese Odes," *English Review*, XXVII (1918), 29–38

MARTIN, L. "The Newly-Discovered Marco Polo Map," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XXIV (1934), 60–61.

MÜNSTERBERG, OSKAR. "Leonardo da Vinci und die chinesische Landschaftsmalerei," *Orientalisches Archiv . . .*, XII (1910), 92–100.

NOWELL, CHARLES E. "Prince Henry the Navigator and His Brother Dom Pedro," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXVIII (1948), 62–67.

———. "The Rejection of Columbus by John of Portugal." In *University of Michigan Historical Essays*, pp. 25–44. Ann Arbor, 1937.

———. "The Treaty of Tordesillas and the Diplomatic Background of American History." In *Greater America, Essays in Honor of H. E. Bolton*, pp. 1–18. Berkeley, 1945.

OLSCHKI, LEONARDO. "Asiatic Exoticism and the Italian Art of the Early Renaissance," *Art Bulletin*, XXVI (1944), 95–108.

———. "I 'Cantari dell'India' di Giuliano Dati," *La bibliofilia*, XL (1938), 289–316.

———. "Dante e l'Oriente," *Giornale Dantesco*, XXXIX (1936), 65–90.

POLASCHEK, ERICH. "Ptolemy's Geography in a New Light," *Imago mundi*, XIV (1959), 17–37.

RANDLES, W. G. L. "Le nouveau monde, l'autre monde, et la pluralité des mondes." In *Resumo das comunicações* ("Publications of the International Congress for the History of the Discoveries"), pp. 162–63. Lisbon, 1960.

RAU, VIRGINIA, and DIFFIE, B. W. "Alleged Fifteenth-Century Portuguese Joint-Stock Companies and the Articles of Dr. Fitzler," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (London), XXVI (1953), 181–99.

SCHILLING, DOROTHEUS. "War der Franziskaner Odorick von Pordenone in 14. Jahrhundert in Japan?" *Monumenta Nipponica*, VI (1943), 83–109.

SENSBURG, WALDEMAR. "Poggio Bracciolini und Nicolo de Conti in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geographie des Renaissancezeitalters," *Mitteilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, XLIX (1906), 257–372.

SINGER, C. "East and West in Retrospect." In Singer *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Technology*, II, 753–76. Oxford, 1956.

SINOR, D. "John of Plano Carpini's Return from the Mongols· New Light from a Luxemburg Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, III (1957), 193–206.

SMITH, D. HOWARD. "Zaitun's Five Centuries of Sino-Foreign Trade," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, IV (1958), 165–77.

STEMBACH, L. "Gujarat as Known to Medieval Europe," *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, VII (1950), 292–95.

THOMSON, J. T. "Marco Polo's Six Kingdoms or Cities in Java Minor, Identified in Translations from the Ancient Malay Annals," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographic Society*, XX (1875–76), 215–24.

TOYNBEE, PAGET. "Tartar Cloths," *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 559–64

TSCHARNER, EDUARD HORST VON. "China in der deutschen Dichtung des Mittelalters und der Renaissance," *Sinica*, IX (1934), 8–31.

VERLINDEN, CHARLES. "La colonie italienne de Lisbonne et le développement de l'économie metropolitaine et coloniale portugaise." In *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, pp. 617–28. Milan, 1957.

WANN, LOUIS. "The Oriental in Elizabethan Drama," *Modern Philology*, XII (1914), 423–47.

WASHBURN, WILCOMB E. "Japan on Early European Maps," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXI (1952), 221–36.

WITTKOWER, R. "Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto per il medio ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 155–72. Rome, 1957.

III. THE SPICE TRADE

BOOKS

ATKINSON, G. *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*. Paris, 1935

AZEVEDO, J. L. DE. *Épocas de Portugal económico, esboços de história* 2d ed. Lisbon, 1947.

BASTIN, JOHN. *Essays on Indonesian and Malayan History*. Singapore, 1961.

BIGARD, LOUIS. *Le trafic maritime avec les Indes sous François 1er*. Paris, 1939

BRAAMCAMP FREIRE, ANSELMO. *Noticias da feitoria de Flandres*. Lisbon, 1920.

BRAUDEL, FERNAND. *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. Paris, 1949.

BRAUDEL, FERNAND, and ROMANO, R. *Navires et marchandises à l'entrée du port de Livourne*. Paris, 1951.

BYRNE, L. S. R. *The Fugger News-Letters, Second Series*. New York, 1926.

CARVALHO, T. A. DE. *As companhias portuguesas de colonização*. Lisbon, 1902.

CASTILHO, JULIO DE. *A ribeira de Lisboa*. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1941–48.

———. *Lisboa antiga*. 12 vols. Lisbon, 1935–38.

CHARY, PAULINE DE. *The Fugger News-Letters, Second Series*. New York, 1924.

CIUTIIS, SALVATORE. *Une ambassade portugaise à Rome au XVIe siècle*. Naples, 1899.

Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Leon y de Castilla. Madrid, 1882.

DANVERS, F. C. *The Portuguese in India*. 2 vols. London, 1894.

DANVILA Y BOURGUERO, ALFONSO. *Felipe II y el Rey Don Sebastian de Portugal*. Madrid, 1943.

DENUCÉ, JEAN (ed.) *Inventaire des Affaitadi, banquiers italiens à Anvers de l'année 1568*. Antwerp, 1934.

EÇA, V. M. DE M. C. DE A. DE. *Normas económicas da colonização portuguesa*. Coimbra, 1921.

EHRENBERG, RICHARD. *Das Zeitalter der Fugger*. 2 vols. Jena, 1896.

FOSTER, SIR WILLIAM. *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*. London, 1933.

GLAMANN, K. *Dutch-Asiatic Trade, 1620–1740*. Copenhagen and The Hague, 1958.

GORIS, J. A. *Étude sur les colonies marchandes meridionales à Anvers de 1488 à 1567*. Louvain, 1925.

GREIFF, R. (ed) *Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541.* Augsburg, 1861.

HABLER, KONRAD *Die Geschichte der Fugger'schen Handlung in Spanien* Weimar, 1897.

———. *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser* Leipzig, 1903.

HAMILTON, E. J *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650.* Cambridge, Mass., 1934

HART, HENRY. *Sea Road to the Indies.* New York, 1950.

HERCULANO DE CARVALHO E ARAUJO, ALEXANDRE *History of the Origin and Establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal.* Translated by J C. BRANNER ("Stanford University Publications in History and Economics," Vol I, No 2) Stanford, Calif., 1926.

HERRERA Y TORDESILLAS, ANTONIO DE *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano.* 3 vols. Madrid, 1726–27

HEYD, WILHELM *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge* 2 vols Leipzig, 1886.

HUMMERICH, FRANZ *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien, 1505–06.* Munich, 1922.

JAYNE, K J *Vasco da Gama and His Successors, 1460–1580.* London, 1910.

JULIEN, C. A. *Les voyages de découverte et les premiers établissements, XVe–XVIe siècles.* Paris, 1948

KLARWILL, VICTOR (ed.). *Fugger-Zeitungen, ungedruckte Briefe an das Haus Fugger aus den Jahren 1568–1605.* Vienna, 1923.

LAPEYRE, HENRI. *Une famille de marchands les Ruiz. Contribution à l'étude du commerce entre la France et l'Espagne au temps de Philippe II.* Paris, 1955.

LOBO, A. DE S. S. C *História da societade em Portugal no século XV.* Lisbon, 1903.

LUZZATTO, GINO. *Storia economica dell'età moderna e contemporanea.* 2d ed. Padua, 1938.

MEDINA, J. T. *Sebastian Caboto al servicio de España.* Santiago, 1908.

MENDES DA LUZ, F. P. O *Conselho da India.* Lisbon, 1952.

MOLS, ROGER. *Introduction à la démographie des villes d'Europe du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle.* 2 vols. Gemblaux, 1954–56.

MULLER, KARL OTTO. *Welthandelsbrauche (1480–1540).* Stuttgart, 1934.

PANIKKAR, K. M. *Malabar and the Portuguese.* Bombay, 1929.

PARR, C. M. *So Noble a Captain.* New York, 1953.

PERAGALLO, PROSPERO. *Cenni intorna alla colònia italiana in Portogallo nei sècoli XIV, XV e XVI.* Genoa, 1907.

PERES, DAMIÃO (ed.). *Regimento das cazas das Indias e Mina· manuscrito inédito.* Coimbra, 1947.

PRESTAGE, EDGAR. *The Portuguese Pioneers.* London, 1933.

PRIBRAM, ALFRED FRANCIS. *Materialien zur Geschichte der Preise und Lohne in Osterreich.* Vienna, 1938.

RAMBERT, GASTON (ed). *Histoire du commerce de Marseille.* 3 vols. Paris, 1951.

SARDELLA, PIERRE. *Nouvelles et speculations à Venise au début du XVIe siècle.* Paris, 1948.

SCHURZ, W. L. *The Manila Galleon.* New York, 1959.

SHILLINGTON, V. M., and CHAPMAN, A. B. W. *The Commercial Relations of England and Portugal.* London, 1907.

SILVA, J. GENTIL DA (ed.). *Marchandises et finances.* ("Affaires et gens d'affaires," École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI- Section: Centre de Recherches Historiques, Paris. Vols. IX, XIV.) Paris, 1956–60.

Vol. 1: *Stratégie des affaires à Lisbonne entre 1595 et 1607.* Paris, 1956.

Vols. 2–3: *Lettres de Lisbonne, 1563–1578.* Paris, 1959–60.

STRICKER, W. F. K. *Die Deutschen in Spanien und Portugal und den spanischen und portugiesischen Landern von Amerika.* Leipzig, 1850.

VASQUEZ DE PRADA, V. (ed.). *Lettres marchandes d'Anvers* 4 vols. Paris, 1958–61.

VERLINDEN, CHARLES. *Dokumenten voor de Geschiedenis van Prijzen en Lonen in Vlaanderen en Brabant (XVe–XVIIIe Eeuw)* Bruges, 1959.

VLEKKE, B. H. M. *Nusantara: A History of Indonesia.* Rev. ed. Chicago, 1960.

WEGG, JERVIS. *The Decline of Antwerp under Philip of Spain.* London, 1924.

WEINSTEIN, DONALD. *Ambassador from Venice. Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501.* Minneapolis, 1960.

WHEELER, J. *Treatise of Commerce.* Edited by GEORGE B. HOTCHKISS New York, 1931.

WHITEWAY, R. S. *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550.* Westminster, 1899.

ARTICLES

DENUCÉ, JEAN, "Privilèges commerciaux accordés par les rois du Portugal aux Flamands et aux Allemands (XVe et XVIe siècles)," *Arquivo historico portugues,* VII (1909), 310–19, 376–92.

DE ROOVER, F. E. "The Market for Spices in Antwerp, 1538–1544." *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire,* XVII (1938), 212–21

DÖBEL, FRIEDRICH. "Über einen Pfefferhandel der Fugger und Welser, 1586–91," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins fur Schwaben und Neuburg,* XIII (1886), 125–38

EHRENBERG, RICHARD. "Ostindische Handelsgesellschaften," in *Handworterbuch der Staatswissenschaften,* 3d ed., VI, 948–65. Berlin, 1910.

FITZLER, M. A. HEDWIG. "Überblick uber die portugiesischen Handelsgesellschaften des 15–18 Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* XXIV (1931), 282–98.

GASCON, RENÉ. "Une siècle du commerce des épices à Lyon: fin XVe et XVIe siècles," *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations,* XV (1960), 638–66.

HÄBLER, KONRAD. "Die Fugger und der spanische Gewurzhandel," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins fur Schwaben und Neuburg,* XIX (1892), 25–44.

———. "Konrad Rott und die thuringische Gesellschaft," *Neues Archiv fur sachsische Geschichte,* XVI (1895), 177–218.

KELLENBENZ, HERMANN. "Der Pfeffermarkt um 1600 und die Hansestadte," *Hansische Geschichtsblatter,* LXXIV (1956), 28–49.

———. "Autour de 1600. Le commerce du poivre des Fugger et le marché international du poivre," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations,* XI (1956), 1–28.

KLUCKHOHN, AUGUST. "Zur Geschichte der Handelsgesellschaften und Monopole im Zeitalter der Reformation." In *Historische Aufsatze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet,* pp. 666–703. Hanover, 1886.

LANE, F C. "The Mediterranean Spice Trade; Further Evidence of Its Revival in the Sixteenth Century," *American Historical Review,* XLV (1939–40), 581–90.

LUZZATTO, GINO. "La decadenza di Venezia dopo le scoperte geografiche nella tradizione e nella realtà," *Archivio veneto,* ser 5, LIV (1954), 162–81.

MAGALHÃES-GODHINO, VITORINO. "Le repli vénitien et egyptien et la route du Cap 1496–1533." In *Éventail de l'histoire vivante: hommage à Lucien Febvre,* II, 283–300. Paris, 1953.

MASHANAGLASS, P. MACSWINEY DE, "Une ambassade portugaise à Rome sous Jules II," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique,* XVII (1903), 51–63.

RAU, VIRGINIA. "A Family of Italian Merchants in Portugal in the XVth Century: The Lomellini." In *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori,* I, 717–26. Milan, 1957.

STELLA, ALDO. "La crisi economica veneziana della seconda metà del sècolo XVI," *Archivio veneto*, ser 5, Vol. LVIII, No. 93 (1956), pp. 17–69.

WROTH, LAWRENCE. "The Early Cartography of the Pacific," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVIII (1944), 87–268.

IV. THE PRINTED WORD

BOOKS

ALBRECHT, J. *Beitrage zur Geschichte der portugiesischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Halle a. S., 1915.

ALMAGIÀ, ROBERTO *Monumenta cartographica vaticana.* 2 vols. Rome, 1944.

ANSELMO, ANTONIO JOAQUIM. *Bibliografia das obras impressas em Portugal no século XVI.* Lisbon, 1926.

ANTHIAUME, ALBERT. *Cartes marines, constructions navales; voyages de découvertes chez les normands, 1500–1650.* 2 vols. Paris, 1916.

ATKINSON, GEOFFROY. *La littérature géographique française de la Renaissance. Répertoire bibliographique.* Paris, 1927.

———. *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française.* Paris, 1935.

BAIÃO, ANTÓNIO (ed.). *Itinerarios da India a Portugal por terra.* Coimbra, 1923.

BALEN, W. J. VAN. *Naar indische Wonderwereld* Amsterdam, 1946.

BELL, AUBREY F. G. *Gaspar Correa.* Oxford, 1924.

———. *Portuguese Literature.* Oxford, 1922.

BERCHET, GUGLIELMO (ed). *Fonti italiani per la storia della scoperta del nuovo mondo.* Rome, 1892.

BERJEAU, J. P (ed. and trans.). *Calcoen. . . .* London, 1874.

BOHME, MAX. *Die grossen Reisesammlungen des 16. Jahrhunderts und ihre Bedeutung.* Strassburg, 1904.

BROWN, HORATIO F. *The Venetian Printing Press An Historical Study Based upon Documents for the Most Part Hitherto Unpublished.* London, 1896.

BURGER, KONRAD. *Die Drucker und Verleger in Spanien und Portugal von 1501 bis 1536.* Leipzig, 1913.

BUTLER, PIERCE. *The Origin of Printing in Europe.* Chicago, 1940.

CAMUS, A. G. *Mémoire sur la collection des Grands et Petits Voyages, et sur la collection des voyages de Melchisedech Thevenot.* Paris, 1802.

CIUTIIS, SALVATORE DE. *Une ambassade portugaise à Rom au XVIe siècle.* Naples, 1899

CONGRESSO INTERNACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA DOS DESCOBRIMENTOS (1960). *Actas.* 6 vols. Lisbon, 1961.

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO. *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI.* 2 vols. Lisbon, 1935.

CORTESÃO, A., and TEIXEIRA DA MOTA, A. *Portugaliae monumenta cartographica.* 5 vols. Lisbon, 1960.

CORTESÃO, JAIMÉ. *A política de sigilo nos descobrimentos nos tempos do Infante D. Henrique e de D. João II.* Lisbon, 1960.

DAINVILLE, FRANÇOIS DE. *La géographie des humanistes.* Paris, 1940.

DENUCÉ, J. *Les origines de la cartographie portugaise et les cartes des Reinel.* Ghent, 1908.

DESLANDES, VENANCIO. *Documentos para a história da typographia portugueza nos séculos XVI e XVII.* Lisbon, 1881.

DUFFY, JAMES. *Shipwreck and Empire.* Cambridge, Mass., 1955.

ESCUDERO Y PEROSSO, FRANCISCO. *Tipografía Hispalense anales bibliográficos de la ciudad de Sevilla desde el establecimiento de la imprenta hasta fines del siglo XVIII* Madrid, 1894.

ESTANCELIN, LOUIS. *Recherches sur les voyages et découvertes des navigateurs normands.* Paris, 1832.

FICALHO, F. M. DE. *Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo* Rev ed. Lisbon, 1898.

FISCHER, JOSEPH, and WIESER, FRITZ VON (eds). *Die alteste Karte mit dem Namen Amerika ... 1507 und die Carta Marina aus dem Jahre 1516 des M. Waldseemuller....* Innsbruck, 1903.

FLÜCKIGER, F. A., and HANBURY, G. *Pharmacographia.* London, 1874.

FONTOURA DA COSTA, A. *Les déambulations du Rhinocéros de Modofar, roi de Cambaye, de 1514 à 1516.* Lisbon, 1937.

GALLOIS, L. *Les géographes allemands de la Renaissance.* Paris, 1890.

GARCÍA LÓPEZ, JUAN CATALINA. *Ensayo de una tipografía complutense.* Madrid, 1899.

GUBERNATIS, ANGELO DE. *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali.* Leghorn, 1875.

HAEBLER, KONRAD. *The Early Printers of Spain and Portugal.* London, 1897.

HANTZSCH, VIKTOR. *Deutsche Reisende des 16. Jahrhunderts.* Leipzig, 1895.

HART, HENRY H. *Luis de Camoens and the Epic of the Lusiads.* Norman, Okla., 1962.

HAYM, N. F. *Notizia de libri raro nella lingua italiana.* London, 1726.

IJZERMAN, J. W. *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp, alias Dirck Gerritsz. China, de eerste Nederlander die China en Japan bezocht, 1544–1604.* The Hague, 1915.

KAMMERER, ALBERT. *La découverte de la China par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des portolans.* Leiden, 1944.

LENHART, J. M. *Pre-Reformation Printed Books· A Study in Statistical and Applied Bibliography.* New York, 1935.

LOPES, DAVID (ed.). *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga.* Lisbon, 1890.

MADURELL MARIMON, JOSÉ MARIA, and RUBIO Y BALAGUER, JORGE (comps and eds.). *Documentos para la historia de la imprenta y librería en Barcelona (1474–1553).* Barcelona, 1955.

MANUEL II, KING OF PORTUGAL. *Early Portuguese Books (1489–1600) in the Library of His Majesty the King of Portugal.* 3 vols. London, 1929.

MASHANAGLASS, PATRICE MACSWINEY DE, *Le Portugal et le Saint-Siège.* Paris, 1898.

MATOS, L. DE. *Les portugais à l'université de Paris entre 1500 et 1550.* Coimbra, 1950.

———. *Les portuguais en France au XVIe siècle. Etudes et documents.* Coimbra, 1952.

MEDINA, JOSÉ TORIBIO. *Juan Diaz de Solis.* 2 vols Santiago de Chile, 1897.

MITCHELL, MAIRIN. *Elcano, the First Circumnavigator.* London, 1958.

MORISON, SAMUEL E. *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century.* Cambridge, Mass., 1940.

MOSTO, ANDREA DA. *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo.* Rome, 1894.

NOWELL, CHARLES E. (ed.). *Magellan's Voyage around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts.* Evanston, Ill., 1962.

OLMEDILLA Y PUIG, JOAQUIN. *Estudio histórico de la vida y escritos del sabio médico, botánico, y escritor del siglo XVI, Cristobal Acosta.* Madrid, 1899.

PARKS, G. B. (comp.). *The Contents and Sources of Ramusio's Navigationi.* New York, 1955.

———. *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages.* New York, 1928.

PARR, C. M. *So Noble a Captain.* New York, 1953.

PASTOR, LUDWIG VON. *History of the Popes. . . .* Translated by R. F. KERR. London, 1908.

PASTOR, P. *Bibliografia Madrileña* 3 vols. Madrid, 1891–1907.

PEDDIE, R. A. (ed.). *Printing: A Short History of the Art.* London, 1927.

PENROSE, B. *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620.* Cambridge, Mass., 1952.

POHL, F. *Amerigo Vespucci. Pilot Major.* New York, 1944.

POSODOWSKY-WEHMER, K. VON, *Jean Parmentier. Leben und Werk.* Munich, 1937.

PRIOLKAR, A. K. *The Printing Press in India.* Bombay, 1958.

REIS, EDUARDO. *Duarte Barbosa, pioneiro reveladór dos costumes das Indias; relacão biográfica.* Macao, 1948

ROGERS, FRANCIS M. *The Quest for Eastern Christians. Travel and Rumor in the Age of Discovery* Minneapolis, 1962.

———. *The Travels of the Infante Dom Pedro of Portugal.* Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

ROHR, CHRISTINE VON. *Neue Quellen zur zweiten Indienfahrt Vasco da Gamas.* Leipzig, 1939.

ROSCOE, W. *The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* 4 vols London, 1827.

ROUILLARD, C. D. *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature.* Paris, 1938.

RYLEY, J. HORTON. *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma.* London, 1899.

SANCHEZ, JUAN M. *Bibliografia aragonesa del siglo XVI* 2 vols. Madrid, 1913–14.

SANZ, CARLOS. *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía.* Madrid, 1958.

SCHURZ, W. L. *The Manila Galleon.* New York, 1939.

SEWELL, ROBERT. *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar).* London, 1900.

STEVENSON, E. L. *Marine World Chart of Nicolo de Canerio Januensis (1502). . . .* New York, 1908.

SWECKER, ZOE. "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960.

TAYLOR, E. G. R. *Tudor Geography, 1485–1583.* London, 1930.

THEUNISZ, JOHANNES. *Carolus Clusius, het merkwaardige leven van een pionier der wetenschap.* Amsterdam, 1939.

TIELE, PIETER. *Mémoire bibliographique sur les journaux des navigateurs néerlandais réimprimés dans les collections de De Bry et Huisius . . . Avec tables des voyages, des éditions et des matières.* Amsterdam, 1867.

TSIEN T. H. *Written on Bamboo and Silk.* Chicago, 1962.

VOCHT, HENRY DE. *History of the Foundation and of the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517–1550.* 4 vols. Louvain, 1950–55.

WAGNER, HENRY R. *The Spanish Southwest, 1542–1794, an Annotated Bibliography.* 2 vols. Albuquerque, 1937.

WEIGEL, T. *Bibliographische Mittheilungen uber die deutschen Ausgaben von de Bry's Sammlungen.* Leipzig, 1945.

WEINSTEIN, DONALD. *Ambassador from Venice: Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501.* Minneapolis, 1960.

WICHMANN, ARTHUR. *Dirck Gerritsz. Ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts.* Groningen, 1899.

WIEDER, F. C. (ed.). *Monumenta Cartographica; Reproductions of Unique and Rare Maps. . . .* 5 vols. The Hague, 1925–33.

WILLIAMSON, JAMES. *Maritime Enterprise (1485–1558)*. Oxford, 1913.

ARTICLES

BAGROW, LEO. "A. Ortelii catalogus cartographorum," *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, XLIII (1920), No. 199; XLV (1930), No. 210.

BERNSTEIN, HARRY, and DIFFIE, BAILEY W. "Sir Clements Markham as a Translator," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVII (1937), 546–57.

BOXER, C. R. "Three Historians of Asia (Barros, Couto, and Bocarro)," *Instituto Português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No. 1 (July, 1948), pp. 18–24.

———. "Einige Aspekte der westlichen Geschichtsschreibung über den Fernen Osten, 1500–1800," *Saeculum*, VIII (1957), 285–97.

BRÁSIO, ANTÓNIO. "Uma carta inédita de Valentim Fernandes," *Boletim da biblioteca da universidade de Coimbra*, XXIV (1960), 338–58.

CORDIER, HENRI. "Deux voyagers dans l'Extrême-Orient . . . Essai bibliographique. Nicolo De'Conti-Ludovico de Varthema," *T'oung pao*, X (1899), 390–404.

CORTESÃO, JAIME. "Do sigilo nacional sobre os descobrimentos. Cronicas desaparecidas, mutiladas e falseadas. Alguns dos feitos que se caláram," *Lusitania*, I (1924), 45–81.

———. "A historiografia oficial e o sigilo sobre os descobrimentos," *Primeiro congresso da história da expansão portuguesa no mundo* (Lisbon), II (1938), 203–31.

———. "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," *Geographical Journal*, LXXXIX (1937), 29–42.

CRONE, G. R. "The Alleged Pre-Columbian Discovery of America," *Geographical Journal*, LXXXIX (1937), 455–62.

DAHLGREN, E. W. "Les débuts de la cartographie du Japon," *Archives d'études orientales*, IV (1911), 10–18.

EUDI, EMILE. "La lettre d'Antonio de Brito, capitaine de la fortresse de Ternate, au roi de Portugal Dom João III (6 mai 1523)," *La géographie*, XLIX (1928), 1–17.

FITZLER, HEDWIG M. A. KÖMMERLING. "Funf Jahrhunderte portugiesische Kolonialgeschichtsschreibung," *Die Welt als Geschichte*, VII (1941), 101–23; VIII (1942), 97–121, 331–58.

HEERES, J. E. "Duitschers en Nederlanders op de zeewegen naar Oost-Indië voor 1595." In *Gedenkboed van het Kon. Instituut vor taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsche Indie*. The Hague, 1926.

HEMSO, IACOPO GRABERG DA. "Lettera di Giovanni da Empoli a Leonardo suo padre intorno al viaggio da lui fatto a Malacca. . . ," *Archivio storico italiano*, Appendice, III (1846), 35–91.

HEYD, WILHELM. "Valentin Fernandez Aleman," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Munchen*, II (1872), 479–83.

KEUNING, J. "The History of an Atlas, Mercator-Hondius," *Imago mundi*, IV (1947), 37–62.

LEFEVRE, RENATO. "Uma corrispondenza dal Mar Rosso di Andrea Corsali nel 1516," *Il libro italiano*, IV, Part 2 (1940), 433–48.

LE GENTIL, GEORGES. "Nicholas de Grouchy, traducteur de Castanheda," *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal*, IV, fasc. 1 (Coimbra, 1937), 31–46; also in FERREIRA MARTINS, JOSÉ, *Noticias cronológicas*, III, 352–69. Lisbon, 1930.

LE ROUX, C. C. F. M. "Nogmaals Pigafetta's Maleische woorden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, LXXIX (1939), 446–51.

MACGREGOR, I. A., "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on South East Asia" In D. G. E. HALL (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, pp. 190–203. London, 1961.

MASHANAGLASS, P. MACSWINEY DE. "Une ambassade Portugais à Rome sous Jules II," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, XVII (1903), 62–63.

MATOS, LUIS DE. "Forma e natura e costumi del rinocerote," *Boletim international de bibliografia Luso-Brasileira*, I (1960), 387–98.

———. "Natura, intelletto, e costumi dell' elefante," *ibid.*, pp. 44–55.

PARKS, GEORGE B. "Ramusio's Literary History," *Studies in Philology*, LII (1955), 127–48.

PIERO, ANTONIO DEL. "Della vitae degli studi di Gio. Battista Ramusio," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, IV (1902), 2–112.

PREUSS, G. F. "Philip II, die Niederlander und ihre erste Indienfahrt," *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft fur Volkskunde*, XIII–XIV (1911–12), 281–97.

ROGERS, FRANCIS M. "Valentim Fernandes, Rodrigo de Santaella, and the Recognition of the Antilles as 'Opposite India,'" *Boletim da sociedade de geografia de Lisboa*, LXXV (1957), 279–86.

SCHMELLER, J. "Uber Valenti Fernandez Alema und seine Sammlung von Nachrichten uber die Entdeckungen und Besitzungen der Portugiesen in Afrika und Asien bis zum Jahre 1508 . . . ," *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologische Classe der koniglichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Pt. III (1847), Vol. IV, 1–73.

SELIG, K. "A German Collection of Spanish Books," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance. travaux et documents*, XIX (1957), 51–79.

STAPEL, F. "Het verblijf van Cornelis de Houtman te Lissabon." *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis*, LI (1936), 370–73.

TEZA, EMILIO. "I viaggi di Cesare dei Federici e la versione inglese dell' Hitchcock." *Atti de reale istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, LXVIII (Ser. 8, XI, 1908–9), 327–37.

THOMAS, HENRY. "English Translations of Portuguese Books before 1640," *The Library*, Ser. 4, VII (1926), 1–30.

TIEGHEM, PAUL VON. "La littérature latine de la Renaissance," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance*, IV (1944), 177–418.

UHDEN, R. "The Oldest Portuguese Original Chart on the Indian Ocean, A.D. 1509," *Imago mundi*, III (1939), 8–11.

WAGNER, HENRY R. "Francisco Lopez de Gomara and His Works," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, LVIII (1949), 263–68.

WARBURG, O. "Wer is der Entdecker der Gewürz-Inseln (Molukken)?" *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIII (1896), 102–43.

WROTH, L. C. "The Early Cartography of the Pacific," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVIII (1944), 137–51.

V. THE CHRISTIAN MISSION

BOOKS

ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, JOSÉ LUIS (ed.). *Alejandro Valignano S.I., Summario de las cosas de Japon (1583).* ("Monumenta Nipponica Monographs," No 9) Tokyo, 1954.

BAIÃO, ANTÓNIO. *A inquisiçao de Goa.* Vol. I Lisbon, 1949 Vol. II. Coimbra, 1930.

BERNARD, HENRI. *Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la société chinoise de son temps (1552–1610).* 2 vols. Tientsin, 1937.

———. *Aux portes de la Chine.* Tientsin, 1933.

BERTRAND, J. *La mission du Maduré d'après des documents inédits.* 4 vols. Paris, 1847–54

BESSÉ, L. *Missionaries du Carnatic de la Compagnie de Jésus.* Trichinopoly, 1918.

BOURDON, LÉON. *Les débuts de l'évangélisation de Ceylan vers le milieu du XVIe siècle.* Lisbon, 1936.

BOXER, C. R. *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650.* Berkeley, Calif., 1951.

———. *South China in the Sixteenth Century.* London, 1953.

BRAGA, THEOPHILO. *História da universidade de Coimbra.* 2 vols. Lisbon, 1892.

BRODRICK, JAMES. *The Origin of the Jesuits.* London, 1940.

———. *Saint Francis Xavier, 1506–1552.* New York, 1952.

BROWN, LESLIE WILFRID. *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* Cambridge, 1956.

CAMARA MANOEL, J. P. A. DA. *Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente nos seculos XVI e XVII.* Lisbon, 1894.

CAMPOS, J. J. A. *History of the Portuguese in Bengal.* London, 1919.

CAMPS, ARNULF, *Jerome Xavier S.J. and the Muslims of the Mogul Empire.* (Supplement VI of *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft.*) Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland, 1957.

CARY, OTIS. *A History of Christianity in Japan.* New York, 1909.

CHARLEVOIX, P. F. X. DE. *Histoire de Christianisme au Japon.* 2 vols. Liége, 1855.

CORREIA-AFONSO, JOHN, S.J. *Jesuit Letters and Indian History.* Bombay, 1955.

COSTANTINI, D. (ed.). *Le missioni cattòliche e la cultura dell' Oriente.* Rome, 1943.

COUTINHO, FORTUNATO. *Le regime paroissial des diocèses de rite latin de l'Inde des origines (XVIe siècle) à nos jours.* Louvain, 1958.

CRASSET, JEAN. *Histoire de l'église du Japon.* 2 vols. Paris, 1689.

DAHLMANN, JOSEPH. *Missionary Pioneers and Indian Languages.* Trichinopoly, 1940.

D'ELIA, PASQUALE. *Fonti Ricciane.* 3 vols. Rome, 1942.

D'SA, M. *History of the Catholic Church in India.* Bombay, 1910.

DUNNE, GEORGE, S.J. "The Jesuits in China in the Last Days of the Ming." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944.

———. *Generation of Giants.* Notre Dame, Ind., 1962.

ENGLÄNDER, CLARA. *Ignatius von Loyola und Johannes von Polanco. Der Ordenstifter und sein Sekretar.* Regensburg, 1956.

FERROLI, D. *The Jesuits in Malabar.* 2 vols. Bangalore, 1939–51.

GOUVEA, A. DE. *Jornada do Arcibispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Menezes. . . .* Coimbra, 1606.

GROSLIER, B. P. *Angkor et le Cambodge d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles.* Paris 1958.

HAAS, HANS. *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan.* 2 vols. Tokyo, 1902–04.

HERAS, HENRY. *The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India.* Bombay, 1933.

HUBER, R. M. *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order.* Milwaukee, 1944.

HUONDER, A. *Der heilige Ignatius von Loyola und der Missionsberuf der Gesellschaft Jesu.* Aachen, 1922.

JANN, P. ADELHELM, O.M C. *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan Ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat von 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert.* Paderborn, 1915.

JOSSON, H. *La mission du Bengale occidentale.* Bruges, 1921.

LAURES, JOHANNES. *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Japan.* Kaldenkirchen, 1956.

———. *Nobunaga und das Christentum.* Tokyo, 1950.

———. *Takayama Ukon und die Anfange der Kirche in Japan.* Munster, 1954.

———. *Kirishitan Bunko.* Tokyo, 1957.

LEMMENS, LEONHARD. *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen.* Munster, 1929.

LOPÉTEGUI, LEÓN. *El Padre José de Acosta y las misiones.* Madrid, 1942.

MACLAGEN, EDWARD. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul.* London, 1932.

MAGNINO, LEO. *Pontificia Nipponica Le relazioni tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici.* Rome, 1947.

MEERSMAN, A. *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India, 1291–1941.* Karachi, 1943.

MERCES DE MELO, CARLOS. *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th–19th Centuries).* Lisbon, 1955.

MONSTERLEET. JEAN. *L'église du Japon des temps feodaux à nos jours.* Toulouse, 1958.

MULLBAUER, MAXIMILIAN. *Geschichte der katholischen Missionen in Ostindien von der Zeit Vasco da Gama's.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1852.

PASTELLS, PABLO, S.J. (ed.). *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús . . . en las Islas Filipinas.* Barcelona, 1904.

PERERA, S. G. *The Jesuits in Ceylon in the XVI and XVII Centuries.* Madura, 1941.

PLATTNER, F. A. *Jesuits Go East.* Translated from German by LORD SUDLEY and OSCAR BLOBEL. Westminster, Md., 1952.

PRIOLKAR, A. K. *The Printing Press in India.* Bombay, 1958.

ROGERS, FRANCIS. *The Quest for Eastern Christians. Travel and Rumor in the Age of Discovery.* Minneapolis, 1962.

ROSSO, A. S., O.F.M. *Apostolic Legations to China of the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty.* Notre Dame, Ind., 1962.

SALDANHA, M. J. G. DE. *História de Goa (política e arqueológica).* 2d ed. 2 vols. New Goa, 1925–26.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.* Tokyo, 1928.

———. *Franz Xaver, sein Leben und seine Zeit.* Vol I. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1955.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG, and VORETZSCH, E. A. (eds.) *Ceylon zur Zeit des Konigs Bhuvaneka Babu und Franz Xavers, 1539–1552.* Leipzig, 1928.

SCHURZ, W. L. *The Manila Galleon.* New York, 1939.

SCHUTTE, JOSEF FRANZ, S.J. *Valignanos Missionsgrundsatze fur Japan* 2 vols. Rome, 1951–58.

SILVA REGO, ANTÓNIO DA. *História das missões do padroado português do Oriente. India (1500–42).* Lisbon, 1949.

TACCHI-VENTURI. PIETRO, S.J. *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci.* Macerata, 1911.

THALIATH, JONAS. *The Synod of Diamper.* Rome, 1958.

TISSERANT, EUGENE, CARDINAL. *Eastern Christianity in India, a History of the Syro-Malabar Church.* Westminster, Md., 1959.

TURSELLINUS, H. *Francisci Xaverii epistolarum libri quatuor.* Rome, 1596.

WELLESZ, EMMY. *Akbar's Religious Thoughts Reflected in Mogul Painting.* London, 1952.

WENZEL, B. J. *Portugal und der Heilige Stuhl.* Lisbon, 1958

WESSELS, C. S.J. *Histoire de la mission d'Amboine, 1546–1605.* Louvain, 1934.

WICKI, JOSEF. *Alessandro Valignano Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesus en las Indias Orientales, 1542–64.* Rome, 1944.

——— (ed.). *Documenta Indica* 7 vols. Rome, 1948–62

WYNGAERT, A. VAN DEN, O.F.M. *Sinica Franciscana* 2 vols. Florence, 1933.

ARTICLES

BENZIRG, JOSEF. "Johann Albin zu Mainz als Reichsdrucker, 1598–1620," *Gutenberg Jahrbuch 1950* (Mainz, 1950), pp. 211–12.

BIERMANN, BENNO. O.P. "Der erste Bischof in Ost-Indien, Fray Duarte Nunes O P.," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, IX (1953), 81–90.

———. "Die Mission der portugiesischen Dominikaner im Hinterindien," *ibid.*, XXI (1931), 306–07.

———. "Documenta quaedam initia missionum Ordinis Praedicatorum in India orientali illustrantia (1503–1548)," *Archivum fratrum praedicatorum*, X (1940), 132–57.

BOXER, C. R. "The Portuguese Padroado in East Asia and the Problem of Chinese Rites, 1576–1773," *Instituto português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No. 1 (July, 1948), pp. 199–226.

BERNARD, H. "Les débuts des relations diplomatiques entre le Japon et les espagnols des Isles Philippines," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 99–137.

BROU, A. "Les statistiques dans les anciennes missions," *Revue d'histoire des missions* (Sept., 1929), pp. 361–84.

BRUCKER, JOSEPH. "Protectorate of Missions." In *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII, 488–92. New York, 1911.

CASTETS, J. "L'Église et le problème de la caste au XVIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire des missions* (1930), pp. 547–65.

D'ELIA, P. M. "La reprise des missions catholiques en Chine à la fin du Ming (1579–1644)," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, V (1959–60), 679–91.

EBISAWA ARIMICHI. "The Jesuits and Their Cultural Activities in the Far East," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, V (1959–60), 344–74.

HERAS, H. "The Jesuit Influence in Vijayanagar," *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XIV (1923), 131–40.

———. "Rama Raya Vitthala, Viceroy of Southern India," *ibid.*, XV (1924), 176–90.

HOSTEN, H., S.J. "List of the Pupils of the College of S. Paolo de Santa Fe, Goa (1558)," *The Examiner* (Bombay), LXXI (1920), 429–30.

HOSTEN, H., and BESSE, P. "A List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma, 1576–1742," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII (1911), 15–23

JOSEPH, T. "St. Xavier [*sic*] and the Badagas," *Journal of Indian History*, XXXI (1953), 185–88.

KLEISER, ALFONSO, S.J. "P. Alexandre Valignano's Gesandschaftsreise nach Japan zum Quambacudono Toyotomi Hideyoshi 1588–1591," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 70–98.

MATTOM, C. K. "The Services of St. Francis Xavier to the Travancore State," *Journal of Indian History*, XXXI (1931), 75–79.

MEERSMAN, A. "The Franciscans in the Ancient Burmese Kingdom of Ava and Pegu, 1557–1818," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XXXI (1938), 356–86.

———. "The Question of Admitting Indians to the Franciscan Order," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XIII (1957), 29–34.

———. "Notes on the Study of Indian Languages by the Franciscans," *ibid.*, XVI (1960), 40–54.

MOIDREY, S. J. "La hierarchie catholique en Chine, en Corée et au Japon (1307–1914)," *Variétés sinologigues (Zi-ka-wei)*, No. 38 (1914), 1–300.

MORAES, G. M. "St. Francis Xavier, Apostolic Nuncio, 1542–52," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., XXVI (1950), 279–313.

PANJIKARAN, J. C. "Christianity in Malabar with Special Reference to the St. Thomas Christians of the Syro-Malabar Rite," *Orientalia christiana*, VI (1926), 92–136.

PEREZ, LORENZO. "Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Celebes," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, VI (1913), 49–50.

PLACID, T. O. C. D. "Portuguese Religious Conquests in Malabar under the Diocese of Cochin during the Sixteenth Century," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XIII (1957), 287–306.

———. "The Syro-Malabarians, Their Life and Their Activities," *ibid*, XII (1956), 241–56.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. "Die Franziskanermissionäre des 16. Jahrhundert nach einer zeitgenossischen Schilderung," *Die katholischen Missionen* (Bonn), XLVII (1918–19), 100–08.

———. "Xavierius forschung im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 129–65.

———. "Ein seltener Druck (der erste gedruckte tamulische Katechismus), *Die katholischen Missionen* (Bonn), LVIII (1930), 211–12.

———. "Die Bekehrung der Paraver (1535–37)," *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, IV (1935), 201–33.

———. "Der hl. Franz Xaver in Japan (1549–1551)." In *Schriftenreihe der Neuen Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, No. 1. Schöneck, 1947.

———. "Der Ursprung des Chinaplans des Heiligen Franz Xaver," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XXII (1953), 38–56.

———. "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier." In *Garcia de Orta* (Lisbon, 1956), pp. 247–56.

STRAMIGIOLI, G. "Hideyoshi's Expansionist Policy on the Asiatic Mainland," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Ser. 3, III, 74–94.

WESSELS, C. "De katholieke Missie in het Sultanaat Batjan (Molukken), 1557–1609," *Historisch Tijdschrift*, VIII (1929), 115–48, 221–45.

WICKI, JOSEF. "Zur Missionsmethode des hl. Franz Xaver," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, II (1946), 85–103.

———. "Die Heidenbekehrung in den Jesuiten-Niederlassungen Portugiesisch-Indien, 1545–1552," *ibid.*, III (1947), 39–48.

———. "Xavers Mitarbeiter in der Unterweisung der christlichen indo-portugiesischen Bevölkerung (1545–1552)," *ibid.*, 179–92.

———. "Die älteste deutsche Druck eines Xaverius-briefes aus dem Jahre 1545, ehemals in Besitz des Basler Humanisten Lepusculus," *ibid.*, IV (1948), 105–09.

WICKI, JOSEPH. "Der einheimische Klerus in Indien (16. Jahrhundert)." In *Der einheimische Klerus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by J. WICKI, pp 11–28. Schoneck-Beckenried, 1950.

———. "Die ältere katholische Mission in der Begegnung mit Indien," *Saeculum*, VI (1955), 345–67.

———. "Juan de Bustamente, el primer impresor de la India," *Siglo de las misiones*, XLIII (1956), 492–95, 499.

———. "Die ersten offiziellen mundlichen Berichterstattungen in Europa aus den überseeischen Missionsgebieten der Gesellschaft Jesu (ca. 1553–1577)," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XIV (1958), 253–66.

WITTE, C. M. DE. "Le Regimento de la 'Mesa de Consciencia' du 24 novembre, 1558," *Revista portuguesa de história*, IX (1960), 277–84.

VI. INDIA

BOOKS

AYYAR, RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANATAKRISHNA. *Anthropology of the Syrian Christians*. Ernakulam, 1926.

BASHAM, A. L. *The Wonder That Was India*. London, 1954.

BELL, SIR CHARLES. *Tibet, Past and Present*. Oxford, 1924.

BRAGANÇA PEREIRA, A. B. DE. *Os Portugueses em Diu*. (Published as a special volume of *O Oriente português*, N.S., Nos. 11–19.) Bastorá, n.d.

BROWN, LESLIE WILFRID. *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas* . . . Cambridge, 1956.

CAMPOS, JOACHIM JOSEPH A. *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*. . . . Calcutta, 1919.

CAMPS, ARNULF. *Jerome Xavier S J. and the Muslims of the Moghul Empire; Controversial Works and Missionary Activity*. Schoneck, 1957.

CARACI, GUISEPPE. *Introduzione al Sassetti epistolografo (indagini sulla cultura geografica del secondo cinquecento)*. Rome, 1960.

CHOPRA, P. N. *Some Aspects of Society and Culture during the Mughal Age, 1527–1707*. Agra, 1955.

CODRINGTON, H. W. *A Short History of Ceylon*. With a Chapter on Archeology by A. M. HOCART. Rev. ed. London, 1947.

COMISSARIAT, MANEKSHAH SORABSHAH. *A History of Gujarat, with a Survey of Its Monuments and Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Bombay, 1957——.

CORREIA, GERMANO. *História da colonização portuguesa na India*. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1948–50.

CORREIA-AFONSO, JOHN. *Jesuit Letters and Indian History · A Study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India (1542–1773) and of Their Value for Indian Historiography*. Bombay, 1955.

CROOK, W (ed.); *see* TOD, JAMES.

DANVERS, F. C. *The Portuguese in India*. 2 vols. London, 1894.

DUBOIS, JEAN ANTOINE. *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*. . . . 3d ed. Edited by HENRY K. BEAUCHAMP. Oxford, 1928.

ELLIOT, A. M., and DOWSON, J. (eds.). *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*. 8 vols. London, 1867–77.

FERGUSSON, J. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. New York, 1899.

FERGUSSON, JAMES, and BURGESS, JAMES. *The Cave Temples of India*. London, 1880.

FICALHO, CONDE DE. *Garcia da Orta e o seu tempo*. Lisbon, 1898.

FLUCKIGER, F. A., and HANBURY, DANIEL. *Pharmacographica: A History of the Principal Drugs of Vegetable Origin Met With in Great Britain and British India*. London, 1874.

FONSECA, JOSÉ NICOLAU DA. *An Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa Written by the Authorization of the Government* Bombay, 1878.

FONTOURA DA COSTA, A. *Les déambulations du Rhinocéros de Modofar, roi de Cambaye, de 1514–1516*. Lisbon, 1937.

FOSTER, WILLIAM. *Early Travels in India, 1583–1619*. London, 1921.

GERSON DA CUNHA, J. *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*. Bombay, 1876.

GLASENAPP, H. VON. *Der Jainismus, eine indische Erlosungsreligion*. Berlin, 1925.

GUBERNATIS, ANGELO DE. *Storia dei viaggiatori italiani nelle Indie Orientali*. Leghorn, 1875.

HODIVALA, S. H. *Studies in Indo-Muslim History: A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dowson*. . . . 2 vols. Bombay, 1939–57.

IRVINE, WILLIAM. *Army of the Indian Moghuls. Its Organization and Administration*. London, 1903.

IYER, L. K. ANATHA KRISHNA. *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*. 2 vols. Madras, 1912.

JAIN, J. PRASAD. *Jainism, the Oldest Living Religion*. Benares, 1951.

KNOX, ROBERT. *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* (1681). Reprinted as Vol. VI of the *Ceylon Historical Journal*. Colombo, 1957.

KUNZ, G. F., and STEVENSON, C. H. *The Book of Pearl*. New York, 1908.

LOGAN, WILLIAM. *Malabar*. 3 vols. Madras, 1951.

MACLAGEN, E. *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*. London, 1932.

MAHALINGHAM, T. V. *Administration and Social Life under Vijayanagar*. Madras, 1940.

MAJUMDAR, R. C. (ed.). *History and Culture of the Indian People*. 10 vols. Calcutta, 1951–61.

MAJUMDAR, R. C., *et al. An Advanced History of India*. London, 1958 2d rev. ed., 1960.

MARTIN, M. *The History . . . of Eastern India*. London, 1838.

MORELAND, W H (ed.). *Relations of Golconda in the Seventeenth Century*. London, 1931.

MURRAY, JOHN (pub.). *A Handbook for Travellers in India and Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*. London, 1949.

PANIKKAR, K. M. *Malabar and the Portuguese*. Bombay, 1929.

———. *A History of Kerala, 1498–1801*. Annamalainagas, 1960.

PEMBERTON, R. BOILEAU, *Report on Bootan*. . . . Calcutta, 1839.

PHILIPS, C. H. (ed.). *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*. London, 1961.

PHILLIMORE, R. H. (ed.). *Historical Records of the Survey of India*, Vol. I: *18th Century*. Dehra Dun, 1945.

PIERIS, P. E. *Ribeiro's History of Ceilão; with a Summary of de Barros, de Couto, Antonio Bocarro and the Documentos remettidos, with the Parangi Hatane and Kostantinu Hatane, translated from the original Portuguese and Sinhalese*. Colombo, 1909.

PIERIS, P. E., and FITZLER, M. A. H. *Ceylon and Portugal*. Part I: *Kings and Christians, 1539–1552*. Leipzig, 1927.

PRASAD, ISHWARI. *The Life and Times of Humayun*. Bombay, 1956.

PRIOLKAR, A. K. *The Printing Press in India*. Bombay, 1958.

RAJA, P. K. S. *Medieval Kerala*. Chidambaram, 1953.

REIS, EDUARDO. *Duarte Barbosa, pioneiro reveladór dos costumes das Indias. Relação biográfica coordenada por Eduardo Reis.* Macao, 1948.

ROSSI, MARIO. *Un letterato e mercante fiorentino del sècolo XVI: Filippo Sassetti.* Castello, 1899.

RYLEY, J. HORTON. *Ralph Fitch, England's Pioneer to India and Burma.* London, 1899.

SAHU, N. K. (ed.). *A History of Orissa* By W. W. HUNTER (and others). 2 vols. Calcutta, 1956.

SALETORE, B. A. *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, A.D 1346–A.D. 1646.* 2 vols. Madras, 1934.

SARKAR, J. N. (ed.) *The History of Bengal.* Dacca, 1948.

SASTRI, K. A. NILAKANTA. *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar.* 2d ed. Madras, 1958.

SHARMA, G. N. *Mewar and the Mughal Emperors, 1526–1707 A.D.* Agra, 1954.

SHERWANI, HAROON KHAN. *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective Study.* Hyderbad-Deccan, 1953.

SILLANI, TOMASO. *L'Italia e l'Oriente medio ed estremo.* Rome, 1935.

SILVA CORREIA, ALBERTO C. GERMANO DA. *Les Musulmans de l'Inde portugaise.* Bastorá, 1937.

THURSTON, E. *Castes and Tribes of Southern India.* 7 vols. Madras, 1909.

———. *Ethnographic Notes on South India.* Madras, 1906.

TOD, JAMES. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India.* Edited with an introduction and notes by WILLIAM CROOKE. 3 vols. London, 1920.

TURSELLINUS, H. *Francisci Xaverii epistolarum libri quatuor.* Rome, 1596.

VENKATARAMANYA, N. *The Early Muslim Expansion in South India.* Madras, 1942.

VIJAYANAGARA SEXCENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME. (Published under the auspices of the Vijayanagara Empire Sexcentenary Association and Kernatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.) Dharwar, 1936.

WESSELS, C. *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721.* The Hague, 1924.

WHITEWAY, R. S. *The Rise of the Portuguese Empire in India.* London, 1898.

WILLIAMS, L. F. RUSHBROOK. *An Empire Builder of the Sixteenth Century: A Summary Account of the Political Career of Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad surnamed Babur, being the University Lectures for 1915–16.* London, 1918.

YAZDANI, G., (ed.). *The Early History of the Deccan.* London, 1960.

ZURLA, PLACIDO. *Di Marco Polo e delgi altri vaiggiatori veneziani piu illustri.* Venice, 1818.

ARTICLES

ASHRAF, KUNWAR MUHAMMAD. "Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan (A.D. 1200–1550)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,* I (1935), 103–359.

ALAM, SHAH MANZOOR. "Masulipatam, a Metropolitan Port in the Seventeenth Century A.D.," *Indian Geographical Journal,* XXXIV (1959), 33–42.

BADEN-POWELL, B. H. "The Villages of Goa in the Early 16th Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1900,* pp. 261–91.

BLOCHMANN, H. "Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammadan Period). Pt. I. Geographical, Pt II Historical. . . ," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLII (1873), 209–310.

———. "Koch Bihár, Koch Hajó, and Ásám, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnámah, the Pádisháhnámah and Fathiyah i ' Ibriyah," *ibid*, XLI (1872), 49–101.

BOXER, C R. "Three Historians of Asia (Barros, Couto, and Bocarro)," *Instituto Português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No. 1 (July, 1948), pp. 18–24.

CALAND, W., and FOKKER, A. A. "Die oude Portugeesche verhandelingen over het Hindoeisme," *Verhandelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, N.S., XVI (1916), No. 2.

CALDWELL, R. "Explorations at Korkei and Kayal," *Indian Antiquary*, VI (1877), 82–84.

CHAKRAVARTI, RAI MONMOHAN BAHADUR. "Notes on the Geography of Orissa in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., XII (1916), 29–56.

CHARPENTIER, JARL "Cesare di Federici and Gasparo Balbi," *Indian Antiquary*, LIII (1924), 53–54.

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO. "The 'City of Bengala' in Early Reports," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, XI (1945), 10–14.

DAMES, M. L. "The Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1921*, pp. 1–28.

DIXIT, G. S. "Economic Conditions in the Time of Krishnadevaraya." In the *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, pp. 213–29. Dhaswar, 1936.

DUYVENDAK, J. J. L. "The True Dates of the Chinese Maritime Expeditions in the Early Fifteenth Century," *T'oung pao*, XXXIV (1939), 367–73.

FERGUSON, D. (trans. and ed.). "The History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A.D., as Related by João de Barros and Diogo do Couto," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, XX (1908), 29–53.

FITZLER, M. A. H. "Die Maldiven im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, ein Kapitel portugiesischer Kolonialgeschichte," *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, X (1935–36), 215–56.

FLETCHER, W. K. (trans.) "Of the Famous Island of Salsette at Bassein and Its Wonderful Pagoda Called Canari . . .," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, I (1841–44), 34–40.

FLÜCKIGER, F. A. "Indische Pharmakognosie," *Archiv der Pharmacie*, XXII (1884), 40–86.

GERSON DA CUNHA, J. "The Portuguese in South Kanara," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XIX (1895–97), 249–62.

GOUGH, ABERLE E. K. "Changing Kinship Usages in the Setting of Political and Economic Change among the Nayars of Malabar," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, LXXXII (1952), 71–88.

———. "Criteria of Caste Ranking in South India," *Man in India*, XXXIX (1959), 115–26.

HARRISON, J. H. "Five Portuguese Historians." In C. H. PHILIPS (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 155–69. London, 1961.

HOSTEN, HENRY. "Mirza zu-l-Quarnain," Pt. II of "Jesuit Letters and Allied Papers on Mogor, Tibet, Bengal and Burma," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V (1916), 174–218.

HOSTEN, HENRY (trans.). "Relaçam do Equebar Rei dos Mogores," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII (1912), 185–221.

KING, J. S. (trans.) "Burhan-i Ma-asir (History of the Bahmani Dynasty), by ALI BIN'ASSIZ-ULLAH TABATABA," *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII (1899), 119–38, 141–55.

KNOX, ROBERT, JR. "An Historical Relation of Ceylon," *Ceylon Historical Journal*, VI (1956–57), 1–304.

MORAES, G. "St. Francis Xavier, Apostolic Nuncio, 1542–1552," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., XXVII (1950), 290–95

NAYAGAM, XAVIER S. THANI. "Tamil Manuscripts in European Libraries," *Tamil Culture*, III (1954), 225–27.

PANIKKAR, K. M. "Some Aspects of Nayar Life," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, XLVIII (1918), 254–93

PETECH, LUCIANO. "Some Chinese Texts Concerning Ceylon," *Ceylon Historical Journal*, III (1954), 217–27.

PINTO, OLGA "Ancora il viaggiatore veneziano Gasparo Balbi a proposito della ristampa italiana di una carta dell' Asia di W. J. Blaev," *Atti dell' Academia nazionale dei Lincei*, III (1948), 465–71.

POLIDORI, FILIPPO LUIGI. "Prefazione," *Archivio storico italiano*, IV (1853), xviii–xxi.

RAYCHAUDHURI, H. "Geography of the Deccan." In G. YAZDANI (ed.), *The Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 1–12. London, 1960.

ROOVER, FLORENCE E DE. "Francesco Sassetti and the Downfall of the Medici Banking House," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, XVII (1943), 65–80

ROSS, E. DENISON. "The Portuguese in India and Arabia between 1507–1517 and between 1517–1538," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Oct., 1921), 545–62; (Jan., 1922), 1–18.

SASTRI, K. A. N. "Marco Polo on India." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente"), pp. 111–20. Rome, 1957.

SCHURHAMMER, G. (trans. and ed.). "Three Letters of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Malabar, 1503–1550," *Gregorianum*, XIV (1933), 62–86.

———. "Xaveriusforschung im 16 Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 129–65.

SEN, S. N. "An Early Portuguese Account of Bengal," *Calcutta Review*, LXVI (1938), 21–25.

SOARES, A. X. "Garcia d'Orta, a Little Known Owner of Bombay," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVI (1921–23), 195–229.

STEMBACH, L. "Gujarat as Known to Medieval Europe," *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Congress*, VII (1956), 292–95.

SUMMERS, A. "An Account of the Agate and Carnelian Trade of Cambay," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, III (1851), 318–27.

TUCCI, UGO. "Mercanti veneziani in India alla fine del sècolo XVI. In *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, pp 1091–1111. Milan, 1957.

WILSON, C. R. "Note on the Topography of the River in the 16th Century from Húglí to the Sea as Represented in the 'Da Asia' of Barros," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXI (1892), 109–17.

ZACHARIAE, T. "Vertea, eine Bezeichnung der Jains," *Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXIV (1910), 337–44.

VII. SOUTHEAST ASIA

BOOKS

AGANDURU MÓRIZ, RODRIGO DE *Historia general de las islas occidentales . llamadas Philipinas.* 2 vols Madrid, 1882.

ALEXANDER, PHILIP F. *The Earliest Voyages round the World, 1519–1617.* Cambridge, 1916.

ALIP, EUFRONIO M *Philippine History: Political, Social, Economic. . .* 5th rev. ed. Manila, 1951.

ARGENSOLA, B L. *Conquista de las islas Malucas.* Madrid, 1609. (Reprinted by the "Biblioteca de escritores aragoneses" [Saragossa, 1891].)

AYMONIER, ETIENNE. *Le Cambodge* 3 vols. Paris, 1900–04

BASTIN, JOHN *The Changing Balance of the Early Southeast Asian Pepper Trade.* Singapore, 1960.

BENITEZ, CONRADO. *History of the Philippines: Economic, Social, Cultural, Political.* Rev. ed. Manila, 1954.

BERNARD, HENRI. *Les îles Philippines du grand archipel de la China. un essai de conquête spirituelle de l'Extrême-Orient, 1571–1641.* Tientsin, 1936.

BEYER, HENRY OTLEY, and HOLLEMAN, F. D. *A Collection of Source Material for the Study of Philippine Customary Law from the Beyer Collection of Manuscript Sources in Philippine Ethnography (1912–1931).* Selected and classified by F. D. HOLLEMAN (under the auspices of the Philippine Section of the Committee of Indonesian Customary Law of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Union académique internationale) 10 vols. Manila, 1912–31.

BLANCHARD, WENDELL, *et al Thailand, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture.* New Haven, Conn., 1958.

BOWRING, SIR JOHN. *The Kingdom and People of Siam.* 2 vols. London, 1857

BOXER, C. R. (ed.). *South China in the Sixteenth Century.* London, 1953.

BROEK, JAN OTTO MARIUS *Place Names in 16th and 17th Century Borneo.* Minneapolis, [1959?].

BURNEY, JAMES. *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean.* 5 vols. London, 1803–17.

BUZETA, MANUEL, and BRAVO, FELIPE (eds.). *Diccionario geográfico, estadístico, histórico de las islas Filipinas.* 2 vols. Madrid, 1850–51.

CARO Y MORA, JUAN, *Ataque de Li-Ma-Hong à Manila en 1574* Manila, 1894.

CHAPPOULIE, HENRI. *Aux origines d'une église: Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVII^e siècle.* 2 vols. Paris, 1943–47.

CHAUNU, PIERRE. *Les Philippines et la Pacifique des Ibériques (XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles).* Paris, 1960.

COSTA, H. DE LA. S.J. *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768.* Cambridge, Mass , 1961.

COSTA, J. ANTÓNIO. *Galvão, o "Apóstolo das Molucas."* Lisbon, 1943.

CRAIG, AUSTIN. *Pre-Spanish Philippine History and the Beginnings of Philippine Nationalism.* Madrid, 1935.

CRAWFURD, JOHN, F R.S. *History of the Indian Archipelago. . . .* 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1820.

DEJ SNIDVONGS, MOM LUANG. *Die Entwicklung des siamesischen Aussenhandels vom 16 bis zum 20 Jahrhundert.* Bern, 1926.

DENUCÉ, JEAN. *Magellan; la question des Moluques et la première circumnavigation du globe.* Brussels, 1911.

DIGUET, EDOUARD J. J. *Les Annamites: société, coutumes, religions.* Paris, 1906.

DOBBY, ERNEST H. G. *Southeast Asia* New York, 1951.

DUSMET DE ARIZCUN, XAVIER. *Una expedicion española a Cambodja en el siglo XVI.* Madrid, 1932.

EGGAN, FRED (ed.). *Area Handbook on the Philippines.* 4 vols. New Haven, 1956.

——— (ed.). *Papers (mimeographed) Read at the Mindanao Conference.* 2 vols. Chicago, 1955.

EVANS, I. H. N. *Religion, Folklore, and Custom in North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula.* Cambridge, 1923.

FORBES, HENRY O. *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago.* New York, 1885.

FOSTER, SIR WILLIAM (ed.). *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster to Brazil and the East Indies.* London, 1940.

GINSBURG, NORTON S., and ROBERTS, CHESTER F., JR. *Malaya.* Seattle, 1958.

GRAHAM, WALTER A. *Siam.* 2 vols. London, 1924.

GROSLIER, BERNARD PHILIPPE. *Angkor et le Cambodge au XVIe siècle, d'après les sources portugaises et espagnoles.* With the collaboration of C. R. BOXER. Paris, 1958.

GUIBON, A. *Sur les traces des Dieppois à Sumatra (1529–1934).* Dieppe, 1936.

GUILLEMARD, FRANCIS A. *The Life of Ferdinand Magellan, and the First Circumnavigation of the Globe, 1480–1521.* London, 1890.

HALL, D. G. E. *Early English Intercourse with Burma, 1587–1743.* London, 1928.

———. *Europe and Burma: A Study of European Relations with Burma to the Annexation of Thibaw's Kingdom, 1886.* London, 1945.

——— *A History of South East Asia.* New York, 1955.

——— (ed.). *Historians of South East Asia.* London, 1961.

HARVEY, GODFREY ERIC. *History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10 March 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest.* London and New York, 1925.

HERVAL, RENÉ. *Giovanni da Verrazzano et les Dieppois à la recherche de Cathay (1524–1528). Étude historique accompagnée d'une traduction integrale de la célèbre lettre de Verazzano à François Ier.* Rouen and Caen, n.d.

KLERCK, E. S. DE. *History of the Netherlands East Indies.* Vol. I. Rotterdam, 1938.

KROEBER, A. L. *Peoples of the Philippines.* 2d ed. rev. New York, 1943.

LA COSTA, H. DE; *see* COSTA, H. DE LA.

LASKER, BRUNO. *Human Bondage in Southeast Asia.* Chapel Hill, N.C., 1950.

———. *Peoples of Southeast Asia.* New York, 1944.

LE MAY, REGINALD S. *The Culture of South East Asia, the Heritage of India.* London, 1954.

LECLÈRE, ADHÉRMARD. *Cambodge fêtes civiles et religieuses.* Paris, 1916.

———. *Histoire du Cambodge depuis le Ier siècle de notre ère, d'après les inscriptions lapidaires, les annales chinoises et annamites et les documents européens des six derniers siècles.* Paris, 1914.

LEEUWEN, P. J. VAN. *De maleische Alexanderroman.* Utrecht, 1937.

LEITÃO, HUMBERTO. *Os Portugueses em Solar e Timor de 1515 a 1702.* Lisbon, 1948.

MCCARTHY, EDWARD J. *Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564–1572.* Washington, D.C., 1943.

MCCLYMONT, JAMES ROXBURGH. *The Theory of an Antipodal Southern Continent during the Sixteenth Century.* London, 1892.

MAGALHÃES-GODINHO, VITORINO. *Tournant mondial de 1517–1524 et l'empire portugais.* Lisbon, n.d.

MARSDEN, WILLIAM. *The History of Sumatra.* 2d ed. London, 1784.

MASPERO, GEORGES. *The Kingdom of Champa, a Translation of Chapter I of Le royaume du Champa.* New Haven, 1949.

MAYBON, C. B. *Histoire moderne du pays d'Annam (1592–1820). Étude sur les premiers rapports des européens et des Annamites et sur l'établissement de la dynastie annamite des Nguyễn.* Paris, 1919.

MITCHELL, MAIRIN. *Elcano, the First Circumnavigator.* London, 1958.

MOSTO, ANDRE DA *Il primo viaggio intorno al globo in Raccolta di documenti e studi publicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana.* Part V, Vol. III. Rome, 1894.

OLIVEIRA, LUNA DE. *Timor na história de Portugal.* 3 vols. Lisbon, 1949–52.

PASTELLS, PABLO, (ed.). *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañia de Jesús . . . en las Islas Filipinas.* Barcelona, 1904.

PELLIOT, P. *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Ta-kouan.* Paris, 1951.

PHELAN, JOHN L. *The Hispanization of the Philippines: Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses.* Madison, Wis., 1959.

PHILIPS, C. H. (ed.). *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.* London, 1961.

POSADOWSKY-WEHNER, KURT GRAF VON. *Jean Parmentier (1494–1529). Leben und Werk.* Munich, 1937.

QUIRINO, CARLOS. *Philippine Cartography (1320–1899).* 2d rev. ed. Amsterdam, 1963.

RAY, NIHARRANYAN. *An Introduction to the Study of Theravāda Buddhism in Burma. . . .* Calcutta, 1946.

ROBEQUAIN, CHARLES EDOUARD. *Le monde malais: Péninsule malaise, Sumatra, Java, Bornéo, Célèbes, Bali, et les petites îles de la Sonde, Moluques, Philippines.* Paris, 1946.

ROGER, JUAN. *Estudio etnológico comparativo de las formas religiosas primitivas de las tribus salvajes de Filipinas.* Madrid, 1949.

SANGERMANO, FATHER VICENTIUS. *The Burmese Empire a Hundred Years Ago as Described by Father Sangermano.* With an Introduction and Notes by JOHN JARDINE. Westminster, 1893.

SHARP, ANDREW. *The Discovery of the Pacific Islands. Polynesia, Melanesia, Micronesia; Based on Original Records.* Oxford, 1960.

SIAM SOCIETY. *Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal.* (50th Anniversary Commemorative Publication.) Bangkok, 1959.

SWECKER, ZOE. "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960.

VAN DIJK, LUDOVICUS CAROLUS DESIDEREUS. *Neerland's vroegste Betrekkingen met Borneo, den Solo-Archipel, Cambodja, Siam en Cochin-China; een nagelaten Werk van Mr. L. D. D. Van Dijk; met eene Levensschets en Inleiding van Mr. G. W. Vreede.* Amsterdam, 1862.

VISSER, B. J. J. *Onder portugeesch-spaansche Vlag; de Katholieke Missie van Indonesie, 1511–1605.* Amsterdam, 1925.

VLEKKE, H. M. *Nusantara, a History of Indonesia.* rev. ed. Chicago, 1960.

WAGNER, HENRY R. *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World, Its Aims and Achievements.* San Francisco, 1926.

———. *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century.* San Francisco, 1929.

WALES, H. G. QUARITCH. *Siamese State Ceremonies, Their History and Function.* London, 1931.

WALLACE, ALFRED R. *The Malay Archipelago.* London and New York, 1890.

WELLS, KENNETH E. *Thai Buddhism, Its Rites and Activities.* Bangkok, 1939.

WESSELS, CORNELIUS. *Histoire de la mission d'Amboine depuis sa fondation par Saint François Xavier . . . 1546–1605* Translated from Dutch by J ROEBROEK. Louvain, 1934.

WHEATLEY, PAUL. *The Golden Khersonese· Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A.D. 1500.* Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

WICHMANN, ARTHUR. *Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea.* 2 vols. Leiden, 1909–12.

WILKINSON, R. J. *A History of the Peninsular Malays, with Chapters on Perak & Selangor.* 2d ed., rev. Singapore, 1920.

WINSTEDT, R. Q. *A History of Malaya.* London [1934].

WOOD, WILLIAM ALFRED ROE. *A History of Siam from the Earliest Times to the Year A.D. 1781* . . . London, 1926.

WRIGHT, IONE S. *Voyages of Alvaro de Saavedra Céron, 1527–1529* Coral Gables, Fla., 1951.

YULE, H. *A Narrative of the Mission . . to the Court of Ava in 1855* London, 1858.

ZAIDE, GREGORIO F. *The Philippines since Pre-Spanish Times* Manila, 1949.

ARTICLES

ANONYMOUS. "Talaing Inscription in a Bell Cast by Anauppetlun Mrin," translated by C. D. BLAGDEN and PE MAUNG TIN, *Journal of the Burma Research Society,* XVIII (1928), 21–34

AUROSSEAU, L. "Sur le nom de Cochinchine," *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi), XXIV (1924), 551–79.

AYMONIER, E. "The History of Tchampa (the Cyamba of Marco Polo, now Annam or Cochin China)," *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review,* N.S., VI (1893), 375–76.

BEKAERT, MAURICE. "Java-Sumatra-Bali," *Bulletin, Société royale belge de géographie,* LXII (June, 1938), 97–124.

BERG, C. C. "Javanese Historiography—a Synopsis of Its Evolution." in D. G. E. HALL (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia,* pp. 13–23. London, 1963.

BERNARD, HENRI. "Pourquoi l'expansion chrétienne a-t-elle échoué en Indochine au XVIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire des missions,* XII (1935), 386–406.

BHUYAN, SURYYA KUMAR. "Assamese Historical Literature," *Indian History Quarterly,* V (1929), 457–78.

BIERMANN, BENNO. "Die Mission der portugiesischen Dominikaner in Hinterindien," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft,* XXI (1931), 305–27

BLAGDEN, C. O. "Corrigenda to Malay and Other Words Collected by Pigafetta," Miscellaneous Communications, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1931), pp. 857–61.

———. "Philip de Brito," *Journal of the Burma Research Society,* III (1913), 80–85.

BOXER, C R. "Manila Galleon, 1565–1815," *History Today,* VIII (Aug., 1958), 538–47.

BRIGGS, L. P "The Appearance and Historical Usage of the Terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Lao," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* LXIX (1949), 60–73.

———. "Spanish Intervention in Cambodia, 1593–1603," *T'oung pao,* XXXIX (1949), 132–60.

———. "Les missionnaires portugais et espagnols au Cambodge 1555–1603," *Bulletin de la Société des études indochinoises,* N.S., XXV (1950), 7–29.

CABATON, ANTOINE. "Une intervention européenne au Cambodge à la fin du XVIe siècle," *Revue indochinoise* (Dec. 1909), pp. 1171–88.

———. "Missions en Espagne et en Portugal," *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, XXV (1910), 15–36.

———. "L'Espagne en Indochine à la fin du XVIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire des colonies françaises*, I (1913), 73–116.

——— "Quelques documents espagnols et portugais sur l'Indochine au XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. 10, XII (1908), 255–60.

CAMPOS, JOAQUIM DE. "Early Portuguese Accounts of Thailand," *Journal of the Thailand Research Society*, XXXII (1940), 1–27.

———. "The Origin of the Tical," *ibid.*, XXXIII (1941), 119–35.

CHARIGNON, A J. H. "La grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine," *Bulletin de la Société des études indochinoises*, N.S , IV (1929), 191–347.

CHARPENTIER, JARL. "Cesare di Federici and Gasparo Balbi," *Indian Antiquary*, LIII (1924), 49–61.

COEDÈS, GEORGE. "Études cambodgiennes, VIII· La fondation de Phnom Pen au XVe siècle, d'après la chronique cambodgienne," *Bulletin de l'école française d'extrême orient*, XIII (1913), 6–11.

COLE, FAY-COOPER. "Cultural Relations between Mindanao Regions and Islands to the South." In FRED EGGAN (ed.), *Papers (mimeographed) Read at the Mindanao Conference*, pp. 1–18. Chicago, 1955.

COOLHAAS, W. PH. "Mededeelingen betreffende de onderafdeeling Batjan," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, LXXXII (1926), 403–85.

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO. "A expansão portuguesa através do Pacifico (Australasia, Macau, Japão)," in A. BAIÃO (ed.), *História da expansão no mundo*, II (1939), Pt 3, chap xi.

CRAWFURD, JOHN. "On the Words Introduced into English from the Malay, Polynesian and Chinese Languages," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, IV (1850), 182–86.

DAMRONG, PRINCE. "The Story of the Records of Siamese History." In *The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication . . .*, I (1904–29), 79–98. Bangkok, 1954.

DINDINGER, GIOVANNI, O.M.I. "Il contributo dei missionari cattòlici alla conoscenza del Siam e dell' Indochina." In C. COSTANTINI *et al.*, *Le missioni cattòliche e la cultura dell' Oriente*, pp. 293–338. Rome, 1943.

EWING, J FRANKLIN, S J "Notes on the Tawsug of Siasi in Particular, and the Moros of the Southern Philippines in General. In FRED EGGAN (ed.), *Papers (mimeographed) Read at the Mindanao Conference*, I, 100–07. Chicago, 1955.

FERRAND, GABRIEL. "Malaka, le Malāyu et Malāyur," *Journal asiatique*, Ser. 2, XI (1918), 391–484; XII (1918), 51–154.

FOURNEREAU, LUCIEN. "Le Siam ancien. archéologie, épigraphie, géographie, première partie," *Annales du Musée Guimet*, XXVI (1895), 1–321.

FRANKFURTER, O. (trans). "Events in Ayuddhya from Chulasakaraj 686–966; a translation from the [title in Siamese of 'Phra Rajaphongsavadan Krung Kao Chabab Hluang Prasòt']." In *The Siam Society Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Publication . . .*, I (1904–29), 39–43. Bangkok, 1954.

FULIN, R. (ed). "Antonio Pigafetta chiede alla Signoria di Venezia il privilegio di stampa della sua opera sul viaggio intorno al mondo (Aug. 5, 1524)," *Archivio veneto*, XXIII (1930), 201–02.

FURNIVALL, JOHN C. "Europeans in Burma of the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the Burma Research Society* (Rangoon), XXIX (1939), 236–49.

———, "Europeans in Burma," *ibid.*, XXXI (1941), 35–40.

GARCIA VILLADA, ZACARÍAS. "La Compagnie de Jésus et l'étude des civilisations indigènes de l'Amerique espagnole et des Philippines," *Revue d'histoire des missions*, X (1933), 481–90.

GARNIER, FRANÇOIS. "Voyage lointain aux royaumes de Cambodge et Laowen par les Néerlandais et ce qui s'y est passe jusqu'en 1644," *Bulletin de la société de géographie de Paris*, Ser. 6, II (1871), 249–89.

GONÇALVES, JOSÉ JULIO. "Os Portugueses no Sião," *Boletim da sociedade de geografia de Lisboa*, LXXV (1957), 435–62.

GONDA, J. "Pigafetta's vocabularium van het 'Molukken-Maleisch,'" *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, XCVII (1938), 101–24.

GRAAF, H. J. DE. "De Portugezen in de Molukken, 1511–1600." In DE GRAAF (ed.), *Geschiedenes van Indonesie*, pp. 124–37. The Hague, 1949.

———. "Tome Pires' 'Suma Oriental' en het tijdperk van godsdienstovergang op Java," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, CVIII (1952), 132–71.

GUEHLER, ULRICH. "The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema and His Visit to Siam, Banghella, and Pegu, A.D. 1505," *Journal of the Siam Society*, VII (1959), 239–76.

GUIBON, A. "A Sumatra, sur les traces des Dieppois de 1529," *L'illustration*, CXIII (March 7, 1936), 289–91.

GUMMA Y MARTI, ALFREDO. "El archipiélago Dondin, el nombre de Luzon y los orígenes del Christianismo en Filipinas," *Boletin de la sociedad geografica*, XXXIX (1897), 21–46.

HARRISON, J. H. "Five Portuguese Historians " In C. H. PHILIPS (ed.), *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, pp. 155–69. London, 1961.

HEAWOOD, EDWARD. "The Worldmap before and after Magellan's Voyage," *Geographical Journal*, LVII (1921), 431–45.

HENNIG, RICHARD. "Wahrscheinliche Kenntnis der Molukken im Altertum und Mittelalter," *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, XXV (1949), 175–76.

HONEY, P. J. "Modern Vietnamese Historiography." In D. G. E. HALL (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, pp 94–104. London, 1961.

HOOYKAAS, C. "A Critical Stage in the Study of Indonesia's Past." In D. G. E. HALL (ed.), *Historians of South East Asia*, pp. 313–25. London, 1961.

HUARD, P. "Les Portugais et l'Indochine," *Bulletins et travaux de l'Institut indochinois pour l'étude de l'homme* (Hanoi), III (1940), 47–65.

KERN, R. A. "Pati Unus en Sunda," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, CVIII (1952), 124–31.

KERN, W. "Waar verzamelde Pigafetta zijn Maleise woorden?" *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, LXXVIII (1938), 271–73.

KOEK, E., and HERVEY, D. F. A. "Portuguese History of Malacca," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 17 (1886), 117–49.

KROM, N. J. "De naam Sumatra," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, C (1941), 5–25.

LE ROUX, C. C. F. M. "Nogmaals Pigafetta's Maleische woorden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, LXXIX (1939), 446–51.

LE ROUX, C. C F. M. "Twee Portugeesche plattegronden van Oud-Batavia uit den stichtingstijd der stad," *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, LXXVIII (1938), 515–35.

LEKKERKERKER, C "Het voorspel der vestiging van de Nederlandsche macht op Bali en Lombok," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, LXXIX (1923), 198–322.

LEUPE, P A. "Cornelis Houtman's tweede reis naar Indie, 1598," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, IV (1880), 527–34.

LINEHAN, W. "Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XX (1947), 107–16.

——— "The Kings of 14th Century Singapore," *ibid*, pp. 117–27.

MAGNAGHI, ALBERTO. "La prima rappresentazione delle Filippine e delle Molucche dopo il ritorno della spedizione di Magellano nella carta costruita nel 1522 da Nuno Garcia de Toreno conservata nella Biblioteca di S.M. il Re in Torino" In *Atti del X Congresso geografico italiano*, pp. 293–307. Milan, 1927.

MEERSMAN, ACHILLES, O. F. M. "The Franciscans in the Burmese Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu, 1557–1818," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, XXXI (1938), 356–86.

MERINO, MANUEL. "Los misioneros y el castellano en Filipinas," *Missionalia Hispanica*, V (1948), 271–323.

NACHOD, O. "Ein unentdecktes Goldland Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Entdeckungen im nördlichen Grossen Ozean," *Deutsche Gesellschaft fur Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens*, VII (1899), 311–451.

LOGAN, J. R. "Traces of the Origin of the Malay Kingdom of Borneo Proper, with Notices of Its Condition When First Discovered by Europeans, and at a Later Period," *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, II (1848), 513–18.

MACGREGOR, I. A. "Gaspar Correa and Malacca," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVIII (1955), 162–66.

———. "Johore Lama in the Sixteenth Century," *ibid*, pp. 48–199.

———. "Notes on the Portuguese in Malaya," *ibid*, pp. 1–47.

PEREZ, LORENZO. "Historia de las misiones de los Franciscanos en las islas Malucas y Célebes," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, VI (1913), 45–60, VII (1914), 198–226, 424–46, 621–53.

PERI, NOEL "Essai sur les relations du Japon et de l'Indochine aux XVI et XVII siècles," *Bulletin de l'école française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi), XXIII (1923), 1–137.

PIANET, J. "Histoire de la mission du Cambodge (1552–1852)," *Bulletin de la Société des missions étrangères de Paris*, Nos 82–88 (Oct, 1928) and Nos. 90–94 (Oct., 1929).

R. H. "Talaing Place-Names in Burmese," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XX (1930), 22–23.

REPETTI, WILLIAM CHARLES, S.J. "Saint Francis Xavier in Maluco," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, V (1936), 25–56.

ROCKHILL, W. W. "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China," *T'oung pao*, XVI (1915), 76–89.

ROUFFAER, G. P. "Naschrift over het oud-Portugeesche fort op Poeloe Ende; ende Dominikaner Solor-Flores-missie, 1561–1638...," *Nederlandsch-Indie oud en nieuw*, VIII (1923–24), 121–28, 141–48.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. "Novos documentos para a história das Molucas no tempo do São Francesco Xavier," *Brotéria*, XIV (1932), 278–88.

SCOTT, C. P. G. "The Malayan Words in English," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XVIII (1897), 76–80.

SPELLMAN, JOHN W. "The Symbolic Significance of the Number Twelve in Ancient India," *Journal of Asian Studies*, XXII (1962), 79–88

TABOULET, GEORGES. "Les origines historiques de l'Indochine française " In *L'Indochine française Recueil de notices rédigées à l'occasion du Xe Congrès de la Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine*. Hanoi, 1938.

TIELE, P. A. "De Europeërs in den Maleischen archipel," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, ser. 4, XXV (1877), 321–420, XXVII (1879), 1–69, XXVIII (1880), 260–340, 395–482, XXIX (1881), 153–214, 332, XXX (1882), 141–242.

TIN HLA THAW. "History of Burma A D. 1400–1500," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, XLII (1959), 135–49.

WARBURG, O. "Wer ist der Entdecker der Gewürz-Inselen (Molukken)," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft fur Erdkunde zu Berlin*, XXIII (1896), 102–43.

WENNEKER, C. W. J. "'Sumatra' [over den naamsoorsprong]," *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, XXX (1882), 297–99

WESSELS, CORNELIUS, S.J "Catalogus patrum et fratrum e S.I. qui in missione Moluccana ab a 1546 ad a. 1677 adlaboraverunt," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, I (1932), 237–53.

———. "De Augustijen in de Molukken, 1544–1546, 1601–1625," *Historisch tijdschrift*, XIII (1934), 45–59.

———. "De katholieke missie in Noord-Celebes en op de Sangi-eilanden, 1563–1605," *Studien*, CXIX (1933), 365–69.

———. "De eerste Franciscaner-missie op Java (1584–1599)," *Studien, tijdschrift voor godsdienst . .*, CXIII (1930), 117–26.

———. "Die Katholieke missie in het Sultanaat Batjan (Molukken), 1557–1609," *Historisch tijdschrift*, VIII (1929), 115–48, 221–45.

———. "Uit de missiegeschiedenis van Sumatra en Atjeh in de 16e en 17e eeuw," *Historisch tijdschrift*, XIX (1939), 5–18.

WINSTEDT, SIR RICHARD. "Malay Chronicles from Sumatra and Malaya." In D. G. E. HALL, *Historians of South East Asia*, pp. 24–28. London, 1961.

WOOD, W. A. R. "Fernão Mendez Pinto's Account of Events in Siam." In *Selected Articles from the Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok), VII (1959), 195–209.

VIII. JAPAN

BOOKS

ABRANCHES, PINTO AMARAL *et al*, *see* AMARAL ABRANCHES, PINTO.

AKIYAMA KENZŌ [秋山謙藏]. *Nisshi Kosho-shi no kenkyu* [日支交涉史研究]. ("A Study of the Relations between Japan and China"). Tokyo, 1939.

ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, JOSÉ LUIS (ed.). *Alejandro Valignano S.I. Summario de las cosas de Japón (1583)*. ("Monumenta Nipponica Monographs," No. 9.) Tokyo, 1954.

AMARAL ABRANCHES, PINTO, J., OKAMOTO YOSHITOMO, and BERNARD, HENRI (eds.). *La première ambassade du Japon en Europe, 1582–1592*. Tokyo, 1942.

ANESAKI MASAHARU [姉崎正治]. *Kirishitan shumon no hakugai to senpuku* [切支丹宗門の迫害と潜伏] ("Christian Sect under Persecution and Its Underground [hiding]"). Tokyo, 1925

BATCHELOR, JOHN. *The Ainu of Japan*. . . . New York [1892]

BERNARD, HENRI. *Les premiers rapports de la culture européene avec la civilisation japonaise*. Tokyo, 1938.

Bibliotheca missionalis Leo Magnino Pontificia Nipponica. Le relazion tra la Santa Sede e il Giappone attraverso i documenti pontifici. Rome, 1947–48.

BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, FRANCESCO. *Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponesi a Roma (1585–1615). Con nuovi documenti*. Rome, 1903.

BOXER, C. R. *The Christian Century in Japan*. Berkeley, Calif., 1951.

———. *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640*. Lisbon, 1959.

BROWN, DELMER M *Money Economy in Medieval Japan A Study of the Use of Coins*. New Haven, 1951.

CARY, O. *A History of Christianity in Japan*. New York, 1909.

CERMAÑO, ANTONIO, *Bushido y Christianismo en el Japón*. Bilbao, 1948.

CHAMBERLAIN, B. H *Things Japanese*. 6th rev. ed. London, 1939.

CHARLES, PIERRE. "Les premiers Japonais en Europe." In *Collection Xaveriana*. Louvain, [1934].

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE FRANÇOIS XAVIER DE. *Histoire du Christianisme au Japon*. 2 vols. Liége. 1855.

COLERIDGE, H. J. (trans.). *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. 2 vols. London, 1890.

DAHLGREN, E. W. *Les débuts de la cartographie du Japon*. Upsala, 1911

Dai Nihon Shiryo [大日本史料]. ("Historical Materials of Greater Japan"). Tokyo Teigoku Daigaku Bungakubu Shiryo Hensambu [東京帝國大學文學部史料編纂部] (Historical Compilation Bureau of the Tokyo Imperial University). 171 vols. completed in 1951. Documents presented in topical and chronological arrangements for the period 887–1868.

DELPLACE, LOUIS. *Le catholicisme au Japon, saint François Xavier et ses premiers successeurs, 1540–1593*. 2 vols. Brussels, 1909–10.

ELIOT, SIR CHARLES. *Japanese Buddhism*. London, 1935.

ERSKINE, W. H. *Japanese Customs, Their Origin and Value*. Tokyo, 1925.

GRIFFIS, W. E. *The Mikado's Empire*. 8th ed. New York, 1896.

GUTIERREZ, B. *La prima ambascieria dei Giaponese in Italia*. Milan, 1938.

HAAS, H. *Geschichte des Christentums in Japan*. Tokyo, 1902.

HAMADA KŌSAKU [濱田耕作]. *Tenshō ken'ō shisetsu-ki* [天正遣歐使節記] ("Chronicle of a Mission to Europe in the Tensho Period, 1587–1591"). Tokyo, 1931.

HARRISON, JOHN A. *Japan's Northern Frontier*. Gainesville, Fla., 1953.

HILDRETH, RICHARD. *Japan As It Was and Is*. Tokyo, 1905.

HYLLANDER, THEODOR. *Portugisernas Upptackande af Japan*. Lund, 1911.

KAEMPFER, ENGELBERT. *The History of Japan, Together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690–92*. Translated by J. G. SCHEUCHZER. 3 vols. Glasgow, 1906.

KAWASHIMA MOTOJIRO [川島元次郎]. *Shuin-sen Boeki-shi* [朱印船貿易史] ("History of Foreign Trade under the Vermilion-sealed Ships"). Osaka, 1942.

KAWAZOE SHIGHERIRO. *Ito Mancio*. Miyazati, 1932.

KŌDA SHIGETOMO [幸田成友]. *Higashi to Nishi* [東と西] ("East and West"). Tokyo, 1940.

———. [幸田成友]. *Nichi-O Tsuko-shi* [日欧通交史] ("History of the Intercourse between Japan and Europe"). Tokyo, 1942.

KUNO YOSHISABURO. *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*. . . . 2 vols. Berkeley, Calif, 1938.

KYÔGAKU RENSEIJO (comp.) [教學錬成所]. *Kokushi shiryo-shu* [國史資料集] ("Collections of Materials on National History") 4 vols. Tokyo, 1944 Includes state documents sent to Europe.

LAURES, JOHANNES. *Nobunaga und das Christentum*. Tokyo, 1950.

———. *Die Anfange der Mission von Miyako*. Munster, 1951.

———. *Takayama Ukon und die Anfange der Kirche in Japan*. Munster, 1954.

———. *Two Japanese Christian Heroes. Justo Takayama Ukon and Gracia Hosokawa Tamako*. Tokyo, 1959.

LUBAC, H. DE. *La rencontre du bouddhisme et de l'Occident*. Paris, 1952.

MARTINS, ARMANDO. *Portugal e o Japão, subsídios para a história diplomática* Lisbon, 1955.

MIKAMI SANJI [三上參次]. *Edo (Yedo) Jidai-shi* [江戸時代史] ("History of the Yedo period"). 2 vols. Tokyo, 1944.

MONSTERLEET, JEAN. *L'église du Japon des temps féodaux à nos jours; une vue d'ensemble de l'église catholique au Japon*. Toulouse [1958]

MOORE, G. A. (ed.). *Practical Politics of Giovanni Botero*. Washington, D C., 1948. (A Republication of the Milan edition of 1596.)

MORAIS, W. DE. *Fernão Mendes Pinto no Japão*. Lisbon, 1942.

MUNSTERBERG, O. *Japans auswartiger Handel von 1542 bis 1854*. ("Münchener Volks-wirtschaftliche Studien," Vol. X.) Stuttgart, 1896.

MURATORI, L. *Annali d'Italia*, Vol. X. Rome, 1754.

MURDOCH, JAMES, and YAMAGATA, ISOH. *A History of Japan*. 3 vols. Kobe, 1903; Yokahama, 1910; London, 1926.

NAGAOKA, H. *Histoire des relations du Japon avec l'Europe aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Paris, 1905.

NAGAYAMA TOKIHIDE. *Collection of Historical Materials Connected with the Roman Catholic Religion in Japan* (Kirishitan Shiryo-Ku). Nagasaki, 1924.

NORTON, Luís. *Os Portugueses no Japão, 1543–1640: notas e documentos*. [Lisbon], 1952.

ODA TAKEO (ed.). *A Catalogue of Old Maps of Japan Exhibited at the Tenri Central Library, September, 1957*. n.p., 1957.

OKAMOTO YOSHITOMO [岡本良知]. *Jūrokuseiki Nichi-O kotsushi no kenkyu* [十六世紀日欧交通史の研究] ("The Study of the Intercourse between Japan and Europe during the Sixteenth Century"). Tokyo, 1944.

———. (trans. and ed.). *Kyushu sanko ken-o shisetsu koki* [九州三侯遣欧使節行記] ("The Record of the Embassy to Europe, 1582–1590, Sent by the Three Kyushu Daimyo"). By Luis Froes. Tokyo, 1942–43.

PACHECO, D. JOAQUIN F.; CÁRDENAS, FRANCISCO; and TORRES DE MENDOZA, LUIS (comps.). *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones espanolas en América y Oceanía*. . . . Madrid, 42 vols. 1864–84.

PAGÈS, LÉON. *Histoire de la religion chrétienne au Japon*. 2 vols. Paris, 1869.

PEREZ, LORENZO. *Fr. Jeronimo de Jesús, restaurador de las misiones del Japón, sus cartas y relaciones, 1595–1604*. Florence, 1929.

PONSONBY-FANE, R. A. B. *Kyoto, the Old Capital of Japan (794–1869)*. Kyoto, 1956.

PRATT, J. B. *The Pilgrimage of Buddhism*. New York, 1928.

RUNDALL, T. (ed.). *Memorials of the Empire of Japan, in the 16th and 17th Centuries* London, 1850.

SADLER, ARTHUR LINDSAY. *Chanoyu, or: The Tea Philosophy of Japan, a Western Evaluation*. Honolulu, 1929.

SAITŌ AKU [齋藤阿具]. *Seiyoku tozen-shi* [西力東漸史] ("A History of the Western Powers' Eastward Penetration"). Tokyo, 1902.

SANSOM, G. B. *Japan: A Short Cultural History*. New York, 1936.

———. *The Western World and Japan*. Berkeley, Calif., 1950.

———. *A History of Japan to 1334*. Stanford, 1958.

SCHILLING, DOROTHEUS. *Hospitaler der Franziskaner in Miyako, 1594–1597*. Schoneck-Beckenried, Switzerland, 1950.

———. *Das Schulwesen der Jesuiten in Japan (1551–1614)*. Münster, 1931.

SCHUTTE, J. F. *Alejandro Valignano, S.J., Il ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone*. Rome, 1946.

———. *Luis Fróis, S.J., Kulturgegensatze Europa-Japan (1585)*. ("Monumenta Nipponica Monographs," No. 15.) Tokyo, 1955.

———. *Valignanos Missionsgrundsatze fur Japan*. Rome, 1951.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. *Shintō. The Way of the Gods of Japan. According to Printed and Unprinted Reports of the Jesuit Missionaries in the XVI and XVII Centuries*. Bonn, 1923.

———. *Das kirchliche Sprachproblem in der japanischen Jesuitenmission des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Ein Stuck Ritenfrage in Japan*. Tokyo, 1928.

———. *Die Disputationen des P. Cosme de Torres, S.J., mit den Buddhisten in Yamaguchi im Jahre, 1551*. Tokyo, 1929.

SCHURHAMMER, G., and VORETZCH, E. A. (eds. and trans.) *Luis Fróis. Die Geschichte Japans (1549–1578)*. Leipzig, 1926.

SHIMMURA IZURU [新村出]. *Namban Koki* [南蠻廣記] ("An Extensive Record on the Southern Barbarians"). Tokyo, 1925.

———. *Zoku Namban Koki* [續南蠻廣記] ("The Continued Extensive Record on the Southern Barbarians"). Tokyo, 1925.

[SHIMMURA IZURU, and HAMADA KIICHI] *Documents Relating to the Japanese Ambassadors Sent to Europe in the Sixteenth Century in Possession of the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University*. Kyoto, 1929.

SHINICHIRŌ TAKAKURA. *The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation*. Translated and annotated by JOHN A. HARRISON. ("Transactions of the American Philosophical Society," N.S., L, pt. 4.) Philadelphia, 1960.

SHIRATORI KURAKICHI [白鳥庫吉]. *Saiiki-shi kenkyu* [西域史研究] ("A Study on the History of Western Regions"). 2 vols. Tokyo, 1941–44.

SICARDO, JOSÉ. *Cristiandad del Japón, y dilitada persecucion que padecio. Memorias sacras de los martyres de las ilvestras regiones de Santo Domingo, San Francisco, Compañía de Jesvs. . . .* Madrid, 1698.

SOLIER, FRANÇOIS. *Histoire ecclésiastique des îles et royaumes du Japon*. 2 vols. Paris, 1627–29.

STEINILBER-OBERLIN, E. *The Buddhist Sects of Japan*. London, 1938.

SUGA KIKUTARO [菅菊太郎]. *Nichi-O kotsu kigen-shi* [日欧交通起源史] ("A History of the Origins of the Intercourse between the Japanese and the Europeans"). Tokyo, 1896.

TACCHI-VENTURI, PIETRO. *Il carattere dei Giapponesi secondo i missionari del secolo XVI.* 3d ed. Rome, 1937.

TAKEKOSHI YOSABURO. *The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan.* 3 vols. New York [1930].

TOKYO UNIVERSITY. *Commemoration Volume: The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Professorship of Science of Religion in Tokyo.* Tokyo, 1934.

TSCHEPE, ALBERT, S.J. *Japans Beziehungen zu China seit den altesten Zeit bis zum Jahre 1600.* Yenchoufu, 1907.

TSUNODA RYUKICHI, and GOODRICH, L. C. (trans.). *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, Later Han through Ming Dynasties.* Pasadena, Calif., 1951.

UYTTENBROECK, THOMAS, O.F.M. *Early Franciscans in Japan.* Himeji, 1958.

WANG YI-T'UNG. *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368–1549.* Cambridge, Mass., 1953.

WILD, CYRIL. *Purchas His Pilgrimes in Japan.* Kobe, 1939.

ARTICLES

ABRANCHES PINTO, J. A., and BERNARD, HENRI (trans.). "Les instructions du Père Valignano pour l'ambassade japonaise en Europe," *Monumenta Nipponica,* VI (1943), 391–403.

AKIYAMA KENZŌ [秋山謙藏]. "Goresu wa Ryukyujin de aru" [Goresu は琉球人である] ("The Gores Are the Ryukyuans"), *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XXXIX (1928), 268–85.

———. "Goresu naru meishō no hassei to sono rekishiteki hatten" [Goresu なる名稱の發生とその歷史的發展] ("Origin of the Name of Gores and its Historical Development"), *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XXXIX (1928), 1349–59.

ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, J. L. "Cacería de refranes en el 'Vocabulario de lingoa de Japam,'" *Monumenta Nipponica,* X (1954), 169–92.

AUTREMONT, FAUSTIN DE. "Les premiers rapports de l'Europe et du Japon," *La revue hebdomadaire,* XXXIV (March, 1895), 597–620.

AYERBE, MARCELINO, O.F.M. "Yajiro y San Francisco," *España misionera,* IX (1952), 343–56.

AYRES, CHRISTOVAM. "Fernão Mendes Pinto e o Japão," *Historia e memorias da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa,* N.S., Vol. X, Pt. 2 (Lisbon, 1906).

BATY, THOMAS. "The Literary Introduction of Japan to Europe," *Monumenta Nipponica,* VII (1951), 24–39; VIII (1952), 15–46.

BECKMANN, JOHANN. "Der erste Japandruck in der Schweiz," *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum Zeitschrift* (Bern), XXV (1939), 149–57.

BERCHET, GUGLIELMO. "Le antiche ambasciate Giapponesi in Italia; saggio storico e documenti," *Archivio veneto,* XIII (1877), 245–85; XIV (1877), 150–203.

BERNARD, HENRI, S.J. "Hinayana indien et Mahayana japonais. Comment l'Occident a-t-il découvert le Bouddhisme?" *Monumenta Nipponica,* IV (1941), 285–86.

———. "Les débuts des relations diplomatiques entre le Japon et les Espagnols des îles Philippines, 1571–1594," *ibid.,* I (1938), 99–137.

BERNARD, HENRI, S.J. "L'orientaliste Guillaume Postel et la découverte spirituelle du Japon en 1552," *ibid.*, IX (April, 1953), 83–108.

———. "Valignani ou Valignano, l'auteur véritable du récit de la première ambassade japonaise en Europe, 1582–1590," *ibid.*, I (1938), 378–85.

BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, FR. "Le prime due ambasciate dei Giapponai a Roma," *Archivio storico italiano*, XXXV (1905), 464–76.

BRAGA, J. M. "Os enviados Japoneses a Roma em 1582–86," *Archivos de Macau*, Ser. 2, I (1941).

CORTESÃO, ARMANDO. "The First Account of the Far East in the Sixteenth Century—the Name 'Japan' in 1513," *Comptes rendus* of the International Geographical Congress, II (Leiden, 1938), 145–52.

CORY, RALPH M. "Some Notes on Father Gregorio de Cespedes, Korea's First European Visitor," *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXVII (1937), 1–55.

CRINO, SEBASTIANO. "La prima carta geografica inedita del Giappone portata in Italia nel 1585 e rinvenuta in una filza di documenti riguardanti il commercio dei Medici nelle India Orientali e Occidentali." *Rivista marittima*, X (1931), 257–84.

DAHLGREN, E. W. "A Contribution to the History of the Discovery of Japan," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society* (London), XI (1912–13), 239–60.

———. "The Crucifixion of the Twenty-Six in 1597," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XLIV (1916), 20–45.

———. "Les débuts de la cartographie du Japon," *Archives d'études orientales*, IV (1911), 10–18.

D'ELIA, PASQUALE. "Bernardo, il primo Giapponese venuto a Roma (1555)." *Civiltá cattòlicà*, CII (1951), 277–87; CIII (1952), 527–35.

DOI TADAO. "A Review of Jesuit Missionaries' Linguistic Studies of the Japanese Language in the 16th and 17th Centuries." In Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts, 1957, *Collection of Papers Presented.* Tokyo, 1959.

———. "Das Sprachstudium der Gesellschaft Jesu in Japan im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Monumenta Nipponica*, II (1939), 437–65.

———. "Researches in the Japanese Language Made by the Jesuit Missionaries in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries," *Proceedings of the Imperial Academy* (of Japan), XIII (1937), 232–36.

EBISAWA ARIMICHI. "Irmão Lourenço, the First Japanese Lay-brother of the Society of Jesus and His Letter," *Monumenta Nipponica*, V (1942), 225–33.

ENOKI K. "Marco Polo and Japan." In *Oriente Poliano* ("Publications of the Istituto italiano per il medio ed estremo Oriente."), pp. 23–44. Rome, 1957.

FIGUEIREDO, F. DE. "De re Japonica," *Vasco da Gama*, I (1925–26), 202–19.

FUJITA MOTOHARU [藤田元春]. "Shira no shima oyobi Gores ni tsukite" [シラの島及びゴーレスに就きて] ("The Island of Sila and the Land Gores"), *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XLVII (1936), 227–65.

GAY, JESÚS LÓPEZ. "Un documento inédito del P. G. Vázquez (1549–1604) sobre los problemas morales del Japón," *Monumenta Nipponica*, XVI (1960), 118–60.

GOMPERTZ, G. ST. G. M. "Some Notes on the Earliest Western Contacts with Korea," *Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, XXXIII (1957), 41–54.

HAGUENAUER, M. C. "Encore la question des Gores," *Journal asiatique*, CCXXVI (1935), 67–116.

HAMADA ATSUSHI. "The Nature of the Research in the Japanese Language Carried out by the Jesuit Missionaries in the 16th and 17th Centuries." In Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts, 1957, *Collection of Papers Presented*. Tokyo, 1959

HIDBER, B. "Renard Cysat, der Stadtschreiber zu Luzern," *Archiv fur schweizerische Geschichte*, XIII (1862), 160–224, XX (1875), 3–88.

ISHIDA MIKINOSUKE. "A Brief Note on the Two Old European Maps of Japan Recently Discovered," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 259–65.

IZIU HISANOSUKE [泉井久之助]. "Tensho ken-O shisetsu Marutino no enjutsu" [天正遣欧使節原マルチノの演述] ("An Envoy to Europe in Tensho Hara Martino's Oration"), *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XLII (1931), 1178–94.

JAMES, J M. "Descriptive Notes on the Rosaries (*ju-zu*) As Used by the Different Sects of Buddhists in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, IX (1882), 17.

KALFF, S. "Uit de geschiedenis der missie in Japan," *Onze missien in Oost en West-Indie*, X (1927), 232–48.

KENTENICH, GOTTFRIED. "Eine japanische Gesandschaft in den päpstlichen Stuhl im Jahre 1585," *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Munich), No. 212 (Sept. 14, 1905), 508–11.

KISH, GEORGE. "The Japan on the 'Mural Atlas' of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence," *Imago mundi*, VIII (1951), 52–54.

———. "Some Aspects of the Missionary Cartography of Japan during the 16th Century," *ibid.*, VI (1950), 39–48.

KLEISER, ALFONS. "P. Alexandre Valignani's Gesandtschaftsreise nach Japan zum Quambacudono Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1588–1591," *Monumenta Nipponica*, I (1938), 70–98.

LAURES, JOHANNES. "Das japanische Kaiserhaus und die altkatholische Mission," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, V (1949), 161–69.

———. "Koreas erste Berührung mit dem Christentum," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, XL (1956), 177–89, 282–87.

———. "Die Zahl der Christen und Martyrer im alten Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, VII (1951), 84–101.

———. "Ein portugiesischer Brief Takayama Ukons," *ibid.*, XV (1959–60), 178–81.

LEWIN, B. "Die erste authentische Bericht über Japan in russischen Archiven," *Oriens extremus*, V (1958), 103–15.

MAEJIMA SHINJI [前嶋信次]. "Goresu ko" [ゴーレス攷] ("Reflections on the Gores"), *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XLIII (1932), 65–87, 93–111.

MAGNINO, LEO. "A contribuiçao dos Portugueses para o conhecimento da ilha de Ieso no Japão no seculo XVI." In *Actas* ("Publications of the International Congress of the History of the Discoveries, Lisbon, 1960), III, 317–25. Lisbon, 1961.

MATSUDA KIICHI [松田毅一]. "Roma Iezusu Kai bunsho" [ローマイエズス会文書] "Documents from the Archives of the Society of Jesus," *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], LXIX (1960), 98–101.

MATSUDA KIICHI "Historical Study of the Intercourse between Portugal, Spain, and Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." In *Resumo das comunicações* ("Publications of the International Congress of the History of the Discoveries, Lisbon"), p. 165. Lisbon, 1960.

———. "On a Letter from the Representatives of the Christians in the Five Provinces to the General of the Society of Jesus, dated May 10, 1588 and Its Signers." *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], LXVII (1958), 959–73.

MICHAELIS, G "Beitrag zur Kenntniss der Geschichte des japanischen Strafrechts," *Mittheilungen der deutschen Gesellschaft fur Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio*, IV (1884–88), 351–77.

MITSUKARI, P. "Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der japanischen Christen im 17. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift, LXXXVII* (1901), 193–223.

MOSER, GERALD. "An Epilogue to the Portuguese Attempts at Opening Korea, New Martyrs Are Made," *Korean Survey*, VIII (Jan., 1959), 6–7.

———. "Portuguese Attempts at Opening Korea," *ibid.*, IV, No. 3 (March, 1955), 3–5; IV, No. 4 (April, 1955), 5–7, 12–13.

MURAKAMI NAOJIRO [村上直次郎]. "A Letter of Appreciation from the Envoys of the Three Clans of Otomo, Omura and Arima (Three Letters)" [大友大村有馬三家使節の感謝狀], *Shigaku-Zasshi* [史學雜誌], XII (1901), 496–98, 498–501, 501–04.

NACHOD, O. "Die ersten Kenntnisse chinesischer Schriftzeichen im Abendlande," *Asia Major*, I (1923), 235–73.

NAKAMURA HIROSI. "Les cartes du Japon qui servaient de modèle aux cartographes européens au début des communications de l'Occident avec le Japon," *Monumenta Nipponica*, II (1939), 100–23.

PEREZ, LORENZO, O.F.M. "Los Franciscanos en el Extremo Oriente," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, I (1908), 536–43.

PIRES, A. T. "O Japão no seculo XVI," O *Instituto*, LIII (1906), 7–12.

"Primeira embaixada do Japão a Europa," *Archivio pittoresco*, V (1862), 254–411.

"Relaçoes entre Portugueses e Japoneses," *Boletim da sociedade Luso-Japonesa*, I (June, 1929), 1–10

RENONDEAU, G. "Histoire des moines guerriers du Japon," *Mélanges publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, I (1957), 281–84.

RICCI, ETTORE. "Il viaggio attraverso l'Italia dei quattro principi ambasciatori giapponesi." In *Atti e memorie del convègno di geografi-orientalisti*, pp. 170–175. Macerata, 1911.

RONALL, JOACHIM O. "Spain and Japan—Early Diplomatic Relations," *Eastern World*, XI (1957), 38–39; XII (1958), 24–25.

ROSNEY, L. DE. "L'Isle Yezo et ces inhabitants d'après les géographes japonaises et les relations des voyageurs européens," *Revue orientale et americaine*, I (1859), 380–90.

SANESI, GUISEPPI. "I principi giapponesi a Siena nel 1585," *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, I (1894), 124–30.

SANO KAZUHIKO. "Die Höflichkeitsformen des Japanischen, *Monumenta Nipponica*, IV (1941), 327–50.

SATOW, ERNEST M. "The Origins of Spanish and Portuguese Rivalry in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XVIII (1890), 136–39.

———. "Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, VII (1888), 139–53.

SCHEIDL, LEOPOLD G. "The Development of the Geographical Knowledge of Japan in Western Countries." In Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, International Symposium on History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts, 1957, *Collection of Papers Presented.* Tokyo, 1959.

SCHILLING, DOROTHEUS, O.F.M. "Il contributo dei missionari cattòlici nei secoli XVI e XVII alla conoscenza dell' isola di Ezo e degli Ainu." In C. COSTANTINI *et al.*, *Le missioni cattòliche e la cultura dell'Oriente* pp. 140–50. Rome, 1943.

———. "Neue Funde zur Historia de Japão von P. Luis Froes, S J." *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft,* XXIII (1933), 337–43.

———. "Das Japanische Sprachstudium der Jesuiten in 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Thuringia Franciscana,* IV (1929), 169–75.

SCHUTTE, JOSEF FRANZ S.J. "Christliche japanische Literatur, Bilder und Druckblaetter in einem unbekannten Vatikanischen Codex aus dem Jahre 1591," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* IX (1940), 226–80.

———. "Der japanische Volkscharakter in der Sicht Valignanos," *Stimmen der Zeit,* CXXXVIII (1940), 81–86.

———. "Der lateinische Dialog 'De missione legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam Curiam' als Lehrbuch der japanischen Seminare," *Analecta Gregoriana* ("Series Facultatis historiae ecclesiasticae," Section A, No. 3 [1954]), LXX, 247–90.

———. "Unbeachtete und unbekannte pàpstliche Japanschreiben," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* XVII (1948), 173–78.

———. "Valignanos Japangeschichte, Bemerkungen zu Form und Inhalt," *Analecta Gregoriana* ("Series Facultatis Missiologicae," Section A, No. 2), LXXII, 109–40.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. "Das Stadtbild Kyotos zur Zeit des heiligen Franz Xaver," *Anthropos,* XVI–XVII (1921–22), 147–52, 156–63, 166–69.

———. "Der erste Bericht uber die Ainu in Nordjapan," *Die katholischen Missionen,* LIV (1926), 233.

———. "Der 'Grosse Brief' des heiligen Franz Xaver, eine textkritische Untersuchung." In *Commemoration Volume, The Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Foundation of the Professorship of Science of Religion in Tokyo Imperial University,* pp. 178–219. Tokyo, 1934.

———. "Der heilige Franz Xaver in Miyako," *Stimmen der Zeit,* C (1921), 440–55.

———. "Die erste japanische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Europa, 1582–1590," *Die katholischen Missionen,* XLIX (1920–21), 217–24.

———. "Die Riusas," *Die katholischen Missionen,* XLIX (1920–21), 49–53.

———. "Die Yamabushis," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft,* XII (1922), 206–28.

———. "Ein fürstlicher Gönner des hl. Franz Xaver: Otomo Yoschischige, König von Bungo," *Die katholischen Missionen,* XLVII (1918–19), 25–29.

———. "Il contributo dei missioni cattolici . . . alla conoscenza del Giappone." In C. COSTANTINI *et al.*, *Le missioni cattoliche e la cultura dell'Oriente,* pp. 112–37. Rome, 1943.

———. "O descobrimento do Japão pelos Portugueses no ano de 1543," *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da Historia,* Ser. 2, I (1946), 1–172.

———. "P. Johann Rodriguez Tçuzzu als Geschichtschreiber Japan," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* I (1932), 23–40.

———. "P. Luis Froes, S.J., ein Missionshistoriker des 16. Jahrhunderts in Indien und Japan," *Stimmen der Zeit,* CIX (1925), 453–69.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, XII (1922), 129–65.

STRAMIGIOLI, G. "Hideyoshi's Expansionist Policy on the Asiatic Mainland," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Ser. 3, III (1954), 74–94.

TACCHI-VENTURI, P. "Il carattere dei Giapponesi secondo i missionari del secolo XVI," *La civiltà cattòlica*, II (1906), 150.

TASSINI, GUISEPPE (ed.). "Le iscrizioni della Confraternita di S. Maria della Carità," *Archivio veneto*, XII (1876), 112–29.

TUCCI, G. "The Japanese Ambassadors as Roman Patricians," *East and West* (Rome), II (1951), 65–71.

WASHBURN, W. E. "Japan on Early European Maps," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXI (1952), 221–36.

WILLEKE, B. "Der Ankunft der ersten Franziskaner in Japan," *Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, XLIII (1959), 166–76.

WROTH, LAWRENCE C. "The Early Cartography of the Pacific," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXXVIII, No. 2 (1944), 89–268.

IX. CHINA

BOOKS

BALL, J. DYER. *Things Chinese*. Hongkong, 1903.

BERNARD, HENRI. *Aux portes de la Chine. Les missionaires du seizième siècle, 1514–1588*. Tientsin, 1933.

———. *Le Père Matthieu Ricci et la société chinoise de son temps (1552–1610)*. 2 vols. Tientsin, 1937.

BETTRAY, JOHANNES, S.V.D. *Die Akkommodationsmethode des P. Matteo Ricci S.J. in China*. Rome, 1955.

BOUINAIS, A., and PAULUS, A. *Le culte des morts dans le Céleste Empire et l'Annam, comparé au culte des ancêtres dans l'antiquité occidentale*. Paris, 1893.

BOXER, C. R. *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550–1770; Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao*. The Hague, 1948.

——— (ed.). *South China in the 16th Century*. ("Hakluyt Society Publications," Ser. II, Vol. CVI.) London, 1953.

———. *The Great Ship from Amacon; Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640*. Lisbon, 1959.

BRAGA, J. M. *Tamão dos pioneiros portuguêses*. Macao, 1939.

———. *The Western Pioneers and Their Discovery of Macao*. ("Instituto Português de Hongkong, Boletim," No. 2.) Hongkong, 1949.

BRAZÃO, EDUARDO. *Apontamentos para a história das relacões diplomáticas de Portugal com a China, 1516–1753*. Lisbon, 1949.

———. *Macau, cidade do nome de deus na China*. Lisbon, 1957.

BRETSCHNEIDER, E. *History of European Botanical Discoveries in China*. 2 vols. London, 1898. (New ed. Leipzig, 1935.)

BRYDGES, S. E. (comp.). *Censuria Literaria*. 4 vols. London, 1808.

CARTER, T. F. *The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward*. Revised and edited by L. C. GOODRICH. New York, 1955.

CHANG T'IEN-TSE. *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644; a Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources.* Leyden, 1934.

CHARDIN, PACIFIQUE MARIE. *Les missions franciscaines en Chine.* Paris, 1915.

CH'ÊN SHIH-CH'I [陳詩啟]. *Ming-tai kuan-shou kung-yeh ti yen-chiu* [明代官手工業的研究] ("Studies on Government-Operated Handicrafts during the Ming Dynasty"). Hankow, 1958.

CH'IEN TUAN-SHENG. *The Government and Politics of China.* Cambridge, Mass., 1950.

CHÜ T'UNG-TSU. *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing.* Cambridge, Mass., 1962.

COULING, SAMUEL. *Encyclopedia Sinica.* London, 1917.

CREEL, H. G. *Studies in Early Chinese Culture.* Baltimore, 1937.

DELAMARRE, LOUIS CHARLES *Histoire de la dynastie des Ming, composée par l'empereur Khian-Loung; traduite du Chinois par m. l'abbe Delamarre. . . .* Paris, 1865.

D'ELIA, PASQUALE M. *The Catholic Missions in China.* Shanghai, 1934.

DEVERIA, GABRIEL (ed. and trans.). *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec l'Annam-Vietnam du XVIe au XIXe siècle; d'après des documents chinois traduits pour la première fois.* Paris, 1880.

DOOLITTLE, J. *Social Life of the Chinese.* London, 1868.

DUNNE, GEORGE H., S.J. "The Jesuits in China in the Last Days of the Ming Dynasty." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944.

———. *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the Last Decades of the Ming Dynasty.* Notre Dame, Ind., 1962.

FAIRBANK, J. K. *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* Cambridge, Mass., 1953.

——— (ed.). *Chinese Thought and Institutions.* Chicago, 1957.

FUNG YU-LAN. *A History of Chinese Philosophy.* Translated by DERK BODDE. 2 vols. Princeton, 1953.

GALLAGHER, L. J., S.J. *China in the Sixteenth Century.* New York, 1953.

GARDNER, CHARLES S. *Chinese Traditional Historiography.* Cambridge, Mass., 1938.

GOODRICH, L. C. *A Short History of the Chinese People.* Rev. ed. New York, 1951.

GRAY, JOHN HENRY. *China: A History of the Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People.* Edited by William G. GREGOR. 2 vols. London, 1878.

HAUSERMANN, R. *Atlas des missions franciscaines en Chine.* Paris, 1915.

HO PING-TI. *Studies on the Population of China, 1368–1953.* Cambridge, Mass , 1959.

———. *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China· Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368–1911.* New York, 1962.

HUC, ÉVARISTE RÉGIS. *Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet.* 4 vols. Paris, 1857–58.

HUCKER, CHARLES O. "The Chinese Censorate of the Ming Dynasty." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950.

———. *The Traditional Chinese State in Ming Times.* Tucson, Ariz., 1961.

HULBERT, H. B. *The History of Korea.* 2 vols. Seoul, 1905.

IJZERMAN, J. W. *Dirck Gerritsz. Pomp, alias Dirck Gerritsz. China, de eerste Nederlander die China en Japan bezocht, 1544–1604.* The Hague, 1915.

JERVIÈRE, J. DE LA. *Les anciennes missions de la Compagnie de Jésus en Chine.* Shanghai, 1924.

KAMMERER, A. *La découverte de la Chine par les Portugais au XVIème siècle et la cartographie des Portulans, avec des notes de toponymie chinoise par P. Pelliot.* (*T'oung pao*, suppl. vol. 39.) Leiden, 1944.

KUO, P. W. *The Chinese System of Public Education.* New York, 1915.

LACH, DONALD F. *The Preface to Leibniz' Novissima Sinica.* Honolulu, 1957.
LIANG FANG-CHUNG. *The Single-Whip Method of Taxation in China.* Cambridge, Mass., 1956.
LOPÉTEGUÍ, LEON, S.J. *El P. José de Acosta y su influencia en la literatura científica española.* Madrid, 1942.
MAAS, P. OTTO, O.F.M. *Die Wiedereroffnung der Franziskanermission in China in der Neuzeit.* Munster, 1926.
MACSHERRY, CHARLES W. "Impairment of the Ming Tributary System as Exhibited in Trade Involving Fukien." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1952.
MAGALHÃES, G. *A New History of China.* London, 1688.
MAILLA, JOSEPH ANNE MARIE MOYRIAC DE. *Histoire générale de la Chine.* 13 vols. Paris, 1777–85.
MARGIOTTI, FORTUNATO, O.F.M. *Il cattolicismo nello Shansi dalle origini al 1738.* Rome, 1958.
MEDHURST, W. H. *China, Its State and Prospects.* Boston, 1838.
MILNE, WILLIAM C. *Life in China.* London, 1857.
MOULE, A. C. *Christians in China Before the Year 1550.* London, 1930.
———. *Quinsai, with Other Notes on Marco Polo. Incidental Notes Applying to Any of the Many Editions of Polo's Description of the World.* Cambridge, 1957.
———. *The Minor Friars in China.* 2 vols. London, 1917.
MUNTZ, EUGÈNE. *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVIe siècle.* Paris, 1886.
NEEDHAM, JOSEPH. *Science and Civilization in China.* With the research assistance of WANG LING. 3 vols. Cambridge, 1954–59.
NOCENTINI, L. *Il primo sinologo P. Matteo Ricci.* Florence, 1882.
PINOT, VIRGILE. *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France (1640–1740).* Paris, 1932.
PLATTNER, R. A. *Quand l'Europe cherchait l'Asie.* Paris, 1954.
PRAWDIN, M. *The Mongol Empire.* London, 1955.
REICHELT, K. L. *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism.* Shanghai, 1927.
RICCI, JUAN. *Hierarchia franciscana in Sinis (1307–1928).* Wuchang, 1929.
ROWBOTHAM, A. H. *Missionary and Mandarin.* Berkeley, Calif., 1942.
SANZ, CARLOS. *Primitivas relaciones de España con Asia y Oceanía.* Madrid, 1958.
SEMEDO, ALVARES. *The History of the Great and Renowned Monarchy of China.* London, 1655.
SWECKER, ZOE. "The Early Iberian Accounts of the Far East." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1960.
SYKES, SIR PERCY. *The Quest for Cathay.* London, 1936.
TEIXEIRA, PADRE MANUEL. *Camoës em Macau.* Macao, 1940.
———. *Macau e a sua diocese.* 2 vols. Macao, 1940.
TRECHMANN, E. J. (ed.). *The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581.* London, 1929.
TSIEN T. H. *Written on Bamboo and Silk.* Chicago, 1962.
WAGNER, H. R. *The Spanish Southwest.* ("Quevira Society Publications," Vol. VII.) Albuquerque, 1937.
WANG YI-T'UNG. *Official Relations between China and Japan, 1368–1549.* Cambridge, Mass., 1953.
WICHMANN, ARTHUR. *Dirck Gerritsz, Ein Beitrag zur Entdeckungsgeschichte des 16ten und 17ten Jahrhunderts.* Groningen, 1899.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD T. *China Yesterday and To-day*. 4th ed. rev. New York, 1929.

WILLIAMS, S. WELLS. *The Middle Kingdom*. Rev. ed. 2 vols. New York, 1904.

WYNGAERT, ANASTAAS VAN DEN. *Sinica franciscana . . .* (*Relationes et epistolas Fratrum Minorum saeculi XVI et XVII*, Vol. II.). Florence, 1929.

YANG LIEN-SHENG. *Money and Credit in China: A Short History*. Cambridge, Mass., 1952.

ARTICLES

BERNARD, HENRI. "Les étapes de la cartographie scientifique pour la Chine et les pays voisins," *Monumenta Serica*, I (1935), 428–77.

———. "La théorie du protectorat civil des missions en pays infidèles, ses antécédents historiques et sa justification théologique par Suarez," *Nouvelle revue théologique* LXIV (1937), 261–83.

BIERMANN, BENNO. "Chinesische Sprachstudien in Manila," *Neue Zeitschrift fur Missionswissenschaft*, VII (1951), 18–23.

BIOT, ÉDOUARD. "Notice sur quelques procédés industriels connus en Chine au XVIe siècle," *Journal asiatique*, XVI (1835), 130–54.

BOXER, C. R. "Notes on Chinese Abroad in the Late Ming and Early Manchu Periods Compiled from Contemporary Western Sources (1500–1750)," *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, IX (Dec., 1939), 447–68.

———. "The Portuguese Padroado in East Asia and the Problem of Chinese Rites, 1576–1773," *Instituto português de Hongkong, Boletim*, No. 1 (July, 1948), 199–226.

———. "Three Historians of Portuguese Asia (Barros, Couto and Bocarro)," *ibid.*, pp. 18–24.

BRETSCHNEIDER, E. "Early European Researches into the Flora of China," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N S., XV (1880), 1–186.

BRYDGES, S. E (comp.). "*Thomas Nicholas' The Strange and maruelous Newes lately come from the great Kingdom of China.*" In *Censuria literaria*, IV, 126–32. 4 vols. London, 1808.

CHANG T'IEN-TSE. "Malacca and the Failure of the First Portuguese Embassy to Peking," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, III (1962), 45–64.

CORDIER, H. "L'arrivee des Portugais en Chine," *T'oung pao*, XII (1911), 483–543.

DAMBORIENA, PRUDENCIO. "El encuentro de dos imperios. Antiguas relaciones entre España y China," *Razón y Fe*, CXXXV (1947), 442–62; CXXXVI (1949), 36–60.

D'ELIA, PASQUALE M. "La reprise des missions catholiques en Chine à la fin des Ming (1579–1644)," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, V (1960), 679–99.

DUYVENDAK, J. J. L. "Simon Stevin's 'Sailing Chariot,'" *T'oung pao*, XXXVI (1942) 401–7.

FAIRBANK, J. K., and TÊNG S. Y. "On the Transmission of Ch'ing Documents," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, IV (1939), 14–15.

———. "On the Ch'ing Tributary System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VI (1941), 135–246.

FANG HAO [方豪]. "Liu-lo yü hsi p'u ti chung-kuo wên hsien" [流落於西葡的中國文獻] ("The Lost Chinese Historical Literature in Spain and Portugal"), *Hsueh-shu chi-k'an* [學術季刊] ("Academy Review Quarterly"), I (1953), 161–79.

FERGUSON, D. "Letters from Portuguese Captives in Canton, Written in 1534 and 1536," *Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), 423–24.

FRANKE, WOLFGANG. "Preliminary Notes on the Important Chinese Literary Sources for the History of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644)," *Chung-kuo wen-hua yen-chin hui-k'an*, VII (Sept., 1947), 107–224.

GAIBANDI, PIETRO. "Il padre Matteo Ricci e la geografia della Cina, con una carta geografica ed una relazione sulla Cina scritta dal padre Ricci nel 1584," *Rivista di fisica, matematica e scienze naturali* (Padua), VIII (1903), 321–55, 459–64.

GALE, ESSON M. "Public Administration of Salt in China; a Historical Survey," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLI (1930), 241–51.

HO PING-TI. "The Introduction of American Food Plants into China," *American Anthropologist*, N.S., LVII (1955), 191–201.

HUCKER, CHARLES O. "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XXI (1958), 1–66.

———. "The Traditional Chinese Censorate and the New Peking Regime," *American Political Science Review*, XLV (1951), 1042–52.

———. "The Tung-lin Movement of the Later Ming Period." In J. K. FAIRBANK (ed.), *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, pp. 132–62. Chicago, 1957.

LACH, DONALD F. "China in the Eyes of Europe (with commentary of Dr. Francisco Tenreiro)," *Actas*. ("Congresso internacional de história dos descobrimentos," Lisbon, 1961), IV, 279–306.

LAUFER, B. "The Domestication of the Cormorant in China and Japan," *Anthropological Series*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, of Field Museum Publications (Chicago, 1931).

LO JUNG-PANG. "The Decline of the Early Ming Navy," *Oriens extremus*, V (1958), 149–68.

LOPETEGUÍ, LEON. "Contactos entre Espana y China en el siglo XVI," *Missionalia Hispanica*, I (1944), 341–52.

MOIDREY, JOSEPH DE. "La hiérarchie catholique en Chine, en Corée at au Japon, 1307–1914," *Variétés sinologiques* (Zi-ka-wei), No. 38 (1914), 1–300.

MULDER, W. Z. "The Wu Pei Chih Charts," *T'oung pao*, XXXVII (1944), 60–8.

NACHOD, OSCAR. "Die ersten Kenntnisse chinesischer Schriftzeichen im Abendlande," *Asia Major*, I (1923), 235–73.

NOCENTINI, L. "Sinology in Italy," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., XX (1885), 155–62.

PELLIOT, PAUL. "La peinture et la gravure européene en Chine au temps de Matthieu Ricci," *T'oung pao*, XX (1921), 1–18.

———. "Le Hoja et le Sayyid Husain de l'Histoire des Ming," *ibid.*, XXXVIII (1948), 81–292.

———. "Notes sur quelques livres ou documents conservés en Espagne," *ibid.*, XXVI (1928), 43–50.

———. "Une liasse d'anciens imprimés chinois des jésuites retrouvée à Upsal," *ibid.*, XXIX (1932), 114–18.

———. "Un ouvrage sur les premiers temps de Macao," *ibid.*, XXXI (1934), 58–94.

PEREZ, LORENZO, O.F.M. "Fra. Francisco de Jesus Escalona y su relacion de China," *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, VIII (1908), 558–91; IX (1909), 184–218.

POUZYNA, IVAN. "Les premieres missions catholiques en Chine et leur influence sur l'art italien," *Revue d'histoire des missions*, XII (1935), 230–41.

SCHURHAMMER, GEORG. "Der Ursprung des Chinaplans des Hl. Franz Xaver," *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXII (1953), 38–56.

SERRUYS, HENRY. "Were the Ming against the Mongols' Settling in North China?" *Oriens extremus*, VI (1959), 131–59.

STRANGE, HANS O H. "Where Was Zayton Actually Situated?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXIX (1949), 121–24.

SZCZESNIAK, B. "The Seventeenth-Century Maps of China," *Imago mundi*, XIII (1956), 116–36.

TENG SSU-YÜ. "Chinese Influence on the Western Examination System," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, VII (1943), 267–312.

WALKER, RICHARD L. "The Control System of the Chinese Government," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, VII (1947), 2–21.

WANG, Y. C "Ideas and Men in Traditional China," *Monumenta Serica*, XIX (1960), 210–75.

Index

Abano, Pietro d', 38
"Abba" (a Bisayan word for the supreme being), 630
Abdullah Khan (Uzbek ruler), 453
"Abdutes" *See Avadhūtas*
Abraam the Jew, 436
Abreu, António de, 220, 579, 586, 594, 816
Abu-ul-Fazl (Persian historian at Akbar's court), 464 n
Abyssinians, 283, 401, 422, expansion, 20, Prester John legend, 27, 169
"Acacan" (city on Rota island), 627 n
Accademia degli Alterati (Florence), 477
Accolti, Vicencio, 744
Acheh (Sumatra), 137, 297, 518, 573, 576, 578
Achin *See* Acheh
Acosta, Cristobal de, *194–95*, 201
Acosta, José de on Buddhism, 709, on China, 806–8, on Chinese language, 806–7, on Japan, 709, on Japanese writing, 807, and military crusade against China, 808, relations with Sanchez, 301, on southeast Asia, 498
Acquaviva, Claudio, 300, 301, 452, 695, 808
Acqui, Jacopo da, 38
Acre, 34
Acta Sanctorum, 309 n.
Acts of Thomas, 25
Adam and Eve, 19, 24
Adam's Bridge, 409, 472
Adam's Peak, 344
Additio Specierum (Venice), 106
Aden, 64, 112, 113
Adil Khan, ruler of Bijapur, 237, 434, 444, 470 n.
Adriatic Sea, 25, 31
"Adulraenjami," ruler of Halmahera, 600
Aeterni regis (of 1481), 55, 56
Aethelstan, 25
Affaitadi, Giovanni Francisco, 94, 106
Affaitadi, house of, 107, 121, 126, 127
Afghans ("Pantanes"), 420, 424, 482, 819
Afonso, João, 222
Afonso, king of Portugal, 54, 55
Africa, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 69, 92, 93, 95, 97, 102, 109, 120, 152, 169; cartography, 23, 24, 70, censorship of information about, 153, gold, 50, ivory, 50; malagueta pepper, 50, missionaries in, 255, 294, in *padroado*, 229–30, Prester John legend, 26, 27, 47, sea route, 20, 50, 59, 66, 69, 70, 86, 114, slaves, 50, trade, 15, 16, 44, 50, 71, 128; Valignano on, 258
"Agacī." *See* Geresik
Agra, 277, 420, 454, 455, 478, 480
"Ageres." *See Asari*
Ahimsa, Jain doctrine of, 400
Ahmad Shah, ruler of Gujarat, 401
Ahmadābād, 394, 401, 454, 461, 470
Ahmednagar, 193
Ahmud IV, Deccan ruler, 383
Ai island, 609
"Aiam campetit" (*p'aya* of Kampengpet), 524
Ailly, Pierre d', 57, 70, 71
Ainu, 723, 724
Ainumoshiri ("Ainomoxori"), 725
Ajuda Library (Lisbon), 187, 683 n, 686, 692, 796 n.
Akbar (*also* "Mahometto Zelaldim Echebar"), *453–55*, 457, 480, administration, 455, 456, 457, attitude towards religions, 275–76, 277, 457, 458, 463–64, capital, 455, 480, children, 455, death, 277, Deccan wars, 277, 460, 467, foreign books and art, 278, 462, Jesuit

Akbar—(*continued*)
missions to, 275–78, 448, 451–67, justice, 456, Kabul campaign of 1581, 456, 457, military forces, 456–57, 460, Queen Elizabeth's letter to, 477, 478, vassals, 455, 457, 464
Akita, city of Japan, 724
Akyab, port of Arakan, 551 n
"Alaodim." *See* Alā'uddin
Alaric, 21
Alā'uddin, sultan of Malacca, 510, 516
Alā-ud-dīn Bāhman Shah, Deccan ruler, 382 n
Alā-ud-dīn Shah, Deccan ruler, 383–84
Alba, Duke of, 130
Albin, Johannes, 320
Albuquerque, Afonso de, 106, 161, 506, 512, 573, 577, 578, 585, 588, administration of *padroado* system, 233, conquest of Goa, 113, conquest of Malacca, 113, 166, 167, 168, conquest of Ormuz, 112, death, 113, on Gujarat, 395, letters, 192, on Malaya's early history, 509–12, relations with Sumatran states, 571, treaty of 1513 with Calicut, 113
Albuquerque, Braz de, 192, 203, 325, 497
Albuquerque, João de, viceroy, 237, 240, 252
Alcaçova, Pedro de, 290
Alcaçovas, treaty of (1479), 55, 56
Alcalá de Henares, 183, 184, 693, 701, 711
Alcobaça, 701
Aldeas (villages of Goa), 389 n.
Aldine press, 180, 205, 337
Aldus, Paulus Manutius, 150, 205
Aleppo, 130, 469
Alexander, romance of, *8–9*, 20, 23, 24, 28, 29, 66, 71, 75, 77, 78, in European literature, 28, in Malay literature, 579
Alexander VI, pope, 56, 97, audience with Priest Joseph, 157, 158, and Portuguese missionary activities, 233
Alexander the Great, 396, 440, 474, 562 n., 822; and Aristotle, 7, compared to Vasco da Gama, 102, effects of death, 8, 9, 11, historians of, 8, 9, 18, Indian campaign, 7, 11, 30
Alexandria, 8, 10, 64, 104, Indians in, 18, information about East, 19, trade, 11, 15, 21, 44, 49, 50, 99, 107, 119, 129, 130
Alfaro, Pedro de, 297
Alfred, king of England, 25
Algakkōnara, king of Ceylon, 343 n
Algarve, 52
Alicante, 693 n, 694
"Aliora" *See* Halmahera
Alkmeer, 744
Almadias (Indian rafts), 425
Almeida, Antonio d', 302, 801
Almeida, Francisco de, viceroy, 110, 112, 113, 161, 162, 370, 385, 393, 439, 441 n.
Almeida, Luis d', 290, 683, 704 n.
Aloe-wood, 570, 575
Alor island, 599 *See also* "Malva", Ombai island
Alsace, 138
Altan brothers, 468 n
Alvares, Fernão, 620
Alvares, Francisco, 434
Alvares, Gonçalo, 255
Alvarez, Jorge, captain, 283, 657–60, 669 n, 727
Alvaro, Henrique, 231, 232
"Amaban" *See* Amaben
Amaben (Timor), 599
Amakata ("Hamacata"), 665
Amakusa, 308, 713, 714 n
Amazons in India, 353, 423, 832, in *Le livre du trésor*, 29, Pomponius Mela on, 14
Amboina, 433, 500, 593, 594, 601, 602, 609, 616, 617, 618 n, 619, 622, Christianity in, 281, 288 n, 288–89, 610, 620, Jesuits in, 281, 287, 610–11; *kampongs* (villages), 610, Portuguese in, 610–11, wars, 288–89, 610, 620, Xavier in, 281–82, 285, 610–11
Americas. Cabot's voyage to, 58, Japanese in, 654, Peter Martyr's writings on, 184, pre-Columbian discovery, 56
"Amoques" *See* Amuck-running
"Amouco" *See* Amuck-running
Amsterdam, 744, pepper in, 139, printing in, 150, as trade rival of Antwerp, 126
Amuck-running, 450, 514, 587, 591, 598
"Anan" *See* Haman island
Ananta-purāna, or the history of Vishnu, 438, 439
Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 27
An-ch'a-shih (often written as "Anchasi" and "Ganchasu" and means chief justice in Chinese), 758 n, 813
Ancolâ, 471
Andaman Islands, 503, cartography, 69, Conti's description, 60
"Andamania" *See* Andaman Islands
"Andava." *See* Ahmadābād
Andrade, Fernão Peres d', 168, 196 n, 738
Andrade, Francisco de, 396
Andrew of Longjumeau, 33
Andrew of Perugia, 40, 41, 43
Andrew of Zayton *See* Andrew of Perugia
Anes, Francisco, 436 n
Anesaki Masaharu, 726
Ang Chan I, king of Cambodia, 310, 567, 568
Angkor, 501 n, 524 n, 561, 562
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 25
Ango, Jean, 177, 178
Anjarakandi river, 351
Anjediva island, 346, Franciscans in, 231, 234
Ankamali (India), 267, 268
Annam, 563, 564 n
"Annunciada," spice caravel, 104
Antarctic, 79
Antioch, 15, 33

Antipodes, 69
Antonio, Xavier's Chinese servant, 802
António, Dom, Portuguese pretender, 198, 477
Antwerp, 3, 8, 112, 129, 189, 708, 744, commercial center, 107, 122, 123, 127, 129, 131, 199, Germans at, 107–8, 112, 121–22, Maranos at, 123, maritime trade, 124, overland trade, 121–22, pepper prices, 98, 107, 129, 143, population, 665 n, Portuguese factory at, 126–27, printing in, 149, 150, 194, sack of 1576, 131, 199, Spanish at, 123, 131, spice trade, 91, 119, 127, 140, Venetians at, 123
Apit ("Gatighan"?), 631
Aquaviva, Rudolf, 276, 278, 446, 451
Arabia, 5, 11, 97, 404, Duarte Barbosa in, 170, in *padroado*, 235, products, 16, 236, revolts, 130
Arabian sea, 326
Arabic language, 30
Arabs, 401, 486, 648, 829, commercial role, 11, 13, 20, 50, 64, 102, 107, 130, 131, as intermediaries, 29, 66, 68, 81, 82, 824, name often applies to Muslims in general, 647–48, as sailors, 61, 64, ships, 11, 834
Aragon, 184
Arakan (also written as "Recon"), 414, 540, 542, 552, alliance with Portugal, 550–51, control over Chittagōng, 275, 550, 552, defenses, 552, European sources on, 550, harem, 551, Jesuits in, 275, Myohaung dynasty, 551, Portuguese in, 275, 550, 551, wars with Pegu, 541
Arakan Yoma, 541, 552
Arezzo, Ristoro d', 75
Argensola, B. Leonardo de, 607 n
Argentina, 117
Arguim, 53
Argyse, 14, 23
Arima (place and fief of Japan), 689, 691, 708, conversions, 293
Arimaspea, 6
Aristaeus of Proconnesus, 6, 7 n.
Aristobulus, 8
Aristotle, 7, 8, 70
Armazems (warehouses), 121, 218
Armenia, 21, 32, 42
Arnold of Cologne, 39
Arrian, 8, 9, 495
Arrieda, Diego de, 743 n, 787 n., 793 n.
Aru islands, 511, 598 n.
Aryans, 7
Asari (caste), 367
Ascetics, 10, 442
Ashikaga Yoshiaki, Shogun of Japan, 684
Ashikaga Yoshiteru, Shogun of Japan, 291, 684
Asia, 6, 7, 8, 14, 21, 30, 32, 36, 56, 59, 114, 822, absolutism, 828, agriculture, 826, Alexander Romance in, 822, Arabic sources on, 30; architecture and sculpture, 560, 562 n, 684, 830, armies, 832, arts, 827, books, 777, 830, Buddhism in, 663, 831, bureaucracy, 828, caste system, 829–30, characteristics of its peoples, 827, 830, 834, Christian missions, 3, 33, 38, 40, 43, 257–58, 286, 312–13, 328–31, 663, Christian nations of, 26, 831, cities, 67, 665, 677, 827, climate, 753, 826, compacts, 829, comparisons of its peoples, 664, 687, 707, 713–14, 824, configuration, 66–67, 70, 219, crafts, 827, currencies, 829, customs, 547, 827, 830, 833–34, defenses, 832–33; definition, 3, 4, 335, 822, demarcation line, 57, 58, 793, 816, earthquakes, 753, 826, education, 830, 831, eunuchs, 828; European sources of information on, 3–4, 7, 12, 20, 23, 25, 33, 36, 42, 47, 59, 60, 65, 71, 89, 90, 91, 150, 169, 181, 186, 203, *205–15*, on European maps, 23, 24, 28, 37, 38, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 114, 185, 202, *217–26*, 820, Europeans in, 32, 43–45, 59, 60, 468, Europe's image of, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 28, 29–30, 54, 58, 75, 84–86, 91–92, 185, *825–35*, fabulous stories about, 20, 22, 23, 24–29, 30, 47, 59, 62, 66, 67, 80, 85, 523, 833–34, family, 830, fauna, 826, geography, 752–53, 806, 825, 826, Hinduism in, 831–32, Iberian plans for conquests in, 297, influences in Europe, 71–81, 835, and insular romanticism, 59, Jews in, 831, lakes, 67, 523, land routes, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 34, 42, 43, 45, 47, 48, 57, 59, 63, 65, 114, 204 n., 467, 468, 469, 487, 489, 519, 753, 777, languages, 85, 806–7, 830; militarism, 832, Mongol empire, 31, 33, 47, monopolies, 828, monsoons, 826, Muslims in, 831, Nestorians in, 30, Norman voyages, 177–78, oral traditions, 830, peoples, 258–59, 827, piracy, 447, 550, 564, 638, 654, 723, 732, 745–46, 833, political and regional divisions, 823, 826, 828, population, 827, printing, 827, products, 826, 827, products in Europe, 17, 18, 91, 142, 834, Ptolemaic conception of, 16, 17, 58, 69, 823, relation to classical world, 19, 49, religions, 34, 832, religious tolerance, 828, rivers, 56, 63–64, 67, 825, 826, sea routes, 13, 15, 47, 48, 57, 114, 406, 417, 519, 579, 594, 616, 631, 731, 816, sex practices, 553–54, 659, 662, 666, 707, 830, slavery, 486–87, 577, 631, 659, 734, 774, 830; social classes, 828, 830, spread of printing westward, 777–78, Strabo's writings on, 13, succession practices, 578, 828, system of international relations, 829, trade relations, 15, 44, 49, 829, in travel collections, 205–15, wars, 308, 832, 833, women, 827, 832 *See also under names of various Asian countries, provinces, and cities, and under rubrics such as* Buddhism, Gold, Jesuits, Printing, etc.
Asia Minor, 11, 13, 14, 33

Assisi, 698
"Asturmalec" (of Gujarat), 398
Asuncion, Martin de la, 723 n
Asvattcha, 74
Ataide, D Luis de, 253
Atlantic Ocean, 56, 115, exploration of, 52, 98, 100, 114, and maritime powers, 51, 57, 58, navigation, 98, Portuguese control of, 57, spice routes, 105, 124, 125, 129, 139
Atlases, 219, 222, 227
Auger, E , 324
Augsburg, 80, 92, 108, 112, 316, 494, information about voyages, 161, 162, printing in, 149, in spice trade, 91
Augustine, Saint, 22, 23
Augustinians, 63, 798, in China, 746, 749, in India, 262, 275, in Malacca, 287, in the Philippines, 262; in Spanish missions, 296–97
Augustus, elector of Saxony, 134
Augustus, emperor of Rome, 12, 13, 15, 17, 696
Australia, 493, 825
Ava (Burma), 535, 539, 541, 542, 543, 550
Avadhūtas (also written "Abdutes"), 280, 449
Avatars (of Vishnu), 439
Avignon, 41, 42
Axumites, 20
"Aytao " *See Hai-tao-fu-shih*
Ayut'ia, capital of Siam, 311, 520, 521, 530, 563; destruction in 1569, 286, 521, 535, destruction in 1767, 522, Dominicans in, 286, floating markets, 531, known as *Shahr-i-nao* or "new city," 531 n.; Moors in, 534, reconstruction, 535, siege of 1549, 533, siege of 1583, 536
Azaro, Mariano, 133
Azevedo, Antonio de Miranda de, 310, 520
Azevedo, Sylvestre d', 569
Azores, 52, 92, 199
Azuchi, Nobunaga's residence, 697

"Baba " *See* Bāb-Ullāh
"Babam Adâ," or Father Adam, 465
"Babausa," 459
Babaylan (priestly women of Philippines), 636 n.
Bāb-Ullāh, sultan of Ternate, 289, 618, 621, 622, 623
Babur, Mughul ruler, 420, 421
"Bacão." *See* Bassein, city of Burma
Bachan island (Moluccas), 289, 592, 595, 597, 604, 607, 620, conversion of, 288, Jesuits in, 288, 617, location, 617; Portuguese ally, 288, ruler, 617, war with Ternate, 618
"Bacola," 481
Bacon, Roger, 34, 42, 64, 70
Badagás (Telegu warriors of Madura) attacks on Paravans, 269, 271; attacks on Portuguese, 270, 433
Badajoz-Elvas conference (1524) between Castile and Portugal, 116–17, 170, 206, 221, 602, 816
Baghdad, 32, 33
"Bagou" (Burmese name for Pegu) *See* Pegu
Bagrow, Leo, 68
"Baguindanao" (Banejan?), 641
Bahādur Shah, sultan of Gujarat, 394, 395, 397 n , 422, 423
Bahmani kingdom, 369
Bajus, Indian jackets, 354
Bakus, Cambodian guardians of the Sacred Sword, 312
"Balaerpartam " *See* Vallerepattanam
"Balahião," volcano (Sumatra), 575
"Balanghai " *See Barangays*
Balapur (India), 479
Balbi, Gasparo, 479, 490, 506, 535, 540, 541, 573, 611, on India, 473–74, on Pegu, 474, 544, 549–50, on Rangoon, 545, reliability, 474, on southeast Asia, 499, statistics, 474
Balbi, Teodoro, 474
Balboa, Vasco Nuñez de, 114, 221
Balghat, Deccan highlands, 384, 485
Bali, 589, 591 n , 593
"Balibo." *See* Silabão
"Ballagate." *See* Balghat
Baltic Ocean status of in trade, 134
Banastarim (Goa), 389
Banda Islands, 503, 593, 594, 609, on European maps, 70, products, 609, Varthema in, 166
Bandou (the celebrated Ashikaga *gakkō* of Japan), 665, 715
"Baneanes " *See Banyā*
Bang Plassoy (Siam), 524
Banggai island, 600 n.
Bangkok, 532
Bantam (Java), 590 n.
Banyā, merchant class of India, 377, 399–400, 406, 485; beliefs, 378, diet, 378, 400, of Vijayanagar 377–78
Bar Sauma, 39
Barangays, 626 n., 628, 629, 631, 635 *See also* Ships
Barbaro, Josafat, 64
Barbosa, Duarte, 153, 170, 186, 221, 226, 338, 388, 427, 506, 513, 522, 525, 540, 542, 551, 562, 573, 580, 585, 588, 593, 603, 652, 747, 770, 793, 818, biography, 347–8, on caste system of Malabar, 360–69, on China, 738; on India, 340–42, 349, 395, 495, linguistic skills, 347–48, on Nāyars, 362–65, reliability, 339, 348; on southeast Asia, 504, in Vijayanagar, 370, on Yogis, 419
Barbuda, Luis Jorgé de (Ludovicus Georgius), 693 n., 737 n., 743, 745 n., 750 n , 776 n , 819, influence, 818 n., map of China in Ortelius, 818–19
Barcelona, 183, 673, 701

Bardez (Goa), 482, Franciscans in, 252 n., 262, 279
Bardi, Giacomo dei, 45, 134
Bardi, house of, 94, 133
Barlaam and Josaphat, 19, 30, 74, Boccaccio's use of, 76, story in Europe, 27
"Barnez" *See* Broach
Baroda, 398, 401
Barom Reachea II, ruler of Cambodia, 311
Barrajan on Mindanao (Philippines), 641
Barros, João de, 153, 181, 182, 186, 187, 189, *190–92*, 196, 201, 203, 207, 226, 232, 322, 325, 339, 391, 409, 413, 431, 522, 540, 551, 554, 556, 562, 578, 580, 588, 593, 607, 609, 742, 747, 748, 750, 751, 755 n, 756, 767 n, 770, 775, 777 n, 780 n, 805, 806 n, 818, his Asian sources, 381, 402, 410, 427, 506, catechism of, 247, 249, on Ceylon, 342–45, comparison of law of avoidance in China and Portugal, 759 n, on Deccan, 381, on Diu, 402, *Geografia*, 413, 504, 756, geographical divisions of East, 342, 350 n, 504, 562–63, geographical divisions of India, 407–8, 413, on Goa, 391–92, on Gujarat, 395, hand-map, 504–5; on Hindustan, 418, on India, 340–42, influence, 326, 448, 741, 743, on Japan, 652, on Javans, 576, 586, 590, on Malaya's early history, 506–9, on Pegu, 553, philological speculations, 342–43, Sassetti's remarks on, 325 n, on Siam, 522–25, 529–30, on slavery, 577, sources, 186–87, 497, 521, 603, 655 n, 738, 756 n, on Spiceries, 603–9, on Sumatra, 497, use of *leziras*, 348, on Vijayanagar, 371
Baru island, 599
Barzaeus, Gaspar, 252, 318, 323, 432 n, 433, 439, 442, 444, 445
Basel, 68, 179, 222
Bassein, city of Burma, 541, 543, 544, 545, Franciscans in, 285–86, 557–58
Bassein, city of India, 239, 404, 466, 470, ceded to Portugal in 1534, 394, Franciscans in, 234, 236, 262; mission stations at, 249, 264, Orta on, 405; people, 405
"Bataba" island, 640
"Batachinas" (Moluccan peoples), 619
Bataks, 575, 591
Batala (Filipino deity), 645
Batalha (Portugal), 701
"Batas" *See* Bataks
Batecalou. *See* Batticaloa
Bate-shar (on Bate Island in the Gulf of Kutch), 402
"Batochino do Moro" (also called Halmahera or Gilolo), 504, 593, 604, 607–8
Batticaloa (Ceylon), 344
Bautista, Pedro, 306, 307
"Baybai." *See* Bayban
Bayban (Leyte), 631
Bayin Naung, king of Pegu, 521, 535, 548, 558, Buddhist revival, 285, royal audiences, 549
Beatus chart, 24
"Bedas" *See* Wedas
Bede, the Venerable, 22, 24
Behaim, Martin, 70
Beira, João de, 282, 287, 612, 614, 617
Beirut, 99, 107, 119
"Beitam." *See* Bertam
Belém (Portugal), 100, 110, 692
Belgaum (India), 432, 479
Bell, James Ford, 161 n.
Bembay, 441 n
Bembo, Pietro, 205
Bempara (India), 271
Benacci, Alessandro, 697
Benares, 480
"Bendará" (treasurer in Malacca), 510, 511
Benedict XII, pope, 41
Benedict the Pole, Friar, 31
"Benestari" *See* Banastarim
Bengal, 341, 407, 408, 418, 420, 454, 551; Abyssinian eunuchs, 415, 547, Afghans in 426, 482, control by Arakan, 275, cowrie shells as currency, 346, 417, duties, 417, on European maps, 413 n., European sources on, 413; extent, 414, Fitch on, 480–81, Gaur, 414–15, gold, 417; government, 415, horses, 416, industries, 416–17, Jesuits in, 275, 466, *lascars* (governors), 416, 425, Moors in, 415, 416, Mughuls in, 481, Orta on, 193, people, 415, 417–18, Pires on, 185, 415–16, Portuguese in, 412–13, 425, 473, 481, prices, 416, 417, 473, products, 416, 482, silver, 417; succession, 415, 416, 578; trade, 417, 473; vassals, 414, wars, 413, 415, 482
Bengal, bay of, 225, 275, 407
"Bengala." *See* Gaur
Berar (India), 193, 479
Bergamo, Jacopo Filippo Foresti da, 63, 325, 748
Berid (Sanskrit· *biruda*, a device or insignia of superiority), 375
"Berma." *See* Burma
Bernard of Kagoshima, 254, 667, 668, 680, 690, 727, travels in Europe, 672–74
Bernardino strait, 644 n.
"Berrio," spice ship, 96
Bertam (Malaya), 508, 514
Betel, 101, 415
"Betexagor." *See* Bate-shahr
Betor (near modern Howrah in Bengal), 473
"Betunes." *See Vettuvans*
Bhagavadgītā, 280
Bhagavan Bodhisattvascha, 27
Bhatkal (India), 373
Bhutan, 481
Bhuvanaika Bahu VII, king of Ceylon, 272–73

Bhuvibhaga (the partition of Malabar), 349 n
"Biabares" *See Vyābāri*
Biah river, 454
Bible, 22, 23, 148
Bicaio (Mindanao), 640
"Bicheneger" *See* Vijayanagar city
"Bicholas." *See* Bitjolis
Bicocigara, elder of Moluccas, 607
Bīdar (India), 383, 384 n.
Bihar (India), 414, 420, 423, 424
Bihat river, 454
"Bijanagher" *See* Vijayanagar city
Bijapur (India), 264, 384 n., 432, 438, 478, 479, disorders, 434, Jesuits in, 435, relations with Goa, 264, 434–35
Binnyaran II, king of Pegu, 539, 547
Bintan island, 516
"Bintão" *See* Bertam
Birds of Paradise, 173, 598
"Bisinegar." *See* Vijayanagar city
"Bisnegar" *See* Vijayanagar city
Bitjolis (tribe of Moro), 614
"Bituan." *See* Butuan
"Bizenegalia" *See* Vijayanagar city
Black Death in Europe, 43, 47, 49
Black Sea, 50, 64
Blood compact (*kasikase*), 629, 637
Boccaccio, Giovanni, 45, *75–77*, 80
Boccapaduli, Antonio, 695, 696
Bohol island, 631, 636, 637
Bokhara, 454
Boiardo, M. M., 76
"Bola." *See* Bolaang
Bolaang (Celebes), 618, 621
Bolar range, 341 n
Bologna, 41, 46, 698, 744
Bombay, 193, 402, 404, 405
Bon (Buddhist festival of the dead in Japan), 682
Boncompagni, Philippe, 696
"Bongalauan" (name for cloves in the islands south of Mindanao), 597
Bonifer, Pierre, 258 n., 285, 557–59, 559 n
Bonji (Japanese term for Sanskrit or Pali), 661 n
Bonzes (*bōzu*, or Buddhist clerics of Japan), 290, 659
Book of the Estate of the Great Caan, 42
Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships in the World, 59
Book of Marvels (of Jordanus of Severac), 43
Book trade, 148, atlases, 150; fairs, 150; German travel collections, 215–16, incunabula, 149; numbers printed, 149, in Portugal, 170, 226, printing centers, 149–50. *See also* Printing
Borba, Diego de, 237
Borja, Francis, 255, 798
Borneo (also "Bornei," "Brune," "Brunai," "Burne," or "Burnai"), 572, 596 n., 626, 638, Asian sources on, 580; beliefs, 584, Brunei city, 582, camphor, 579, 582, Dayaks, 582, 584, diamonds, 582, on European maps, 223, 580, European sources on, 579–80, gold, 582, 601, history, 580–81, internal wars, 583, language, 584, Mandeville on, 79, Muslims in, 582, 585, "noble savages," 584, people, 582, 584, Pigafetta in, 175, 176, placement, 580, Portuguese in, 579–80, 585, products, 581–82, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, trade, 580, 582
Boroma Trailokanat, king of Siam, 525
Borromeo, Carolo, 798
Bosch, Hieronymus, 73
"Botaha" island, 640
Botero, Giovanni, 673 n., 709
"Botthantis." *See* Tibetans
Bovesius, João André, 275
Boxer, C. R., 725
Brabant, 319
"Brachmanes" *See* Brahmans
Braganza, duke of, 55
Braganza, Alvara de, viceroy, 104, 274
Braganza, Constantino de, viceroy, 241, 253, 264, 265, 434, 435
Braganza, Theotonio de, archbishop of Evora, 676, 692, 701
Brahmāchāryam, 360
Brahmanism, 18, 19
Brahmans, 10, 399, 443, 444, 477, 831, beliefs, 361, 401, *Brahmāswum*, 360 n., clothing, 361, conversions of, 231, at court of Akbar, 275, diet, 360, 378, 442, functions, 361, 362, 378, 400, 441, 484; in Gujarat, 400–401, in *L'image du monde*, 29, inheritance rules, 400–401, justice, 361–62, language, 360, learning, 362, life-stages of, 280, in Malabar, 360–62, marriage, 360, 400, 442, relations to Christian missionary activity, 238, 239, 240, 243, 250, 253, 280, 447, sacred thread, 360, 442, and Sanskrit literature, 280, temple prostitutes, 378, 442, *Tri-mūrti*, 361, types, 449, Valignano's evaluation of, 259, in Vijayanagar, 378, and Xavier, 269
"Brama." *See* Burma, Toungoo
Brandão, Aires, 433 n., 612
Brant, Sebastian, 159
Brazil, 51, 114, 128, Cabral's "discovery" of, 100, 105, relations with Portugal, 57, 120, 152
Breadfruit, 636
"Brema" *See* Burma, Toungoo
Brescia, 744
Bristol, 58, 128 n.
Brito, Affonso Vaz de, 425
Brito, António de, 176, 582 n., 608
Brito, Felipe de, 540, 551
Broach (India), 401, 404, 454
Broecke, Bernard ten. *See* Paludanus

Bruges, 121
Brunei, 185, 503, 579, 581, 582, 583, 585 *See also* Borneo
Brussels, 124, 130
Buddha and Barlaam and Josaphat legend, 27, Clement of Alexandria on, 18, holy tooth in Ceylon, 344, 488, 558, in Japanese chronology, 662, Mani's treatment of, 19, and Marco Polo, 37
Buddhism, 18, 304, 305, 795, 806, in Asia, 831, in Burma, 554–57, 558–59, in Cambodia, 567–68, in Ceylon, 344, in China, 738, 784, 785, doctrines, 567–68, 661–62, 663, 670, 682, 687, 815, 831, education, 671, festivals, 528, five moral precepts, 662, 671, hierarchy, 714, 716, history, 659, 662, 670, 716, 831, in Indochina, 561; in Indonesia, 572, influence in West, 19, 72, 73, 75, 77, in Japan, 284, 659, 661–63, 670–71, in Korea, 720, and Marco Polo, 36, monasteries, 665, 671, 714, 716, 831, priests, 528, 659, 662, 666, 670, 671, 682, 715, 815, relationship to Shintō, 681–82, religious images, 527–28, 534, 548, 554–55, 662, 716, 831, sacred writings, 659, sects of Japan, 660, 661 n, 662 n., 670, 682, 715–16, in Siam, 527–29, 538, in southeast Asia, 520, temples and stupas, 528, 659, 662, 684, 715, 716, 784, 831, warrior monks, 684–85, women, 671
Bukka I, ruler of Vijayanagar, 369
Bulsar island, 435
Bungo (Kyūshū, Japan), 668, 678, 685, 689, 691, Jesuits in, 290, 293, 668
Bupō (Law of Buddha), 682
Burabalanga river, 411
Burcherts, Bernard, 487
Burgkmair, Hans, 163
Burgos, 194, 816
Burhānpur (India), 478, 479
Burma, 533, 541, 543, 559, 819, arms, 548, Asian sources on, 539, bells, 55, Buddhism in, 166, 285, 554–57, 557–59, ceremonies, 557, cities, 544, 545, Conti in, 60, currency, 545, customs, 552–53, *Dammathat* (code of civil law), 558, education, 556, envoy to Cochin, 539, eunuchs, 547, European sources on, 539–40, fauna, 544, Fitch in, 536, Franciscans in, 285, 557, history, 539, import duties, 545, 549, internal wars, 540, 543, 547, 550, invasion of Laos in 1556, 565, Jesuit ignorance of, 285, justice, 559, kings, 547, 549, legends, 553, literature, 559, location, 752, and Marco Polo, 38, 539, military forces, 533, 535, 536, 548, 549–50, Mon kingdom, 540, 545, monasteries, 555, Mongol invasion of 1277, 539; officials, 549, 557, oral tradition, 539; Pagan empire, 539, pagodas, 555, political divisions, 539, 542–43, Portuguese in, 520–21, 539–40, 557, 559–60, priests, 555–57, religious images, 548, 554–55, religious processions and festivals, 547, 556, royal audiences, 549, royal elephants, 544, rubies, 411, 542 n, 546–47, 548, *sawbwas*, 548 n, secret transactions, 547, sexual practices, 553–54, "Terreca" (treasury), 549, Toungoo dynasty, 540, 545; trade, 545, treaty of 1519 with Portugal, 539, 557, vassals, 548 n., wars with Siam, 286, 521–22, 533, 535–36, 543, 550, white elephants, 548, women, 548 n, 554, writing, 559 *See also* Pegu, Toungoo
Burrough, John, 809
"Burse" (Mindanao), 641
Buru island, 593, 616
Bustamente, Juan de, 250
"Butam," 607
Butler, Samuel, 397 n
"Buttor." *See* Betor
Butuan (Mindanao), 630, 641
Byzantium, 19, artistic influence of, 72, 73, as intermediary power, 21, 44, 50, 74, 81, and Ptolemaic tradition, 67, 68, sericulture, 29, 45
"Byze." *See* Viss

"Cabai," or "Cabaia" (popular title for Muslim ruler of Goa), 383, 384
"Cabanza" *See* Camanassa
Cabo Segogara (Point Palmyras), 411
Cabot, John, 58, 114, 115
Cabot, Sebastian, 117, 209, 222, 639, 816
Cabral, Antonio, 457
Cabral, Francisco, 453, 465, leader of Japan mission, 292, 293–94
Cabral, Pedro Alvares voyage to India, *100–102*, 103, 104, 105, 106, 157, 164, 186, 231, 232
"Cachil." *See* Kēchil; Tidore Vongue
"Cacubao" (Kakuban or Kōkyō Daishi), 716
Cadiz, 57, 140
"Cael." *See* Palayakayal
Cagayan de Sulu, 637
"Caghaian." *See* Cagayan de Sulu
"Caimales" *See* Kaimal
Cairo, 104, spices in, 107, 124, 143
"Calagham" *See* Caraga island
Calambac, 546. *See also* Aloe-wood
"Calanga" (Kalama? in Sanghe islands), 621
"Calantao." *See* Kelantan
Calcoen, 160, 503 n.
"Caletis" *See* Chaliyans
Calicare (India), 347
Calicut, 64, 97, 100, 103, 104, 113, 160, 337, 340, 349, 433, 466, 487, administration, 358; arts, 156, Cabral in, 100–101, as center of commerce, 155, clothes, 156, Covilham in, 231, description, 156, 351, on European maps, 162, 219, Franciscans in, 234, 235, Jews in, 449, Moors in, 351, 449, pepper prices at,

Calicut—(*continued*)
99; relations with Gujarat, 393–94, relations with Portuguese, 103, 113, 236, 265, 447, 476, Sernigi on, 155, 156, in Sinhalese wars, 272, social organization, 449, succession practices, 409, *Talachan* (governor), 358 n , trade, 102, 158, treaty of 1513 with Portugal, 113, treaty of 1598 with Portugal, 265, Varthema in, 165, 166, Vasco da Gama in, 96, 98, 101, Zamorin, 98, 155, 166
Callisthenes of Olynthus, 8
Calvo, Vasco, 187, 734, 739 n.
Camanassa (Timor), 599
Câmara, Luis Gonçalves de, 432 n , 673
Ca'Masser, Leonardo da, 106, 152 n.
"Cambadagi " *See* Kōbō Daishi
"Cambalu." *See* Cambaluc
Cambaluc, 467. *See also* Peking
"Cambay." *See* Gujarat
Cambay, city of, 404, description, 458, industries, 403, people, 403, pilgrims in, 459, structures, 458–59, trading center, 403, 470, Varthema in, 164 *See also* Gujarat
Cambay, gulf of, 43, 392, 394, 402, 403, 404
Cambodia, 286, 504, 523, 525, 535, 561, 562 n., 563, 748, 752; Brahmans, 567, Buddhism in, 567–68, chronicles, 310, chronology of its kings, 567 n., 571, cremation, 564, cosmology, 567–68, Cruz on, 565–68, Dominicans in, 286, 309–10, Europeans in, 310; fauna, 566; floods, 566, Franciscans in, 309–10, 568–69, gods, 567, Guzman on, 312, kings, 563–64, 568, land ownership, 568; Laotians in, 565–66, Mendoza on, 568–70, oral tradition, 312; people, 563, 568, products, 563, relations with Malacca, 310, 569, relations with Manila, 310–11, religion, 565, 566–68; religious hierarchy, 567, 568; trade, 563–64, wars with Siam, 310–12, 561. *See also* Indochina
Cambola (India), 348
Camerino, Giovanni (also known as "Il Cretico"), 105
Camoens, Luis de, 184 n , *196–97*, 201, 203, 388, 563, 574, on East Indies, 650, on "Gueos," 523 n , on Peguans, 553 n., reception and influence, 197, sources, 197
Camote islands, 631
"Campaho" (in Halmahera), 599
Camphor, 373, 415, 417, 497, 575, 582, 811
Campo Santo fresco, 73
Campos, J. J , 491
"Canaquas." *See Kaniyans*
"Canarâ." *See* Kanara
Canary islands, 52, 55
"Cande." *See* Kandy
"Candigar" (Sampantangu²), 643
Canério, Nicolò de, 219, 220
"Cangigu," 523
Canigao island (southwest of Leyte), 631
"Canighan " *See* Canigao island
Canisius, Peter, 319, 703, 706
Cannanore (also written "Kolathiri"), 102, 103, 105, 349, Cabral in, 101, commercial agreement of 1502 with Portugal, 103, 350 n , Duarte Nunes in, 233, extent, 350, fauna, 351, Franciscans in, 234, political divisions, 350, Portuguese colony at, 350, products, 350
Cannibalism in Borneo, 584, Conti's description of, 60, in India, 76, in Java, 591, in Philippines, 638, on Seram island, 594, in Spiceries, 599, 611, in Sumatra, 575
Cano, Juan Sebastian del (often "Elcano"), 135, 172, 337, 584, 595, 602, 625
Cantino, Alberto, 102, 219, his maps, 219, 220
Canto, Sebastião da, 537
Canton, 44, 83, 733, 735, 739, 748, 770, 794, 796, 798, 802, 817, attempts of Jesuits to enter, 296, character of its people, 741, crafts, 736, Cruz in, 295, environs, 736, on European maps, 816, European prisoners in, 284; European sources on, 734–35, 816, Mandeville's description, 79, Nunes Barreto in, 295, 796–97, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41, Pires at, 733–34, Portuguese in, 296, 796, 797, 799, 800, 805, Sanchez in, 299, 800–801, trade, 736, 789, 811
Cape Bojador, 52, 56
Cape Cormorin, 341, 342, 348, 353, 407, customs, 443–44, Varthema at, 165, Xavier at, 247
Cape of Good Hope, 102, 103
Cape Negrais, 541, 544, 555
Cape Varella, 561
Cape Verde islands, 53, 57
"Capelan" (Burma), 542
Capello, Bianco, 694
Capito, Giovanni, 168
Cappello, Filippo, 698
"Capucate." *See* Kappata
Caraga island, 630
Cardinal Albert, Philip II's governor of Portugal, 692
Cardoso, Lopo, 309 n., 310
"Caremoron." *See* Yellow River
Carignano, Giovanni da, 27
Carmo (Lisbon), 692
Carneiro, Antonio, 121
Carneiro, Michael, 266, 432, 799
Carnelians, 404, 406, 826
Carrafa, Antonio, 708 n.
"Carraguan." *See* Sarangani island
Cartography, 63, 217, 223, Alsatian school, 220; Balbi's influence on, 474 n.; Barbuda's map of China, 818–19, Cantino planisphere of 1502, 816, 817; *Catalan Atlas*, 38, 60, 66, 70,

71, 85, Chinese maps, 782, Contarini engraving of 1506, 219, De Bry's map collection, 216, at Dieppe, 222, 817, Homem-Reinel atlas of 1519, 816, 817, Homem's world atlas of 1558, 817, influence of Japanese mission on, 705, influence of Jesuit letters on, 705, 710, Italians in, 222, Japanese maps, 709–10, King-Hamy-Huntington chart, 219, Lasso atlas of about 1590, 820, Laurentian portulan of 1351, 66, 67, Linschoten's map of Asia, 202, 820, Luiz' atlas of 1563, 817, mapping of Asia, 217–26, 825, in Netherlands, 200, 222, 816, planisphere of Pedro de Lemos (about 1590), 820, portulans, 66, 188, 201, 218, printed maps, 218, 227, Ptolemaic atlases, 817, Ptolemaic conventions, 67–69, 218, 816, 817, Ramusio's interest in, 205, Renaissance maps, 69–70, Ribeiro's planisphere of 1529, 816, of Spiceries, 601–2, Vaz Dourado atlases, 817, 818, 820, Velho's Asian chart of 1561, 817

Casa da Guiné e Mina, 92, 93

Casa da India, 93, 99, 109, 111, 115, *120–21*, 126, 135, 137, 144, 738, *armazems*, 121, Barros in, 190, construction, 121, control over spice trade, 109–11, 120–21, organization, 93, 120, 139, under Philip II, 135, *provedor* of, 121, *vedor* of, 109

Casa da Mina, 95

Casa de Ceuta, 92, 93

Casa de Contratación for the Spiceries (Coruña), 117

"Casizes" (Muslim teachers), 444, 517

Castanheda, Fernão Lopes de. *See* Lopes de Castanheda, Fernão

Caste, 259, 405, in Goa, 485–86, history of the term, 353 n., in Malabar, 353, 360–69, occupational criteria, 366–67, 443, 450, pollution, 364–65, 366–68

Castel de São Jorge da Mina, 92

Castiglione, Baldassare, 175, 221 n.

Castile, 49, 58, demarcation question, 57; effects of precious metals on, 123, explorations by, 114, Jews in, 57, Moors in, 54, 57, relations with Portugal, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 96, 104, 115, 116, 117; in spice trade, 126, succession problems, 55, trade, 51

Castro, Affonso de, 612

Castro, D. João de, viceroy, 239

Catalonia, 50–51, 52, 99

"Catayo." *See* Cathay

Cateau-Cambrésis, treaty of (1559), 127

"Catech." *See* Cuttack

Cathay, 45, 46, 47, 52, 64, 817, 823; in Boccaccio, 77, in *Book of the Estate of the Great Caan*, 42, in *Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships in the World*, 59, Cabot's "discovery" of, 58, Dante on, 74, on European maps, 67, Europeans in, 59, Goes' expedition to, 277, identification with China, 4, 76, 278, 467, 752, 823, identification with Tibet, 278, image in Europe, 47, 48, Mandeville on, 79–80, Marco Polo on, 35, 37, missionary accounts of, 42, northern passage to, 209, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41, placement, 32, Plano Carpini's knowledge of, 32, Priest Joseph on, 158, report of Jerome Xavier on, 467, Rubruquis' knowledge of, 34, Ruy de Clavijo on, 81, as Serica, 71

Cattigara, 603

"Cauripa" (Celebes), 618, 621

Cavalli, Sigismondo, 132

Cavendish, Thomas, 213, 214, 478, 593, 623, 742 n

"Caymales." *See* Kaimal

Cebu, 625, 630, 634, 641, Augustinians in, 297, Christianity in, 632, 633, customs, 632, 635, 636, language, 635, Magellan in, 175, 176, 631–35, music, 636, Muslims in, 631, Pigafetta on, 175, 176, placement, 636; products, 636, religion, 634, 636, sexual practices, 635, trade, 631, 632–33. *See also* Philippine Islands

Cecil, Sir Robert, 490

Cecil, Sir William, 209

"Cecua" (Chinese official), 785 n

"Ceilam" *See* Ceylon

"Ceilão." *See* Ceylon

Celebes, 579, 593, 600, 601, 602, 615, 620, allies, 619, customs, 601; Franciscans in, 281, gold, 601 n., 616, Jesuits in, 618–19; people, 601, Portuguese in, 281. *See also* Moluccas

Cellates (people of the Straits of Malacca), 507–8

"Cen" (Buddhist priests of China), 815

Centurion, Martin, 186, 221

Cepoy, Thiebault de, 38

"Ceravá." *See* Sarawak

"Cesaria Caroli," 642

Cespedes, Gregorio de, 308, 721

Ceuta, 51

Ceylon (also called "Taprobane," "Ceilam," "Ceilão," "Ilanare," "Tranate," "Hibernaro"), 65, 75, 97, 339, 340, 407, 451, Alfred of England on, 25, Barros on, 342–45; Brahmans in, 345, Buddhist pilgrims to, 344; Chinese in, 343, 732, 788, Christian establishment in, 241, 274, configuration, 342, 344, Conti in, 60, Cosmas Indicopleustes in, 22, diet, 343, Eratosthenes on, 11, on European maps, 219, 223, 224, Franciscans in, 262, 266, 272, 274, in *L'Image du monde*, 28, in Jesuit letters, 330, Jesuits in, 266, languages, 279; and Marco Polo, 37, 38, Marignolli in, 42, Muslims in, 345, names for, 342; Orta in, 193, Osório on, 196, people, 343, 345, in

Ceylon—(*continued*)
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, 14, Pires on, 185, political divisions, 272, 344–45, Portuguese in, 160, 271–74, products, 343, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, revolts in, 472, royal monopolies, 344, seaports, 345, Sernigi on, 155, 156, slavery in, 345, Tooth of Buddha, 344, 488, topography, 344, trade relations, 12, 22, vassal of Vijayanagar, 369 *See also* India, Malabar
"Ceylon" (Panaon island, south of Leyte), 630, 631
Chacora (steel quoits used as weapons in India), 419
Chadar (cloak), 400
Chaghata, 453
Chalang (Burma), 543
"Chalão." *See* Chalang
Chaldean Church (in India), 231, 232; jurisdiction over St. Thomas Christians, 266, 267, liturgical language, 438
Chāliyam (India), 351
Chaliyans (caste of Malabar), 366
Chambal river, 454
"Chamlamalec" *See* Kiwam-ul-Mulk
"Chamobai" *See* Chombāla
Champa, 310, 523, 560, 561, 569, 752, 788, economy, 564, Mandeville on, 79, Marco Polo in, 37, Odoric on Pordenone on, 40, wars, 564 *See also* Cambodia
Chāmpānec (Gujarat), 393, 397, 398, 401
Chanah river, 454
Chand Rai, ruler of Srīpur in India, 481
Chandekan (India), 275
Chandragiri (India), 274, 466
Chandragiri river, 348
Chandragupta, 9
Chao ku ses (Cambodian priests), 568
Chao-ch'ing, 296, 302, 801
"Chapuzes" *See Chao ku ses*
"Chaquata" *See* Chaghata
"Charamandel." *See* Coromandel coast
Charles I, king of Spain *See* Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 114, 122, 172, 173, 177, 186, 489, 595, 639, alliance with England, 209, claim to Moluccas, 117–18, and Magellan's voyage, 115–17, marriage treaty of 1526, 117; general pacification of Europe, 118, 123–24, petitions of Cortes to, 116, 126, wars with France, 123, 127
Charles V, king of France and *Catalan Atlas*, 66
"Chatis." *See* Chettys
"Chatua." *See* Chittuvayi river
Chaucer, 77
Chaul (India), 381, 396, 402, Franciscans in, 234, 236, mission, 264; naval engagements at, 385, 393, as part of Ahmadnagar, 385, Portuguese at, 385, trading center, 386, 470
"Chaumua" *See Chau Nua*
Chau Nua (peoples of the north in Siam), 524
"Chavallacars" (a people of India), 443
Ch'a-yuan (censor), 761, 813
Chê A-nan, ruler of Champa, 561
Chekiang, 737, 739 n
Cheng Ho, 343 n, 732, 790
Ch'en-jui, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, 801
Chêng-tê emperor, 734, 735
"Chenguinquo" *See Sengoku*
Chen-shan (Chinese title meaning viceroy), 740 n
Chērumān Perumāl, 348, 349
Chess, 30
Chettys (merchants), 236, 368
Chia-ching emperor, 797
"Chianche" (Malay word for "cloves"), 597
Chiangrai, a Laotian kingdom, 523, 525
Chiengmai, 505, 520, 521, 522, 523, 525, 526, 536, wars with Siam, 521
Chiericati, Francesco, 174
"Chigliguzarate," 619
Chijawa Seiyemon, Michel, 689, 695
"Chiliate" *See* Chāliyam
China, 313, 519, agriculture, 764–66, 768, 772, 811, in Alexandrian legends, 8, 29, Alfred of England on, 25, ancestor worship, 814, 815, animals, 36, Apostle Thomas in, 784, 786, armies, 786–87, arms, 736, 738, 741, 786, 787, artillery, 82, 787, 793 n, arts and architecture, 36, 770, 811, astronomy, 782–83, 803, 808, Augustinians in, 746, 749, banditry, 736, 764, Barros on, 739–41, beggars, 741, 775, Boccaccio's references to, 45, 76, in *Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships in the World*, 59, books, 778, 803 n, 812, boundaries, 433, 752, 818, brocades, 46, Buddhism in, 738, 784, 785, 815, Cabral on, 101, canals, 36, 41, Cavendish's map, 213, censorate, 740, 754, 761–62, 782, 813, central government, 756–58, Chia-ching period (1522–66), 732, 784 n, 788, 797, cities (*fu* and *chou*), 36, 40, 42, 47, 740, 756, 760 n, 769, 775, 780, 803, 810, 818, civil officials, 736, 740, 754, 758–59, 761, 769, 780, 782, 804, 813, climate, 753, collegiate government, 759, compared to Europe, 740, 769, 803, compass, 82, 83, 771–72, configuration, 67, Confucianism, 783, 814–15, 832; Confucian schools (*Ju-hsueh*), 780 n, cormorant fishing, 36, 765, Cosmas Indicopleustes on, 22, costume, 772, 773, 811, cotton, 766, 811, courier system, 41, 42, 80, 754, crafts, 81, 738, 769–70, 772, 811, Crusading age's knowledge of, 24, Cruz in,

China—(*continued*)
286, currency, 768, customs, 749, 767, 772–73, damasks, 46, defenses, 732, 736, 768, 786, 810, 817, diet, 772–73, Dominicans in, 742, dramas, 773, 803, 808, duck cultivation, 765–66, dwarfs in, 15, earthquakes, 753, education, 738, 743, 762, 780–81, 812, 830, embroideries, 770, 811, emperor, 168, 739, 754–55, 756, 757, 759, 763, 765–66, 768, 783–84, 790, 795, 804–5, 810, 811, 813, 814, 828, entertainment, 741, 772, 773, ethnocentrism, 302, 788, 795, 802, eunuchs, 739, 755, 757 n, 758, 763, European books in, 778, on European maps, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 218, 220, 222–23, 224, 225, 693, 744, 776 n, 816–21, European sources on, 182, 227, 734–35, 738–39, 821, examination system, 780, 781–82, 804, 812, 828, expansion, 732, 741, extent, 3–4, 17, 19, 76, 278, 739, 753, 810, 817, 819, families, 736, 775, famine, 764, 811, festivals, 741, 773, fish cultivation, 765, floods, 295 n, 753, 764, 817, 819, foot-binding, 36, 774, 793, foreigners in, 753–54, 788, 789, 795, Franciscans in, 40, 300, geographical divisions, 67, 741, 816–17, 819, Goes in, 277, 278, gold, 37, 767, 768, 811, government, 736, 754, 758, 761, 762, 813, granaries, 42, 768 n, Great Wall, 739, 819, gunpowder, 82, 83, 787, 811, Guzman on, 328, 809, Hakluyt's materials on, 214–15, Hideyoshi's war against, 308, 720, high roads, 736, history, 783, 811, hospitals and almshouses, 775, hostels, 736; houseboats, 741, households, 769 n., 787, Iberian plans for military crusade against, 294, 298, 300, identification with Cathay, 4, 76, 278, 467, 752, 823, illicit overseas trade, 299–300, 732–33, 737, imperial council, 756–57, 813, imperial princes (*Ch'in wang*), 755, 814, industries, 36, 767, irrigation, 741, 765, 811, 826, Italians in, 80, 168–69, 800, Jesuit efforts to enter, 278, 286, 295–303, in Jesuit writings, 295, 330, 794–815, Jesuits in, 262, 302–3, 797, Jews in, 433, John of Monte Corvino in, 39, José de Acosta on, 806–8, under jurisdiction of Bishop of Goa, 235, 241, 297, justice, 736, 749, 754, 759–61, 763, 804, lakes, 819, language, 776, 795, 803, 806–7, 811, Laotian raids on, 566, law of avoidance, 736, 740, 754, 759, 813, 828, learning, 741, 782–83, 803, 803 n, 808, 813, in *Le livre du trésor*, 29, licensed trade, 733, 737, 788, 790, licensed travel abroad, 788, 790, literacy, 781, local government, 758–60, location, 59, 722, 739, 752, 785, Maffei on, 326; maize, 766, 767, 768, in Mandeville, 79–80, Marco Polo in, 35–36, 37, 64, Marignolli in, 42; marriage, 80, 755, 774, measures, 739, 768, medicine, 782, 803, 808, Mendoza on, 184, 792–94, metropolitan provinces, 739 n, 758, military forces, 736, 756, military weakness, 297, 737, 786–87, Ming policy of isolation, 732–33, 741, 786, 788, 790, mining, 767, 768, missionary activity in, 39, 40, 41, 257, 784–85, 801, as model state, 825, 835, Mongols in, 34, 35, 43, 46, 732, 812, monopolies, 765–66, 766 n, music, 773–74, musk, 816, Muslims in, 815, names for, 15, 752, national character, 741, 784, 786, 799, 804–5, navy, 732, 736, nobility, 755, 757, 802, 804, Nunes Barreto in, 796–97, Odoric of Pordenone in, 40–41, official appointments to office, 757, 759, official salaries, 759, 768, official titles, 739, 759, 813, Osório on, 196, Palanquins, 770, 774, *Pao-chia* system, 736, 760–61, 793, 828, paper, 83, 767, 777, paper money, 34, 80, 768, pearl-fishing, 767, 811, peoples, 753, 772, 786, 803, in *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 14, Pigafetta's knowledge of, 175, 176, piracy, 654, 732, 796, Pires embassy to, 733–34, place names, 817, 820, plants, 36, population, 753, 764, 765, 769 n, 802, 803, 810, porcelain, 81–82, 83, 769, 811, 816, Portuguese in, 172, 295, 737, 816, Portuguese embassies to, 113, 295, 733–34, 797, Portuguese prisoners in, 187, 284, 295, 734, 748–49, 786, 796, 799, poverty, 764, 775, printing, 36, 82–83, 741, 776, 777, 803, 811, prisons, 749, 762, 775, products, 15, 736, 765, 767, 795, 816, prostitution, 774, 775, provinces (*chung*), 736, 739–40, 743, 755–56, 758, 818, 819, punishments, 749, 754, 760–61, 781; puppet shows, 773, Queen Elizabeth's letter to, 477, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, reaction to union of Spain and Portugal, 299, relations to Annamese, 565, relations with Ceylon, 343 n., relations with Java, 576, relations with the Philippines, 645, 646, relations with the Portuguese, 113, 172, 187, 295, 296, religions, 749, 783–86, 814; religious images, 785, religious tolerance, 784, 814, resources, 46, 803, revolt, 736–37, Ribera in, 797–98, Ricci in, 801–2, rice, 764, 768, 772, 811, rivers, 36, 41, 67, 736, 765, 811, 818, 819, Rubruquis' knowledge of, 34, sailing chariots, 741, 770–71, 819, Sanchez in, 301, sexual practices, 774, ships, 36, 736, 766, 771, silent barter, 15, 29, silk, 16, 21, 22, 34, 41, 44, 45–46, 73, 81, 83, 84, 767, 768, 811, 816, silver, 767, 768, 811, "single-whip system." 768, 769 n; slavery, 47, 734, 774, social services, 775–76, 828, Spanish in, 745, 746, 749, 750, spring-plowing ceremony, 811, state schools, 781, 804, 812, 828, statistics, 756, 763, 768, 787, 793, 809 n, succession, 755, 814, sugar, 766, 811, suzerain

China—(*continued*)
of Korea, 721, suzerain of Malacca, 509, 510, 571, 734, Tankas, 771, Taoism, 785, 815, 832, taxes, 756, 758, 767 n, 768–69, 786, 810, tea, 36, 772, 803, temples, 738, 784, 785, 814, Theophylactus Simocatta on, 22, towns (*hsien* and *chou*), 740, 756, 769, 810, 818, trade, 13, 15, 21, 44, 45, 433, 481, 526, 745, 767, 789, 797, trade bans, 734, 737, 788 n.; tribute system, 534, 733–34, 735, 741, 787–91, 805, universities, 780, 781 n, 807–8, 812, Valignano on, 256, 258, 259, *Wako*, 654, Wan-li era (1572–82), 764 n, wars, 26, 308, 720, 810, 811, water mills, 765, water-wheels, 765, 771, in Western art, 72; in Willes' *History of Travayle*, 211, writing, 34, 755, 757, 776, 777, 781, 782, 803, 806–7; women, 741, 774, and Xavier, 282–83, 794
Ch'in-ch'ai (Imperial Commissioner in China), 759, 761 n
Chinchow (China), 818
Chin-shih (degree of "entered scholar" or Doctor in China), 812
Chioggia, 698
"Chipet." *See* Quipit
Chistapatam (India) Jesuit mission at, 274
Chitor (India), 341, 418, 420, 422, 423 *See* Mewar
Chittagŏng, 417, 425, 473, 541, 543, 550, 551, 552, Mahmūd Shah and, 412; Portuguese factory at, 413, vassal of Arakan, 275, 550, 552
Chittor (India) Jesuits at, 274
Chittuvayi river, 351
Ch'iu Tao-lung, 734 n
"Cholamandala." *See* Coromandel coast
Cholas, country of. *See* Coromandel coast
Chombāla, 351
Chorão island (near Goa), 392 n, conversions in, 242, 251, first congregation of Indian province at, 256
Chronicle of Bohemia, 42
Chryse. medieval conception of, 23, Pomponius Mela on, 14
Chrysostom, John, 21
Ch'uan-chou, 40, 768 n., Marco Polo in, 37, Marignolli in, 42, 43; Odoric of Pordenone on, 41
Chu-jen (degree of "promoted scholar" or Master in China), 812
Chung kuo. possible reference of Boccaccio to, 76
"Ciaco," 767 n
Ciappi, Antonio, 709
"Cidayo." *See* Sidayu
"Cilapulapu" *See* Lapu-Lapu
Cinnamon, 343, 344, 589, 811, of Ceylon, 156; importation by Rome, 16, of India, 96, 104, 162, Orta on, 193
"Cintacora" (India), 372
"Cipangu" *See* Japan
"Cipara" *See* Japara
Circuit of the Indian Ocean See Periplus of the Erythrean Sea
Claesz, Cornelis, 200, 744
Clavijo, Ruy de, 81
Cleitarchus of Colophon, 8
Clement V, pope, 40
Clement VII, pope (Guilio de' Medici) reception of Pigafetta, 174, 175
Clement VIII, pope, 717
Clement of Alexandria, 18
Cloves, 96, 595, 596, 606, Asian names for, 597, in commerce, 22, 608, cultivation, 592, 594, 596–97, 605, Pigafetta on, 176, Sernigi on, 156, Varthema on, 166 *See also* Spice trade
Clusius *See* L'écluse, Charles de
Cobo, Juan, 306, 722, translations from Chinese, 805–6
"Cobrai" (chief minister of Pegu), 547
Cochin, 103, 105, 351, 428, 433, 434, 447, 448, 466, 475, 487, 539, Cabral in, 101, 102, in Christian ecclesiastical organization, 232, 241, 472, commercial agreement of 1502 with Portugal, 103, Dominicans in, 232, 233, duties, 472; extent, 352, 447, Franciscans in, 231, 234, 262, government, 352, Javans in, 585, Jews in, 488, languages of, 279, Mar Joseph in, 266, marriage policy of Portuguese at, 233–34, missionary schools and colleges at, 249, 265, 448, Orta in, 193, pepper trade, 472, Portuguese colony at, 239, 245, 352; St Thomas Christians in, 352, Sassetti in, 198, shipbuilding at, 352; Springer in, 163, Valignano in, 356, Varthema in, 165, Xavier in, 248, 265, 283
Cochin-China, 311, 563, 569; extent, 561 n, 564, 752, relationship to Annamese language and people, 564, 565, relationship to China, 564, 565, trade, 564–65. *See also* Cambodia
"Cocivarado" (taxes of Goa), 390
Coco-de-Mer, 346
Coconut palm, 628, 826
"Codandem." *See* Khush-'adam
Coelho, Duarte, 521, 571
Coelho, Gaspar, 292, 304, 305, 703 n., 704, 708, 720
Coelho, João, 412
Coelho, Nicolas, 96, 97, 101, 104, 155
"Cogi." *See Go-chi*
"Cogi Mocadao," a Deccan ruler, 384
Coimbra, 316, 317 n., 431, 673, 674, Castanheda at, 187, Japanese mission in, 701; Jesuit College at, 246, 249, 258, 316, 429; Maffei at, 325, printing in, 149, 675
Coir, 346, 488

Cologne, 121, 316, 429, Imperial Diet of 1512, 122, printing in, 149
Colombo, 235, 343, 344, 345, 406, 488 *See also* Ceylon
"Coluiquiri" *See Kūfukugi*
Columbum *See* Quilon
Columbus, Christopher, 38, 69, 70, 71, 76, 95, 114, 115, discoveries, 57, knowledge of Conti, 63, and Portugal, 55–56, second voyage, 58
Commissariat, M. S., 491
Comorin (India), 265, 269, 408
Conde, João de Vila de *See* Vila de Conde, João de
Condur (India), 274
Confucianism, 832, classics, 815, doctrine, 815, filial piety, 814, "five constant virtues," 814, and Marco Polo, 36, in Rome, 17 *See also* China
Congo river, 54
"Conixus" *See* Daimyo
Constantinople, 21, 42, 46, 50, 54, 63
Contante carnaxies (chief justice of Calicut), 358
Conti, Nicolò de', *59–63*, 65, 69, 70, 71, 82, 218, 370, 407, 495, 531 n., 539, 550, 573, 587, 593, compared to Megasthenes, 62, on compass, 61, edition of Valentim Fernandes, 158, geographical theory, 61; on India, 61, knowledge of Asian languages, 61, relations with Poggio, 60–62, on southeast Asia, 503
Coos (India), 414
Copper, 657, 826, distribution of, 108, prices of, 102, Sernigi on, 157
"Copymy." *See* Bassein, city of Burma
Cora, John de, 42
Coral as currency, 155, 156, prices of, 102, Sernigi on, 157
Cormorants, 36, 765, 766
Coromandel coast (also written as Cholas, Cholamandal, and "Charamandel"), 64, 343, 351, 352, 407, 409, extent, 409, Franciscans in, 233, John of Monte Corvino on, 39; Marignolli on, 42, products, 409, towns, 409–10; Varthema on, 166
Corrêa, Antonio, 556, 557
Corrêa, Gaspar, 196, 338 n., 347 n.
Corsali, Andrea, 169, 206, 495, 731 n., 818
Corsi, Francisco in Lahore, 277, 278
Côrte Real, Jerónimo, 184 n., 396
Cortés, Hernán, 116, 117
Cortesão, Armando, 206
Cortesão, Jaimé, 151 n., 153
"Corumbijns." *See Kutumbi*
Coruña, 117
Cosa, Juan de la manuscript world map of 1500, 219
Cosmas Indicopleustes, 23, 30, 247, geographical theory, 22
"Cosmi," *See* Bassein, city of Burma
"Cosmin" *See* Bassein, city of Burma
"Cospetir" *See* Gajpati
Costa, D Jorgé da, 97
Costa, Manuel da, 324, 703, 706, 727
Cóta. *See* Kotte
"Cotamaluco." *See* Kutb-ub-Mulk
Cotapatam (India), 274
"Coticolam." *See* Kottakulam
"Cotufoxa," ruler of Bihar, 424
Coutinho, Francisco, 242, 388 n., 797
Couto, Diogo do, 190, 191, 194, 196 n., 496, 562, 588 n., on Castanheda's travels, 188
Covilhã, Pero da, 56, 64, 94, 231
Covilham, Pedro de *See* Covilhã, Pero da
Cowrie shells, 412, 417, 545 n., as currency, 346
Cracow, 702, Mongols in, 31
"Cragnate." *See* Eddakād
"Crangalor" *See* Cranganore
Cranganore (India), 101, 232, 351, establishment of seminary at, 237, Priest Joseph's description of, 157
Cravaliz, A de, 189
Crawfurd, John, 588, 597
"Cremeti." *See* Hadi Karmeti
Cremona, 63, 94, 106, 700
Cresques, Abraham, 67, 85
"Cressi" *See* Geresik
Crignon, Pierre, 178, 181, 495, 573, 574
Criminale, Antonio, 258 n., 436; on Fishery Coast, 270
Crocodiles, 351, 389
Crusades, 54, effects on trade, 44, 51, effects on view of Asia, 24, and St. Thomas tradition, 25
Cruz, Francisco da, 232
Cruz, Gaspar da, 196, 330, 501 n., 536, 562, 739 n., 747, 749, 750, 751, 752, 755 n., 758 n., 759, 762, 764, 765, 766, 767, 770, 771, 772, 774, 776, 780, 782, 783, 784, 788, 789, 792, 796, 821, 825; biography and travels, 748, in Cambodia, 286, 309, 310, on Cambodia, 565–68, in China, 286, 295, on China, 742, 753, establishment of convent at Malacca, 285, on Laos, 565–66, literary sources, 748
Cruz, Jeronimo da, 537
Cruz, João da, 236
Ctesias of Cnidus, 7, 20
"Cuicavem." *See Kusavan*
Cunha, Nuno da, viceroy, 394, 410, 412, 422
Cunha, Tristão da, 167
"Curumbis." *See Kutumbi*
Cuttack (India), 473
Cutup de Iashach. See Kutb Shāhi dynasty of Golconda
Cuyck, Hendrik van, 702 n.
Cyprus, 130, 469
Cysat, Renward, 703–5

Dabhul (India), 385, 393, sack of 1509 and its decline, 386–87
Dacca (India), 425 n, 482
"Dacer" (India), 423
"Dagon" *See* Rangoon
Daha (Java), 589
Daibutsu (Great Buddha of Japan), 716
Daimyo (local lords of Japan), 284, 714
Dainichi ("Great sun," Japanese for Vairocana), 662
Dala (balance stick), 417
"Dalay" *See* Yangtze river
Dalla (Burma), 544
"Dama" *See* Demak
Damão (India), 404, 436, 457, 466, 470, Franciscans in, 234, 236, Hindus of, 440, Jesuits in, 435, Portuguese conquest of, 264, 435
Dāmyāl, son of Akbar, 455
"Dân or Danial" *See* Dāmyāl
Danda Rajpur (India), 386
Dante, *74–76*, 80, image of Asia, 75
Danzig, 139
Darius of Persia, 8, annexation of Indus valley, 5, 6, 396
Dasmariñas, Luis Perez, 311, 312
Dastur Khan, ruler of Randēr, 404
Dati, Giuliano, 76
Datu (term for chieftain in the Philippines), 628
Datura, 483
"Davá" *See* Ava
Dayaks (a people of Borneo), 582, 584, 596 n
"Daybut." *See* Daibutsu
De insulis et peregrinationibus Lusitanorum (collected by Peutinger), 159
De Moluccis insulis *See* Maximilian of Transylvania
De vita et moribus Indorum, 63
De Bry, Theodor, 208, 215, *216*, 227, 709
"Decacini" (customs in Burma), 549
Decades of the newe worlde or west India .. *See* Eden, Richard
"Decão" *See* Deccan
Deccan (also written as "Decão" or "Daqué"), 391, 392, 419, 435, agriculture, 432, Akbar's campaign of 1598 into, 277, Bahmani dynasty, 382, 383, 384, Castanheda on, 383–84, extent, 381, 384–85, history, 382–84, in Jesuit letters, 432, Orta in, 381, Orta on, 194, people, 387, political divisions, 384–85, relations with Delhi, 382, 383, towns, 384, 387, 432
Dee, John, 189, 191
"Degu" *See* Rangoon
Delhi, 340, 341, 398, 418, 419, 454, Orta on, 193
"Delings" (hammocks), 545
Demak (Java), 586, 589, 590 n.
Demarcation line definition, 115, 118, 171, 221, 230, in East, 167, 168, in West, 168
Den rechten veg auss zu faren von Lissbona gen Kallakuthrichten vo meyl zu meyl , 161
"Dericcan" (from the Persian, *dārikhāna*, meaning palace), 480
Descelıers, Pierre, 222
"Deunú" (Portuguese transcription of Sinhalese term for Buddha), 344
Dewa (Japan), 724
Dhamura river, 411
D'harma, 269
Dharmadam (India), 350
Dharmapāla, king of Ceylon, 472, conversion of, 272–73
Diamonds, 479, 546, in Borneo, 582, in Vijayanagar, 374, 471
Diamper, Synod of, 266 n, 268–69
Dias, Bartolomeu, 55, 56, 92, 95, 153, 252
Dieppe cartographic center, 222, voyages sponsored by, 177–78
Diez, Pero, 655
Diksha (Zamorin's period of mourning), 357, 364 n
Dilawar Khan, ruler of Malwa, 420 n
Dillingen, 319, 430, 675, 702, 708
Dinavaca (Ceylon), 344
"*Dinchio.*" *See Dainichi*
Diu, 113, 394, 402, 403, 406, 418, 422, 466, 470, Bahādur Shah at, 423, Brahmans banished from, 239, Chinese at, 402, Dieppe sailors at, 177, fortress at, 395, Franciscans in, 234, 236, history, 402–3, mission stations at, 264, Orta in, 193, Portuguese attacks upon, 393, 395, Portuguese literature on, 396, siege of 1538, 395, siege of 1546, 128, 237, 395, strategic importance, 394, trading center, 394, 402
Divālī, festival of Goa, 441
"Divallı" *See Divālī*
Divar (island north of Goa), 392 n, 440, 441; Brahmanical books from, 280, conversions at, 242
Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America, 213 *See* Hakluyt, Richard
Divine Comedy, 74–76
Djalolo (Halmahera), 600
"Dobrigas," 422
Documenta Indica Jesuit letters in, 431
Doesborch, Jan van, 163, 164
Doetechum, Baptista à, 202
Doetechum, Joannes à, 202
"Dogõ" *See* Rangoon
Dom Afonso, prince of Trincomalle conversion of, 270
Dom Bartholomeo (Christian name of Ōmura Sumitada), 291 n, 691 *See* Ōmura Sumitada
Dominicans, 38, 42, 43, 252, 435, 536, in Asia,

33, 34, 38, 232, 234, 285–86, at Bay of Bengal, 275, in Cambodia, 309–10, in China, 286, 295, 742, in India, 232, 262, 264, 265, language study, 805, in Malacca, 287, in Philippines, 297, 805, relations with Jesuits, 252, and St Catherine's Church of Goa, 233, in Siam, 286, 536–37
Domitian, emperor of Rome, 15
Don river, 25, 752
Doña Isabel *See* Pocarago, Elizabeth Niachile
"Doria" *See* Orissa
Doutrina Christão, 437
Drake, Francis, 135, 189 n, 212, 213, 478, 499, 590 n, 592, 593, 622, 641 n
Dresser, Matthies, 744
Duccio, 72
"Duçoes" (plantations at Malacca), 508
"Dulcinde" (a combination of Diul, or the seaport of Dival, with Sind), 396
Durão, Francisco, 434 n
Durians, 513
Dutch, 131, overseas enterprises, 199–200, rebellion against Spain, 127, 130, 135, 198, in spice trade, 121, 125, 128, 134, 141, 199, voyages to Asia, 199–200, 489
Dutch East India Company (1602), 489
Dwarfs of China, 15

Ea quae, papal bull of 1506, 160
Eannes, Gil, 52
East on Beatus chart, 24, definition, *3–4*, 19, 23, 75, on Hellenistic maps, 14, "India" as synonym for, 24, medieval representations of, 66, Renaissance accounts of, 59 *See also* Asia
East Africa Duarte Barbosa in, 170, under jurisdiction of Bishop of Goa, 235, 240, 241
East India Company (English), 214, 215, 623
East Indians at Goa, 263
East Indies in *Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships in the World*, 59, called "India," 24, cartography of, 220, 221, 222–23, 225, 226, 495, definition of, 4, early European knowledge of, 20, 22, 59, 65, first Dutch voyage to, 489, in Guzman's work, 328, under jurisdiction of Bishop of Goa, 235, 240, in Maffei's work, 326, Mandeville on, 79, Maximilian of Transylvania on, 172, Pigafetta in, 176, Portuguese exploration of, 115, 176, Roger Bacon on, 42, role in *padroado* system, 230, unknown to Alexander the Great, 8, Xavier in, 285. *See also* Moluccas, Philippine Islands, Spiceries
Eastern Asia definition, 4
"Ecclesia militans," a painting by Andrea da Firenze, 73
Eddakād (India), 350
Eden, Richard, 175, *209–12*, 217, *A treatyse of the newe India*, 209–10
Edessa *See* Urfa
Edward I, king of England and Bar Sauma, 39
Eglauer, Anton, 322
Egypt, 10, 14, 49, 64, 112, controlled by Rome, 12, Indian influence in, 18, as intermediary, 3, 13, 44, 50, 128, located in Asia, 4, reaction to opening of Portugal's direct trade with India, 106, Saracen control over, 33, sericulture, 16, 81, spice monopoly of, 50, trade, 11, 21, 44, 99, 102, 106, 107, 113, 129, 130, 136, Turkish conquest of, 113
El Escorial, 693, 747 n, 779 n, 803
Elcano *See* Cano, Juan Sebastian del
Elephanta (also known as "Pori" or Gharapuri), 395, 474, 488, Orta on, 194, 405
Elephants, 343, 380, 397, 399, 419, 456, 463, 515 n, 532, 544, 547, 563, 566, 569 n, 583, in Calicut, 156, as exotic animals, 168, gift to King Philip II, 488, gifts to papacy, 167, hunting, 548
"Eli" *See* Delhi
Elizabeth I, Queen of England, 135, 623, letter to Akbar, 477, letter to China, 477
Empoli, Giovanni da, 168, 206, 495, 497, 504, 506, 513, 574
Ems, Rudolf von, 29
Endem, Johannes de, 193
England, 51, 77, 121, 127, Alexandrian legends in, 28, Atlantic interests of, 58, East India Company, 214, 215, 623, efforts to break Portuguese monopoly, 809, interest in East Indies, 490, interest in India, 477–82, and Mongols, 31, pepper prices, 123, 129, 133, 138, 143, 144, relations with Portugal, 51, 128, search for northern route to Cathay, 135, 209, 212, Spanish marriage, 210, in spice trade, 141, 142, 144, 198, war with Spain (1585–1604), 135, 138–40
Enkhuizen, 488 n, Linschoten's return to, 199–200
Ephesus, 7
Erālpād (heir apparent in Calicut), 357
Erasmus, 68, 183 n
Eratosthenes, *10–11*, 12, 19, as source for Strabo, 13,14
Eravallens (a people of Malabar), 367
Erigena, John Scot knowledge of Ptolemy, 24
Escalante, Bernardino de, 197, 212, 625, 643, 747, 750, 751, 755, 756, 759, 766, 770, 774, 775, 780 n., 792, 793 n, 805, 818, his *Discurso*, 742–43
Escalante Alvardo, Garcia de, 655
Eschenbach, Wolfram von, 29
Escorial *See* El Escorial
Espejo expedition, 744

Este, Hercules d', 219
Este, Isabella d', 174
Ethiopia, 10, 64; as part of "Christian Indies," 60, Portugal's claim to, 97, Valignano on, 256
Ethiopians, 263, 486
Eugene IV, pope, 60
Eunuchs, 415, 418, 480, 547, 739, 755, 757 n., 758, 763
Europe· Alexander Romance in, 822, Asian products in, 19, 21, 44, 73, 91, 97, 142, 159, 196 n , 346, 393, 476, 488, 636, 693, 697, 699, 770, 806, 834, Asian writings in, 439, 834–35, Black Death, 43, 49, Buddhist ideas in, 19, 27, 30, 74, Chaldean bishop in, 267, Chinese in, 39, 738, 742 n 747, 756 n , 791, Chinese books in, 738, 745, 747, 750 n , 756 n , 778–80, 803, 805 n , Chinese characters in, 679–80, 818, Chinese maps in, 224, 745, 750 n , 818; Chinese porcelain in, 81, Chinese silks in, 46, Chinese writings in, 679–80, 693, 743, 747 n , 775–76, cities compared to those of Asia, 665 n ; commercial revolution, 46–47, comparison with China, 740, 769, 803; comparison with Japan, 685–86, 687–88, 706–7, 713, controversy over Chinese and biblical chronology, 783, cultural relativism, 835, definition, 3, 25, diffusion of interest in Asia, 52, 53, 91–92, 170–71, 181, 228, 835, East Indians in, 171, 639, fabulous stories about Asia in, 24–29, 822, 833–34, Filipino convert in, 808, first knowledge of place names of southeast Asia, 502–4; gunpowder in, 82, 83, Hindu writings in, 439; image of Asia, 19, 22, 24, 43, 54, 84–86, 91–92, 142, 335, 822–35, image of Burma, 560, image of China, 741, 763–64, 774, 792–94, 820, 823, 824–25, image of India, 337, 446–47, 823–24; image of Indochina, 570–71; image of Indonesia, 591, image of Japan, 696, 705–6, 710, 728–29, image of Malaya, 518–19; image of Siam, 537–38; image of southeast Asia, 646–50; Indian legends in, 27, "Indian Letters" in, 428–30, Indians in, 17, 97, 101, 102, 157–58, 167, 232, 337, 442, 696, influence of Asia on its arts, 71–74, influence of Asia on its literature, 74–81, Japanese in, 213 n , 254, 257, 654, 672–74, 688–701; Japanese maps in, 223, 710, Japanese mission in, 688–705, Japanese writings in, 660, 673, 679, 693, 698, 700, 704, 776, land routes, 20, 34, 44, 59, Malabar Christians in, 101, 157–58; and mapping of Asia, 217–26, migration of Asian technology to, 81–84; migration of Oriental literary themes to, 74, Mongol mission of 1338 in, 41, and Mongols, 31, 32, 33, 34, paper, 83; pepper prices, 143–47, Persian books in, 279; piracy, 44; population, 44, printing techniques from China, 777–78, Renaissance view of Asia, 59, sailing chariots in, 771 n , sericulture, 21, 46, silk in, 21, 83, 84, Sinhalese in, 272, social customs, 687–88, sources of knowledge about Asia, 5, 6, 20, 29, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42, 47, 59, 65, 66, 71, 85, 89, 90, 91–92, 97, 115, 150, 169, 181, 228, 278, study of Oriental languages in, 476, Tamil books in, 279, trade, 16, 20, 29, 38, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 132, union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns, 688–89, uses of pepper, 16, 136 *See also* Asia, Printing, Spice trade
Evora, 428, 742, Japanese mission in, 692, 701, Jesuit College of, 258, Maffei at, 325
Exoticism, 217, 833–34, in Maffei, 451, in Middle Ages, 29, in Renaissance, 71
Exposición Oriente-Occidente (Madrid), of 1958, 805 n

Faenza, 81
"Fakata" *See* Hakata
Fan Li-pen, 805 n.
"Faranquis" (Franks or Portuguese), 641
Faria, João de, 167
Faria e Sousa, Manuel de, 192 n , 496
Fartakis, 422
Fatehpur Sikhri, 457, 478, 480, Akbar's court at, 275, 455, Aquaviva's arrival at, 276
"Father of the Christians" (also called *Pai dos Cristãos*) activities of, 240
Faulcon, Nicholas, of Toul, 42
Fedrici, Cesare, 201, 214, 215, 479, 481, 490, 506, 513, 540, 541, 543, 551, 552, 559, 560, 573, on Burma, 498, on India, 470–73, on Pegu, 548, plagiarized, 469, in Ramusio, 469; reliability, 469–70, on southeast Asia, 498, travels, 498
Feio, André, 722
"Feizan" *See* Hiei-zan
Felt, 454
Ferdinand, king of Aragon, 55, 56, 96
Ferishta (also known as Mohammed Kasim), 381, 420 n
"Fermes," a Beauvais manuscript, 28
Fernandes, Andreas, 672, 797 n , death of, 292, return to Europe, 254
Fernandes, Duarte, 520
Fernandes, Francisco, 466, missionary work, 275
Fernandes, Sebastian, 448
Fernandes, Valentim, *158–59*, 162, *169*, 170, 181, 182, as commercial intermediary, 108, 159, correspondence with Peutinger, 159–60; letter of 1515, 169
Fernandez, Antonio, 616
Fernandez, João, 663, 668
Fernandez, Juan, 674 n , 679
Ferrara, 698

Ferrara-Florence, council of, 52, 59, 63
Feyerabend, Sigmund, 215
"Filipina," 625, 643
Finaeus, Orontius, 180
"Firando " *See* Hirado
Firenze, Andrea da, 72, 73
Firoz Tughlug, sultan of Delhi, 382 n
Fishery Coast, 409, 428, 432, 433, 434, 436, 466, Antonio Criminale at, 270, Christians of, 269, 270, Henrique Henriques at, 249, Jesuit mission in, 266, 270, languages of, 279, mass conversions in, 238, missionary activity on, 236, 271, Prince of Trincomalle at, 270, Xavier in, 247, 248, 269
Fitch, Ralph, 204, 477, 487, 490, 506, 513, 535, 540, 549, 552, 555, 556, 573, on Bengal, 480–81, on Burma, 499, reliability, 479, reliance on Federici, 215, sources, 479, 499, travels, 478, 499, 536
Fiume, 128
Flanders printing in, 149, trade, 93, 121, 123, 124
Fleurs des histoires d'Orient, 78
Florence, 38, 46, 47, 219, 694, 705, 710; interest in Asia, 45, interest in India, 475–77, letters from East, 168–69, merchants of, in Portugal, 95, 103, 104, 106, 114, pepper prices in, 145, population, 100, porcelain, 82, relations with Portugal, 52, 113, 152, trade, 65, 93, 125, 136
Flores island, 593, 594
Flos Sanctorum (*Flower of the Saints*), 437
Fo-lang-chi (Franks, Portuguese, or just Europeans in general), 734, 737, 788. *See also* "Faranquis"
Fonseca, Bartolemeu da· establishment of Mesa da Consciéncia, 242
Fonseca, Juan Rodriquez de, 114, 115, 116
Fonseca, Melchior work at Chandekan, 275
Fonseca, Vicente de, 198, 202
Foochow (China), 773, 783, 789, Sanchez in, 299
"Foquexus." *See Hokke-shū*
Foral de usos e costumes, 390 n. *See also* Goa
Formosa, 729, 753, Europeans in, 722, on European maps, 722; strategic international position, 722–23, typhoon center, 722 n.
Fra Mauro, 69–70
Fracastoro, Girolamo, 205
Fragoso, Manuel, 520
Frampton, John, 212, 742 n.
France, 38, 42, 57, 99; Alexandrian legend in, 28, Asian voyages, 177–78, Bar Sauma in, 39, books about Asia in, 227, intervention in Portuguese empire, 177–78, knowledge of, in Asia, 158, and Mongols, 31, 41, pepper prices, 145, relations with Spain, 117, 118, sericulture, 81, Society of Jesus in, 251; and Spanish-Portuguese union, 135; support of Dutch against Spain, 135, trade, 46, 58, 99, 117, 124, 125, 128, 129, 198
"Franceses" (probably Christian Europeans), 422
Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, 133, 476, reception of Japanese legates, 694–95
Francis I, king of France. trading policies, 123, 124, 125, 177, wars with Charles V, 123
Franciscans, 32, 40, 41, 42, 43, 100, 232, 234, 309, 338, 435, 537, in Burma, 285, 557–58, in Cambodia, 309–10, 568–69, in Celebes, 281, in Ceylon, 272–73, 274, in China, 300, Conventuals, 234, early accounts of Asia, 31, 33, 39–40, 59, in India, 234–35, 236–37, 252 n , 262, 265, in Japan, 305–6, 307, 308, 717, in Java, 586, language study, 278–79; in Malacca, 287, in Manila, 224, 297, mass conversions by, 238, 269, missionary work, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 262, 264, 274, missionizing methods, 307; in Moro Islands, 281, 611, at Mylapore, 410, Observants, 234; relations with Jesuits, 252, 264, 265, 266, 268, 306–8, 717–19, in Siam, 286
Francisco, Adão, 557 n.
Franck, Sebastian, 215
Frankfurt, 121, book fairs, 150, publishing in, 216
Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor: and Mongols, 31
Frederick of Wirsberg, 673
Freire, Nuna Fernandes, 425
"Frenoxama." *See* Hiei-zan
Frescobaldi, house of, 46, 468
Freytas, Jordão de, 610
Fribourg, 703
Frobisher, Martin, 212
Fróis, Luis, 211, 249, 290 n , 304, 321, 323, 325, 329, 435, 443, 534, 674, 689, 706, 707, 708, 720, 728, 796, distichs, 686–88, "History of Japan," 683, on Indian writings and customs, 439, 441–42, on Japan, 291, 292, 682–85, on Japanese universities, 666 n.; on Malacca, 517–18; on Moluccas, 612–14, Quadros on, 323 n., relations with Maffei, 686, relations with Nobunaga, 292, 684, relations with Valignano, 685, on Ternate, 596 n., on Yezo, 723–24, 725
Froude, James A., 215
Fugger, Anton, 744
Fugger, house of, 91, 92, 94, 95, 108, 110, 114, 116, 120, 122, 128, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 492
Fugger, Jakob, 194
Fukien, province of China, 732, 737, 739 n., 746, 748, 749, 753, 768 n , 789, 800, Marco Polo in, 37, 81. *See also* Ch'uan-chou, Foochow
Fukuoka. *See* Hakata

Fula (fortunes), 442
Funai (Japan), 241, 307 n., 668; Jesuits in, 290, 291
Funchal as archdiocese, 233, 235
Further India definition, 4
Fusan (Korea), 308
"Futuqui" *See* Hotoke

"Gadacham," 459
"Gaetan, Ivan" *See* Gaetano, Juan
Gaetano, Juan, 207, 495, 593, 602 n., 603, 624, 642, 643
"Gagiamada" (Java), 589
Gago, Balthasar, 290, 291, 676, 678, 681, 682, 776 n., on Japanese language, 679–80
"Gaiceas" (people of Waigeu island), 616
Gajpati (a territory held by Orissa), 341 *See also* "Cospetir"
Galela, 611 *See also* "Moro"
Gallinato, Juan Xuarès, 311
Galvão, António, *195*, 196, 203, 325, 593, 603, 643 n., 653 n., 655
Gama, Duarte da, 668, 677
Gama, Estavão da, 516
Gama, Gaspar da, 97, 98, 102, 156
Gama, Miguel da, 338
Gama, Vasco da, 50, 56, 92, 95, *96–98*, 99, 101, 102–3, 106, 109, 112, 114, 142, 155, 156, 160, 164, 231, cartography of his first voyage, 219, in Castanheda's writings, 188, invades Red Sea in 1503, 112, voyage of 1502, 102–3, 106
Gambia river Portuguese exploration of, 54
Gancars (councilors in Goa area), 447
Gandaulim (at Goa), 389
Ganes (people of Moro), 614
Ganeśa, 439, 441
"Ganga" river, 411
Gangawali river, 373
Ganges river, 339, 341, 342, *413–14*, 414 n., 418, 454, 459, 473, 480, 832, Conti's description, 60, 61, 62, in Dante, 74, description of in *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 14, Eratosthenes' location of, 11, location of Maurya court on, 9, medieval geography of, 23, 24, unknown to Alexander the Great, 8
Gangetic plain, 480, 481
Gangeticus Sinus, 413
"Ganza" (Malay, *Gangsa*, meaning "bell-metal"), 546, 554
"Gape." *See* Ternate island
Garhi (India), 414
Gascony, 39
Gastaldi, Giacomo, 222, 224, 341 n., 495, 625 n., 653 n.
"Gate." *See* Ghats
"Gatighan" (Apit or Himuquetan? in the Philippines), 631
Gaur, 417, 418, 481, as "Bengala," 414 n., capital of Bengal, 414–15, destruction in 1575, 414 n., famine, 425, location, 414, looted by Afghans, 424, 425, population, 414, Portuguese in, 425, as seaport, 414, size, 414
Gebe island, 616
"Gebes" (people of Gebe island), 616
"Geilolos" *See* Gilolos
"Geinal," ruler of Pasei (Sumatra), 577, 578
Genesis geographical information in, 22
Genoa, 673, 674, 700, Bar Sauma in, 39, commercial documents, 45, exploration of Atlantic, 52, merchants of, 43, 44, 45, 47, 60, 64, 93, 125, trade, 46, 50, 65, 99, 108, 110, 124, 129, 136, 152
Geografiska Annaler, 68
Geographia (of Ptolemy), *16–17*, 67, 68, 69, 218, 220, 502, 603, influence of, 69–70, manuscript versions, 67, read by John Scot Erigena, 24; sixteenth-century editions of, 220, 222, sources, 67–68, summary, 68–69, variant texts, 68. *See also* Ptolemy of Alexandria
George, Archdeacon of Malabar Church, 268
Geresik (Java), 586, 588, 589
German language. compared to Chinese and Japanese, 656
Germany accounts of explorations in, 159, 215–17, Alexandrian legends in, 28, Jesuits in, 251, *Lucidarius* in, 29, and Mongols, 31, and Prester John legend, 26, printing in, 149, trade, 95, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 133, 134
Gerritsz, Dirck (alias "China"), 199, 200
Ghandar (India), 403
Gharapuri *See* Elephanta
Ghats, 342, 389
"Ghee" (*ghī*, or boiled butter), 343
Ghetelen, Henning, 164
"Ghomode" (name for cloves in Sarangani islands), 597
"Gibeth" *See* Quipit
Gilolo (also called Batochino de Moro or Halmahera), 593, 604, 605, 614, 619, city of, 600–601, placement, 613, wars, 613
Gilolos, 614
Ginger, 642, from Cabral's voyage, 104, of India, 96, Mandeville on, 79, Odoric on, 40, in Rome, 16, Santo Stefano on, 64
Gingi (India) Pimenta in, 274
Ginseng (from Chinese *jên-shên*, and known commonly in the West as "root of China"), 489, 826
Gion festival (Japan), 716 n.
Giotto, 72
Giumaraes, Simão de, 232
Giunti, Tomasso, 204, 205
Gluttonary (Genoa), 73

Gnecchi-Soldo, Organtino, 292, 685, 708
Go-chi (name for "five Buddhas" in Japan), 662 n.
Goa, 140, 313, 381, 429, 433, 435, 447, 466, 798, as administrative center, 229, 235, 273, 289, Arabs in, 486, Armenian Christians in, 484, Banyās in, 485, Barros on, 391–92, Brahmanical books, 280, Brahmans in, 239, 484, Camoens on, 196, 388, Castanheda on, 388, 390, castes, 485–86, climate, 484, College of the Holy Faith (St Paul), 237, 247, 249, 251–52, 263, conflict of secular and religious authorities in, 237, 240, conquest by Portuguese, 161, 233, conversions in, 237, 242, 251, 253, 448, as correspondence center for Jesuits, 258, 316, Corsali in, 169, Criminale in, 270, currencies, 484, Deccanese in, 485, defenses, 387, 389, 392, Duarte Nunes in, 233, duties, 470–71, as ecclesiastical center, 235, 240–41, 254, 258, 287, emissaries of Akbar at, 276, Ethiopians in, 486, on European maps, 225, 482, Fonseca in, 198, fording places, 389, Franciscans in, 234, 237, Fróis in, 683, Gujaratis in, 485, Henrique Henriques in, 249, Hindu festivals, 441, history, 203, 390, 391, horses, 392, 470–71, Inquisition of, 240–41, 253, Japanese legates in, 475, 487, Jesuit colony of, 252, 255, 258, 260, 263, Jews in, 244, 484, Kaffirs in, 486, Kanarese in, 485, Lancillotto in, 249, languages of, 279, 390, Linschoten on, 198–99, 200, 225, 482–89; mass conversions in, 238, 264; Mesa da Consciencia of, 242, mission areas, 252, Muslim conquest of, 391; Muslims at, 239, 244, 484, name, 389, Newbery and Fitch at, 478, offices, 240, orphans, 240; Orta on, 193, 388, people, 244, 390–92, Pires on, 388, placement, 389, political divisions, 389, Portuguese control of, 113, 131, 138, 238–39, 387, 388, 445, 482–83, Portuguese sources on, 387, products, 390, public buildings, 233, 387, 391; in Ramusio, 389, relations with Bijapur, 434–35, revenues, 239, 240, 392, 485, rivers, 389, "Sabaio" (or "Cabai") of, 384, 391, 392; Sassetti in, 198, *sati*, 388; schools, 249, 448; Siamese envoy to, 520; siege of 1570, 470 n., size, 389, slaves, 239, 482, 483, 487, social customs, 234, 240, 392, 483, 484, strategic importance, 388, 391, subsidized marriages, 234; synods or ecclesiastical councils of (1567–1606), 242–45, 267, 268, Tanadars, 390, "thirty villages," 389, 390, 447, trade, 470–71, 482, 484, troubles in, 138, 203, Valignano in, 255, 256, 257, 261, viceroys, 483, Vijayanagar's control of, 391, women, 392; Xavier in, 247, 248, 672, Yajirō at, 660
Godavari river, 339, 409
Godinho, Francisco, 612
Goes, Benedict de, 467, mission to Akbar, 277, overland journey to China, 277, 278
Goes, Estavão de, 796
Gotzen, J C, 324
Gog and Magog, 22, 23, 47, 59, 67
Gogra river, 420, 454
Gois, Aegidius de, 797
Gois, Damião de, 179, 325, 378 n, 496, 506, 588, 805, sources, 196
Go-Kinai (Home Provinces of Japan), 713
Golconda, 374 n, 435, 478, 479; in Garcia da Orta, 194
Gold, 343, 345, 417, 513, 526, 536, 542, 545, 546, 548, 555, 563, 564 n, 565, 582, 589, 596, 599, 601, 606, 642, 657, 712, 725, in Asia, 826, in Celebes, 616, in China, 37, 767, 768, 811, of Chryse, 14, in India, 6, 9, 28, in Korea, 722, in Luzon, 626, 643, 645, in Mindanao, 630, 637, in New Guinea, 616, as payment, 155, 156, Pigafetta's stories of, 175, in Philippines, 626, 628, 633, in Sumatra, 575
Gold Coast, 54, 55
Golden Chersonese, 574, cartography of, 69, growth of conception, 14, Martin of Heraclea's conception of, 23
"Golden Hind" (Drake's ship), 623
Golden Legend (of Jacobus de Voragine), 27
Gómara, Francisco López de, 182, 185, 203, 495, 580, 593, 624
Gomes, António educational policies in Goa, 251–52
Gomes, Fernão, 54, 93
Gomez, Esteban, 117
Gonçalves, Diogo, 356 n.
Gonçalves, Gaspard, 325
Gonçalves, Sebastião, 292
Gonçalvez, Antonio, 620
"Gondali" *See* Gandaulim
Gonsalves, Gaspare (called Consalvi in the Latin writings), 696
Gonzaga, Guglielmo, 192
Gonsález de Mendoza, Juan, 184, 214, 330, 513, 562, 625, 739 n, 742 n., 743, 751, 752, 753, 755, 756, 757, 759, 760, 763, 764, 765, 767, 770, 771, 773, 774, 776, 783, 785, 787, 805, 821, 825, admiration for China, 750, 772, 792, on begging in China, 775; on China's policy of isolation, 790, on Chinese education, 780–81; on Chinese government, 757–60, 763–64, on Chinese tributary system, 790–91, criticisms of, 791–92, editions, 744, eunuchs, 763, on foot-binding, 774, on Ladrones, 644; map of China, 819, on military crusade against China, 787, 793–94, on Philippines, 644–46, plagiarism, 750–51, popularity, 743; reliability, 744, 745, 751, 762, 791–94, as

Gonsález de Mendoza—(*continued*)
source for Linschoten, 201, sources, 644, 646, 744–45, 747, 749–51, 763, 778–79, 790, 792–94, on southeast Asia, 498, on spread of printing, 777–78, translations of his book, 744, travels, 746, 791, use of sources, 292–93
Gorakhnatha Gosains (India), 398 n
"Gores" (Japanese). *See* "Goures"
"Gori." *See* Garhi
Go-sho ("elevated place"), 661 n
Gossembrods, house of, 110
"Gouros." *See* "Guores"
Gouvea, A. de, 268 n.
Gouvea, Diogo de, 245, 246
Gouveia, Luis de, 441 n
"Goxo" (regent Shōguns), 661
Gozzoli, 72
Granada, 57
Granada, Luis de, 692
Grassi, Bartolomé, 744
Great Wall, 224, 739, 752, 769 n, 810, 817, 819
Greece art, 12, Cosmas Indicopleustes on, 22, Eastern influences in, 12, eclipse by Rome, 12, fantastic stories, 7, geographical theory, 10–11, 12, 23, 24, image of India, 6, 9, 12, imports from East, 11; knowledge of world, 5, 6, 9–10, 11, 12, 19, 22, 69, primitivism, 5, 12, rationalism, 18, sericulture, 11, 21
Greek Orthodox Church as source of information about East, 59
Gregory IX, pope and Mongols, 31
Gregory XIII, pope, 297, 307, 569, 695, 702, 706 n, 709, 719, 743, letter of congratulation to converted Japanese, 294, *Mirabilia Dei*, 295
Gregory XIV, pope, 700
Gregory XV, pope canonization of Xavier, 285
Grevil, Foulke, 490
Grimon, Leo mission to Akbar, 276
Grouchy, Nicolas de, 189
Grynaeus, Simon, 179, 180, 181
"Gsoo" *See* Yezo
Gualterotti, house of, 121, 468
Guam island, 627. *See also* Ladrones
Gubbio, 81
"Gueos" (a tattooed people living north of Siam), 523–24, Camoens on, 523 n
Guicciardini, Ludovico, 127
"Guindarim" *See* Ghandar
Guinea Coast Barros in, 190, French attempt at intervention in, 129; and Portugal, 54, 55, 93, 97, 120, 131
Gujarat (also called "Cambay"), 341, 402, 418, 419, 454; Akbar's conquest of, 275; army, 399, 422, artillery, 399, *banyā* (merchants), 368; Brahmans of, 400–401; carnelians, 404, 406, 826; cession of territories to Portugal, 233, 236, conquest by Humayun, 423, Conti on, 60, 61, court, 398, Diu, 402–3, emirs, 398, European sources on, 395–96, extent, 396, Fedrici on, 470, Fernandes on, 169, history, 392, 396–97, horses, 399, independence, 397, Jesuits in, 458–61, location, 392, Muslims in, 397, 401, 461–62, opium, 398, Orta in, 193, Persian embassy to, 399, pilgrims in, 461–62, Pires on, 185, 398, Portuguese in, 458, Portuguese embassy to, 394, Portuguese military aid to, 422, products, 398, 405–6, Rajputs in, 396–97, relations with Calicut, 393–94, relationship to Malacca, 406, 518, resistance to Portuguese, 393–94, social organization, 399–401, tombs at Sirkej, 461, towns, 401, 402, 404–6, trade, 398, 406, 470, treaty of 1534 with Portugal, 394–95, 422
"Gujarat Jogee," 398
"Gulu-Gulu" *See* Kollu-Kollu
Gullo (India) Jesuits at, 275
"Gunuape" *See* Gunung Api
Gunung Api, 593, 594, 601
"Guores" (Japanese), 514, 653, 819
Gurus, 243, 441, 831
Gutenberg, Johann, 83, 148, 149, 777
"Guzarates." 368 *See also* Gujarat
Guzman, Luis de, 328, 505, 506, 537, 574, 622, 719, as apologist for Jesuits, 718–19, on Cambodia, 312, 501, on China, 809, on India, 465–68, on Japan, 711–19; on Jesuit missions, 465–66, on Korea, 721–22; on St. Thomas Christians, 466, sources, 465, 501, 721, 809, on southeast Asia, 501, on Vijayanagar, 466; on Xavier, 466
Gymnophistes, 449
Gyogi (Japanese maps), 710

"Habede-Xá" (Hasan) See Alā-ud-Dīn Bāhman Shah
Hachiman (Japanese god of war), 717 n.
Hadi Karmeti, queen of Chitor, 422
Hainan island, 563, 704, 729, 752, 811
Hairun, sultan of Ternate, 313, 610, 612, 613, 617, 618, 619, 621, and the Jesuits, 202, 288, 289 *See also* Moluccas, Ternate
Hai-tao-fu-shih (Vice-Commissioner of Maritime Affairs in China), 758
Hakata ("Fakata" in the Jesuit letters or modern Fukuoka), 667, 677; Jesuits in, 291
Hakluyt, Richard, 159, 209, *212–15*, 216, 217, 227, 469, 478, 479, 709, 744, 809, 812; on Drake's circumnavigation, 500, "Excellent treatise of the kingdome of China," 809–15, memorial of 1600 on the India trade, 214, methods, 213, objectives, 213, 215, Ramusio's influence on, 213, sources, 213, 809, on Yezo, 725

Halmahera (also called "Alhora," "Batochina do Moro," or "Gilolo"), 504, 593, 597, 600, 604, 605, 607–8, 611, 613, beliefs, 596, customs, 601, festivals, 601, Gilolo city, 600, justice, 601, Morotia, 614, Muslims in, 596, people, 600–601, placement, 593 n, 600, political divisions, 600–601, products, 596–97, relations with Tidore, 599–600, rulers, 596, 600, 607, size, 596, Spanish in, 599–600, trade, 601 *See also* Moluccas
Hamburg, 487, role in pepper trade, 139
Hangchow, 44, 819, on European maps, 224, Mandeville on, 79, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41, Venetians in, 41
Hanseatic League, 121
Hara, Martin, 689, 692, 695
Haro, Cristóbal de, 94, 95, 114, 115, 172, 595
Hayton, prince of Armenia, *42*, 60, 78, 80, 179, 180
"Heathenism" definition of by Christians, 244
Hecateus of Miletus Herodotus' use of, 6, 7
Henrique, cardinal and king of Portugal, 134, 241, 242
Henriques, Francisco, 317, in mission to Akbar, 276
Henriques, Henrique, 249, 269 n, 323, 329, 432, 434, 439, 441 n, 442, 443, 445, *Doutrina Christão*, 437, on Fishery Coast, 270, *Flos Sanctorum*, 437, language studies, 271, 436–38, at Manaar, 270–71, as political mediator, 433–34, at Punical, 270, translations, 437
Henriques, Leão, 318
Henry VII, king of England, 58
Henry VIII, king of England, 209
Henry the Navigator, prince, 38, 51, *52–54*, 85, 92, 99, 108, 164, and the Order of Christ, 52, 229, system of discovery, 151–52
Herédia, Antonius de, 433 n.
Hernán González, Blaz Ruiz de, 310, 312
Herodotus, *6–7*, 748, 752, Strabo's use of, 13
Herr, Michael, 180
Herrera, Diego de, 746
Hervagius. *See* Herwagen
Herwagen, Johann, 179
"Hibernāro," 342 n *See also* Ceylon
Hickock, Thomas, 469
Hiei-zan (cloister city at Kyoto), 685, 716, Buddhist monasteries of, 292
Hie-no-yama. *See* Hiei-zan
Hiji (Japan), 668
Hijuelas (a type of Jesuit letter), 248, 314, 317
Hilir (Malacca), 514
Himalayas, 341 n., 418, 454
Himuquetan island, 631
Hinduism, 268, 426, 439–42, in Asia, 571, 572, 831–32, festivals, 441, in Indonesia, 572, Jordan of Severac on, 43, Maffei on, 449–50, pilgrimages of, 440–41, priests, 441, relations with Christian missionary activity, 238, 243, 245, 250, 253, relations with Indian Christians, 232, religious texts, 157, *Tri-murti*, 157, Valignano on, 259 *See also* India
Hindu-Kush, 341 n
Hindustan, 340 n, 341, 454, 456, Babur's conquests, 420, Barros on, 418, climate, 419, Delhi sultanate, 418–19, 421, elephants, 419, European sources on, 418, extent, 418, history, 418–19, horses, 419, Lodi (Afghan) sultanate, 418, Mughul-Afghan wars, 420–26, Muslims in, 419, Pānipāt, 420, rivers, 454, Sher Khan's conquest of, 423–25, 426, warriors, 419, Yogis, 419
Hippalus use of the monsoon, 11
Hipparchus, 10
Hippolytus, 18
Hirado (called "Firando" by the Portuguese), 304, 667, 668, 678, 679, 684, conversion of prince of, 294, Jesuits in, 291
Hirschvogel, house of, 110
Hizen (Japan), 667
Hlut-daw (high tribunal of Burma), 549 n.
Hochstetter, house of, 110
Holtze, Blasius, 162
Hokkaido. *See* Yezo
Hokke-shū (Nichiren sect of Japanese Buddhism), 661 n., 670 n, 715
Holbein, Hans (the younger), 180
"Holgoi" (Tagalog priestesses of Luzon), 645
Homem, Diogo, 217, 224, 722
Homem, Lopo, 217, 220, 221, 223, 602, 720
Homer as source for Strabo, 13
Homonhón (in the Philippine Islands), 624, 628, 638
Honan, province of China, 739 n, 766 n
Honorius III, pope knowledge of Mongols, 31
Honshū (Japan), 667, 677, 710, 724, Jesuits in, 291, political units, 713
Horses, 402, 405, 406, 416, 419, 422, 456, 712, Pândyan kings' need of, 236
Hosaka, G., 715 n
Hossō (Japanese Buddhist sect), 670 n
Hotoke (a generic term for Buddhist deities), 682
Houtman, Cornelis de, 200, 216, 490 n.
Hsia dynasty of China (traditionally dated 2205–1766 B.C.), 783
Hsiu-ts'ai (degree of "budding genius" or Bachelor in China), 812
Hsu Fêng-t'ing, 780 n.
Hsuang-hsu ("twin islands" near Ningpo off the coast of China), 737 n.
Hsun-an chien-ch'a yu-shih (title of provincial inspectors in China), 761 n.
Hsun-fu (a title for viceroys in Ming China), 740 n.

Hugli (or Hoogly) Portuguese factory at, 413
Hui-t'ung kuan (bureau of Peking in charge of the postal service in Ming China), 755 n.
Hukwang, province of China, 739 n
Hulsius, Levinus, 216–17
Humabon, ruler of Cebu, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635
Humanism, 615, knowledge of, in East, 85
Humayun, Mughul emperor, 394, 398, 420, 421, 423, 424
Hung Wu, emperor of China, 732
Hungary Mongols in, 31
Husain Shāh, ruler of Bengal, 415, 416
Hutten, Ulrich von, 122
Huttich, Johann, 179
Hyperboreans as a fantastic people or the Chinese, 7 n
Hyderabad, 479

"Iaca" *See* Shakyamuni
"Iaco" (highest priest of Japanese Buddhists), 714
"Iambugis" *See Yamabushi*
"Iáula" *See Yāla*
Ibn Batuta, 45, 345, 392, 624
Ibrāhīm Lodi, ruler of Delhi, 420
"Icatas." *See Yakata*
"Icoxus" *See Shingon*
Igorotes (a people of Luzon) gold mine rites, 645 n
Ikkō (Japanese Buddhist sect), 661 n
"Il Cretico" *See* Camerino
Il Milione (Marco Polo), 35, 38
Il nuovo Ramusio, 205
"Ilanare," *See* Ceylon
Ilhas Argentarias (Japan), 657
"Ilher." *See* Hilir
Iliad. idealization of unknown world, 5
Imad 'l-Mulk (popular title of the Deccan ruler whose capital was at Berar), 384 n.
Imago mundi, 38, 70
"Imaos" (Ptolemaic name for Himalayas), 341
Imhof, house of, 110
"Inaugana," city of Guam, 627 n.
Incunabula, 149
India, 8, 40, 62, 64, 65, 115, Albuquerque on, 192, Alexander the Great's conception of, 8, in Alexandrian legends, 29, Alfred of England on, 25, Amazons, 423, 832; amuck-running, 443, architecture and art, 12, 361, 377, 390 n., 405, 409, 410, 422, 440–41, 449, 461, 488, armies, 422, 423, Augustinians in, 262, Balbi on, 473–74, Barbosa on, 170, 186, 340, Barros on, 340–42, in Beauvais manuscript, 28, Boccaccio on, 77; in *Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships in the World*, 59, botanicals, 193, calendar, 62, cannibals, 6, caste system, 166, 259, 829; Chaucer's references to, 77, child marriages, 480; Chinese in, 343, 405, 732, 788, 812; Christians in, 96–97, 156, 160, 233, 239, 428, 430, cities, 96, 163, 342, 462, climate, 43, 408, 423, 432, 462, 476–77, 484, colors and characteristics of its peoples, 156, 258–59, configuration, 6, 11, 66–67, 70, 219, 220, 339, 340–41, Conti on, 61–63, Cosmas Indicopleustes on, 22, cotton, 16, Covilhã on, 64, 231, Cristobal de Acosta in, 194, Ctesias of Cnidus on, 7, culture, 278–80, 337, Dante's references to, 74, 75, death rites, 10, 43, 61, 79, 157, 243, definition, 3–4, 19, 26, deserts, 341, 462, disease, 62, 433, Dominicans in, 232, 262, 265, drought, 409, 432, Dutch in, 198, education, 259, and Egypt, 18, Elephanta, 405, 474, Empoli in, 168, English in, 199, 477–82, Eratosthenes on, 11, and European literature, 12, 27, on European maps, 67, 69, 70, 71, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 225, in European sources, 65, 185 n, 227, 338, 339–40, 407–8, 490, Europe's image of, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 19, 20, 24, 47, 59, 426–27, extent, 7, 169, 341, fabulous stories about, 6, 7, 39, 47, 70–71, 74, 77, famine, 409, 487, fauna, 163, 480, 488; Fedrici on, 470–73, festivals and ceremonies, 62, 378, 464, flora, 480, 488, folklore, 397 n, 477, Franciscans in, 40, 231, 232, 234–35, 236, 262, 265, geography, 6, 339–40, 341–42, 426, Germans in, 108, 111, 138, 199, 162, gold of, 6, 9, 28, Guzman on, 328, 465–68; Herodotus on, 6–7, hook-swinging ceremony, 378, horse trade, 470–71, Humanists in, 476, in *L'Image du monde*, 28, in *India recognita*, 63, Italians in, 137, 168–69, 180–81, 199, 468, 472–77, Japanese in, 263, 690, in Jesuit letters, 330, 427–48, Jesuit province of, 254, 260, Jesuits in, 251, 252, 262, 461; jewelry, 374, Jews in, 156, 243, 449, John of Monte Corvino on, 39, 40, Jordan of Severac on, 43, justice, 166, languages, 62, 279, 427, 436, Linschoten on, 198, 482–90; Maffei on, 326, 448–49, 449–51, Mandeville on, 78–79; Mani in, 19, and Manicheanism, 18, 86, Marco Polo in, 37, 38, Marignolli in, 42, money, 62, mortality rates, 432–33, Muslims in, 43, 44, 243, 337, native Christians of, 60, 79, 98, 101, 232, 244, 268, natural wealth, 9; and neo-Platonism, 18, 86, number of missionaries in, 255, 258, Orta in, 192; Osorio on, 196, overland trade with China, 481; Paes and Nuniz on, 187, paper, 62; pearl-fishing, 9, 408, 472; peoples, 10, 62, 96, 163, 186, 341, 426; in *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 14, Pigafetta's knowledge of its trade, 175; piracy, 352, 487; Pires' knowledge of, 170, 340, and Plotinus, 18, Poggio on, 62, political divisions, 169, 259, 340–41, polygamy, 10,

61, Portuguese in, 238–39, 406–18, 445, Portuguese religious policy in, 237, 238, Portuguese Secretary of State for, 135, in Prester John legend, 26, printing in, 83, 250, products, 9, 29, 169, 186, in Pseudo-Callisthenes, 9, pygmies, 29, Ramusio's use of Barros' information on, 190, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, relations with Portugal, 52, 56, 59, 93, 95–98, 100–103, 106, 111, 112, 113, 119, 120, 121, 128, 129, 132, 152, 262, religions, 62, 259, 426, rice cultivation, 166, rivers, 78, 96, 341, 389, 480, 481, and Rome, 18, sacred cows, 79, 461, 485, St Thomas in, 25, 26, Scylax of Caryanda on, 6, seaports, 185, 431–32, sea routes to, 3, 16, 57, 59, 71, 105, 114, 116, 431, secret transactions, 166, Sernigi on, 156, slavery in, 15, 239, 409, 416, 443, 482, 483, 486, social classes, 10, social customs, 10, 43, 61, 243–244, 427, 433, 443, Springer in, 163, and statistics, 492, subsidized marriages, 234, superstitions, 62, 439, 442, as synonym for Asia, 4; as synonym for East Indies, 24, Talikota, 471, temples, 361, 377, 390 n, 409, 410, 422, 440–41, 449, 461, 488, textiles, 416–17, tombs at Sirkej, 461, trade, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 30, 43, 45, 133, 406–7, 481, Trinitarians in, 231; Valentim Fernandes on, 169, Valignano on, 255–56, 258, 259, Varthema on, 340, writing, 62, 101, Xavier in; 246–50, Xavier as patron saint of, 285, Xavier's evaluation of, 283 *See also* Bengal, Ceylon, Gujarat, Hindustan, Malabar, Vijayanagar; *and other political divisions of India*

India recognita, 63

"Indian letters" in Europe, 428–30; Japan in, 674–75. *See also* Jesuit letterbooks, Jesuit letters

Indian Ocean, 13, 47, 61, 101, 102, 106, 112, 129, 130, 206, 341, 345, 347, 348, 393, cartography of, 69, 70, 98, 220, 225, Chinese in, 732, Dutch navigation in, 200, navigation of, 98; *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* as source on, 14

Indica of Arrian, 8

Indicopleustes, Cosmas. *See* Cosmas Indicopleustes

"Indo." *See* Sind

Indochina, 313, Buddhism in, 561, cartography of, 220, 223, 563; European sources on, 561–63, floods, 566, geography, 562–63, 565–66, internal wars, 561, lack of Jesuit attention to, 285, Mendoza on, 568–70, Pires on, 563–65, political divisions, 563, 565–66, rivers, 563–64, 566, Spanish attempts to enter, 298; strategic position of Cambodia, 570, trade, 570. *See also* Cambodia; Laos

Indonesia. Buddhism in, 572, in Chinese annals, 572, history, 572–73, Java's place in, 587, Muslims in, 572–73, as source of spices, 103 *See* Java, Malacca, Moluccas

"Indostan." *See* Hindustan

Indragiri (Sumatra), 510, 571

Indus river, 341, 342, 418, 420, 454; Alexander the Great's penetration, 8, annexation by Darius of Persia, 5, Conti on, 61, Eratosthenes on, 11, in Herodotus' definition, 6, medieval geography of, 23, in *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 14, Scylax of Caryanda's exploration of, 6, Seleucus Nikator's crossing, 9

"Innasarim." *See* Tenasserim

Innocent IV, pope and the Mongols, 31

Inquisition, the Portuguese, 127, censorship by, 279, in Goa, 241, 269

Iron, 343, 712, 826, of China, 767

Irrawaddy river, 539, 541, 545 n

Isa Khan, Afghan leader of Bengal, 482

Isabella, queen of Castile, 55, 56, 96

Isidore of Seville, 23, 32, 70, 75, 78, 410, and Alexandrian legends, 28

Iskander, 579 n.

Islam, 22, 33, 83, 107, its conquest of India, 74, its influence on art, 72, 73; and Prester John legend, 25. *See also* Muslims

Islares, Martin de, 601, 640

Italy, 35, 40, 41, 42, 56, 59, 70, and Alexandrian legends, 28, Asian exoticism in, 47, information about Asia in, 44, 163, and Mongols, 31, 41, Ortona a Mare, 25, porcelain in, 81–82, Prester John legend in, 26, printing in, 148, sericulture, 21, 81; slavery in, 47, 72, 73, Society of Jesus in, 251, Tartars in, 47, trade, 13, 15, 16, 35, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 53, 54, 58, 63, 65, 70, 74, 93, 94, 99, 102, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 124, 133, 136; weaving, 73

Itinerarium Portugalensium (1508), 164

Itō, Mancio, 689, 695, 699, 700, 701

Iugge, Richard, 211

Ivory imported by Rome, 15

Ivory Coast discovery of, 54

Iwakura mission of 1873, 690 n.

"Jafanapatam," *See* Jaffna

Jaffna, 345, 434, Jesuits at, 274, Portuguese attack upon, 270, 273, 274. *See also* Fishery Coast

Jaggery, 390

Jains (also known as "Verteas"), 400, 461, 485, 832, cosmology, 459, customs, 459–60, organization, 459

Jalal Khān, sultan of Bengal, 424

"Jamahey." *See* Chiengmai

"Jampon." *See* Japan

"Jangoma" *See* Chiengmai
"Jangomes" (Yun tribal people?), 536
Japan, 306, 313, 433, 486, 753, administration, 661, 677, 714, agriculture, 712, Gonçalo Alvares in, 255, Jorge Alvarez on, 657–60, architecture, 659, 662, 684, 685, 704, 716, 728, armies, 661, 678, arms, 656, 664, 669, arts, 688, Ashikaga shogunate, 654, Buddhism, 303, 659, 660, 661–63, 665, 670–71, Castilian knowledge of, 57, characteristics of its people, 658, 664, 669, 677, 707–8, 714, 728, Christian books in, 795, Christian-Buddhist conflicts in, 306, 667, Christianity in, 286, 305, 308, 666–67, 670, 671, 676, 680–681, 682, 684–85, 689, 696, 703, 708, Christian martyrs of, 717, 719, cities, 667, 677, climate, 433, 656, 657, 676, 712, comparisons with Europe, 713, copper, 654, 656, 657, costume, 656, 658, 707, crime, 659, 664–65, 677, 707, 728, currency, 651, Cysat on, 703–5, defenses, 657, derivation of its name, 652, diet, 664, 677, 687–88, 713, "discovery," 283, 655, earthquakes, 657, 665, 707, emperor (*Dairi*), 653, 660, 661, 677, 678, 708, 712, 713, Garcia de Escalante Alvardo on, 655–56, on European maps, 70, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 652–53, 705, 709–10, 819, European sources on, 227, 652–55, 657, 660, 664, 669, 681, 683, 709, 710, 726, family system, 659 n, festivals, 682, 684, 715–16, 716–17, forests, 677, Franciscans in, 305–6, 307, 308, 709, 711, 717–19, geography, 657, 712, gold, 653, 654, 656, 657, 712, "Guores" question, 653, Guzman on, 328, 711–19, Hideyoshi's edict of 1587, 711, Hideyoshi's reforms, 711, Hideyoshi's wars in Korea, 308, history, 712–13, 716, 729, houses, 656, 658, identified with "Cipangu," 653, *Ilhas Argentarias*, 657, infanticide, 677, Inland Sea, 668, 677, iron, 656, 712, Jesuit efforts to penetrate culture, 278, in Jesuit histories, 706, in Jesuit letters, 330, 682–86, Jesuits in, 262, 290–95, 297, 651, 682, 708, 711, justice, 678–79, 708, Koreans in, 721, *kuni* (political units), 710, 713, language, 656, 661 n, 669, 679–80, 714, 729, law, 678, 708, Buxeda de Levya on, 184, literacy, 664, 671, 687, localism, 654, 668, 670, 678, 708, 714, location, 656, 676, 710, Maffei on, 326, 706, Marco Polo on, 37, marriage, 658, 678, Miyako (Kyōto), 665, monasteries, 671, Muromachi era, 682, names in the West, 652–53, navy, 308, obsequies, 717, papal designation as part of Portuguese conquest, 294, paper, 688, 694, people, 656, 658, 669, 677, 714, pilgrimages, 716, piracy, 654, 723, Pires on, 653–54, political divisions, 284, 660, 710, 713, Portuguese in, 128, 135, 654, 668, 677, Portuguese chroniclers on, 652, position in "Rites Controversy," 250–51, priests, 661, 662, 666, 670, 671, 714–15, products, 653, 656, 658, 676, 712, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, relations with Manila, 304, religions, 656, 659, 680–81, 714–16, religious tolerance, 670, revolts, 678, 684, 685, "San Felipe affair," 308–9, seaports, 657, sects, 670, 682, 715–16, *Sengoku* ("country at war") epoch, 654, 725, sexual practices, 659, 662, 666, 707, Shintō, 665, 681, Shoguns, 661, silver, 653, 656, 657, 677, 712, size, 653, 712, slaves, 659, social classes, 661, 664, 678, 714, social customs, 687–88, Spanish attempt to enter, 298, 299, 709, succession, 661, 714, sugar, 656, suicide, 678, 708, tea, 704, temples, 659, 662, 716, titles, 713, trade, 653, 654, 657, trade with Jesuits, 261, 301, travel abroad, 654, typhoons, 657, universities, 665, 666, 671, 714–15, Valignano in, 256, 257, 259, 293–94, Valignano on, 258, 259, 260, 280, vassalage, 678, 708, 714, *Wako*, 654, wars, 290, 291, 303, 665, 711, 712, 713, in Willes' *History of Travayle*, 211, women, 658–59, 671, 687, 827, writing, 660 n, 671, 679, 714, Xavier in, 283, 285, 657, 663–68, 794, Yajirō on, 660–63 *See also* Frōis, Luis, Jesuit letterbooks, Jesuit letters
Japanese mission of 1584–86 in Europe, 261, 727, 743–44, 747 n, 807, commemorative papal medal, 697, comments of Alessandro Benacci, 697, controversies over, 718–19, envoys denigrated by Spanish in Japan, 306, gifts for Doge of Venice, 699, gifts for Francesco dei Medici, 694, gifts to Papacy, 697, gifts for Philip II, 693, influence on cartography, 698 n, 710, influence of, in Europe, 701–5, inscriptions recording, 699 n, 700, letters of emissaries, 700, 701, membership, 689–90, objectives, 688–701, pictures of emissaries, 698, 699, 700, 709, reception by Philip II, 701, reception in Venice, 698–99, relations with Maffei, 324
"Japang" *See* Japan
Japara (Java), 586, 589
Japeth, 23
"Japões." *See* Japan
"Japun" *See* Japan
Jaunpur (India), 424, 454
"Jaus" (natives of Java and Sumatra), 576
Java, 417, 489, 500, 572, 574, 583, 753, arms, 590; Barros on, 576, beliefs, 591, in *Book of Knowledge of All the Kingdoms, Lands and Lordships in the World*, 59, Buddhism, 507 n, cannibalism, 591, censorship of Pires' information on, 186, cities, 589, cremation, 591, Conti in, 61, 62, crafts, 585, 590, currency, 589; customs, 591, Dutch in, 199,

on European maps, 70, 226, European sources on, 502, 587, Franciscans in, 586, Gois' and Osorio's discussion of, 196, Hindus in, 586, internal wars, 586, kings, 586, 590 n, Lemos on, 197, Majapahit period, 507 n, 509, 572, 589, Mandeville on, 79, Marco Polo on, 37, Mongol expedition from China against, 587, mountains, 588, Muslims in, 586, native writings, 587, Odoric of Pordenone on, 40, people, 585, 590, Pires on, 170, placement, 588, political divisions, 589–90, ports, 587, 588–89, Portuguese in, 586, 590, products, 589, relations with China, 576, relations with Malaya, 509, relations with Singapore, 507, religion, 589, revolts, 507, size, 588, sports, 587, superstitions, 591, Varthema in, 165, 166, women, 590

Jenghis Khan, 30–31, 32

Jerónimos, monastery of the (Lisbon), 99–100

Jerusalem, 101, 102, as center of earth, 22, 65

Jesuit histories censorship, 324, contents, 328, 331, 388, on Japan, 324, 706

Jesuit letterbooks *Cartas* (Evora) of 1598, 320, 676, censorship, 154, 319, 320, Coimbra series, 320, contents, 331, 675–76, copyrights, 319, costs, 320, "Indian letters," 318, 320, 323, Italian series, 319, 431, "Japan letters," 320–21, 323, Latin series, 319, 320, 431, numbers printed, 319, 675, official annual letter collections, 323, Portuguese series, 320, 321, 431, 676, prices, 319, printed guides and collections, 322, publication centers, 320, publication history, 446, and Reformation, 319, reliability, 320; size, 319, 320, 675, as sources on Asia, 322, Tramezzino press, 319, translations, 319, 320, 431, unauthorized publications, 319

Jesuit letters, 150, 154, 182, 183, 184, 261, 338, 513, 593, 818, 823, "allied documents," 318, annual letters (*Litterae annuae*), 261, 318, 321, 331, 430, 676, 689, 720, 721, 728, on Asia's political organization, 433; Buddhism in, 681 n, on Cambay, 458–67, on caste, 443, censorship, 248, 294, 317, 318, 321, 326, 430, 612, 675, 676, 681, 683, 728, on China, 295, 742, 747, 748, collections, 430, contents, 315, 318–19, 323, 329, 330, 431; credibility, 318, 323, 326, 427, 446, 691, 725, 726–28; decline in number from India, 320, 322–23, deficiencies, 686, dispatches of Xavier's successors, 430, distribution, 314, 315, 316, 317, 428–29, "edifying letters," 314, 318, 669; entertainment value, 319, *hijuelas*, 248, 314, 317, impact upon Europe, 331, on India, 280, 321, 323, 430, "Indian letters," 316, 326, 427, 431, 674–75, influence on cartography, 710; Italian series, 675, on Japan, 663–64, 668–69, 674–76, 681, 682–86, 689, 708, 711, "Japan letters," 324, 331, 430 n, 674–76, 686, on Korea, 720, Latin translations, 317, Maffei's collections, 324, 326, on Malacca, 517–18, model reports, 321, in modern historical writings, 725–26, on Mughul empire, 451–52, 453, omissions, 446, to persons outside the Society, 317, Peruschi on, 452, Portuguese series, 675, printing, 675, as propaganda, 314–15, 319, Ricci on, 324, as sources on Asia, 321, 330, as sources for Cysat, 703, as sources for the history of other Orders, 279, on southeast Asia, 500–501, Spanish translations, 317 n., on Spiceries, 290, 609, 612–22, statistics, 330, 447–48, in Switzerland, 703, translations, 675, 726, on translations of Indian literature, 280, types, 317–18, unpublished letters, 331, Valignano on, 257, 261, 293, 294, 318, 676, Xavier's letters in Europe, 315–16, 321–22, on Yezo, 723–25

Jesuits, 127, 230, 261, 309, 484, accommodation policy, 250–51, 262, 294, 296, 299, 300, 302–3, 313–14, 329, 683–84, 719, 799, 800, admiration of Japanese, 283, 284, 486; in Arakan, 275, attempted conversion of Akbar, 458, attempts to enter China, 295–96, 302–3, 798, 799, in Bachan, 288, in Bengal, 275, 457, 466, in Cambay, 458–61, catalogues of missionaries in East, 249, 255, 263 n.; Cathecumen House of, 263, in Celebes, 618–19, in Ceylon, 266, 273–74, at Chao-Ch'ing, 302, on China, 794–815, in Cochin, 265, the college of Coimbra, 246, 249, 294 n., 252, college of Macao, 301, college of Malacca, 287; at College of St. Paul (Goa), 263, commercial enterprises, 290–91, 296, 301, 305, and confiscation of Indian books, 438, contributions to cartography, 223, 224, controversy over the Serra, 267, 269; conversion policy, 250, 251, 253, 292, 296, 429, 448, conversions, 250, 251, 253, 264, 271, 291, 292, 293, 305, 429, 435, 448, 613, 614 n, 617, 667, 671, correspondence system, 253–54, 257, 258, 287, 314–15, 329, 672; deaths, 258, disputations, 253, 280, 291, 680, 684, doctrine of direct action, 329, efforts to penetrate non-Western culture, 278, expulsion from Amboina, 289; on Fishery Coast, 266, 270, garb, 668, Goa center, 263, hardships, 428, 431, 447, 448, 612, 618, Hideyoshi's edict of expulsion of 1587, 304–5, 708, 711, and Hinduism, 439–42, history of mission in Asia, 257, in India, 249, 252, 262, 278–79, on Indian characteristics, 444, Indian stations, 264, 265–66, 271, in Japan, 284, 290–95, 304, 651, 669, 682, on Jews, 444, lack of attention to southeast Asia, 285, 313, at Lahore, 463, 464, language study, 256, 259,

Jesuits—(*continued*)
260 n , 271, 276, 278, 279, 280, 287, 291, 293, 296, 329, 436–39, 462, 464, 666, 679–80, 683, 689, 729, 776, 797, 798, 800, 801, 806–7, 821, leadership, 260–61, 294, 612, leadership crises in Goa, 251–253, 254, in Macao, 295–97, 301, 797, in Malacca, 795–96, in Manaar, 270–71, in Menado, 288, Mendoza on, 794 n , military crusade against China, 297, 329, 798, 806, 833, mission at Peking, 794, missionizing methods, 249, 250, 256, 259, 271, 292, 293–94, 307, 329, 429, 443, 669, 671, 672, 689, 718, 796–97, 798, 799–800, missions to Akbar, 275–78, 448, 451–67, in Moluccas, 288, 617, 620, monopoly in Japan, 299, 688, 706, 717, 718, 719 n , on Moors, 444, morale, 252, 261, 282 n , in "Moro," 615, in Mylapore, 274, Nagasaki station, 291, nationalities of, in *padroado*, 258, 299, numbers in various Asian stations, 249, 253, 255, 258, 263 n , 287–88, 448, opposition to military conquest of China, 300, in Philippines, 297, 625, "Pidgin Portuguese," 436, on Portuguese in India, 445, printing enterprises, 262, 314, 437, 701 n , 827, procurators, 254, 256, 801, the Professed, 251, in Punical, 271; recall of Sanchez, 301, recruits, 258, 261, 264, 282, 296, 617, 798, relations with Brahmans, 253, 280, 447, relations with Franciscans, 306–8, 717–19, relations with Hideyoshi, 303, relations with St. Thomas Christians, 267, 269, relations with secular officials, 242, relations with Vijayanagar, 274–75, 435, 466, and Rites Controversy, 250, 437, 679–80, rivalry with other orders, 268, role in *padroado*, 247, 285, schools, 249, 271, on sodomy, 444, 445, in Spiceries, 287–90, and statistics, 665 n., "term question," 437, 679–80, in Ternate, 288, 619, trade, 261, 301, 690 n , 719, in Travancore, 266, troubles with Buddhists, 291, in Tuticorin, 271; use of by Linschoten, 201, Visitors, 255–56, 261, worldliness, 309, on Yogis, 442
Jesus· compared to Buddha, 37, Mani's treatment of, 19
Jews, 433, banned in Portuguese territories, 253, in China, 795, at court of Akbar, 275, in Goa, 264, in India, 243, 444; in Portugal, 94, 95, 103; as source of information about East, 29, in Spain, 57; in trade, 50, 94
Jhelam river, 454
Jih-pên kuo ("Land of the Rising Sun"), 652
Jinjī (India), 466
Jñāneśvar rendition of *Bhagavadgītā*, 280
Jōbon Dai Ō, 662 n
Jōdo-shū (Japanese Buddhist sect), 670 n , 715
"Jógues." *See* Yogis
John, the Oriental Patriarch visit to Rome of about 1122, 26
John II, king of Portugal, 95, 152, 153, 158, concern with Africa, 54, *55–58*, 64, 92, interests in trade and exploration, 55–56
John III, king of Portugal, 153, 176, apotheosis of Xavier, 327, communication with Xavier, 283, in conflict over Moluccas, 116, death, 240, directives of 1545, 239–40, financial crisis, 126, and freedom of the seas, 179, and Kotte succession crisis, 272, letters of 1536 and 1545 to papacy, 179, and Mesa da Consciencia, 242, patronage of Barros, 190, patronage of College of Sainte-Barbe and students, 245, 246, policies for Christian mission, 239, 240, 253, reception of Pigafetta, 174, trade administration, 128, 131, 171
John XXII, pope, 41, 43
John of Avis marriage alliance, 51
John of Cambaluc, archbishop *See* John of Monte Corvino
John of Capua as translator of *Panchatantra*, 27
John of Monte Corvino, *39–40*, 41, 43, as archbishop of Cambaluc, 40, and *Chronicle of Bohemia*, 42
John of Plano Carpini, *31–32*, 33, 78, 80, 85, embassy to Mongolia, 31–32, *History of the Mongols*, 32
Johore (Malaya), 788
Johore Lama (Malaya), 516
Johore river, 516
Jordan of Severac, *43*, 60, 265
Joseph, priest of Malabar, 101, *157–58*, 161, 164, 337
"Jousi" (*jyotisī* or astrologers), 442
Jovius, Paulus, 410 n , 492, 777
Jua island, 392 n
Juari river, 389, 391
Judah lost tribes of, 283
Jūlāl-ud-Din, sultan of Delhi, 382 n
Julius II, pope, 112, 165
Julius III, pope, 126, support of Portuguese Christian mission, 240
Jumna river, 454, 480
Jurchens, 774 n
Juru-tulis (secretaries), 583
Justinian, emperor of Rome, 21, 22

Kabul, 420, Akbar's campaign at, 276
Kaempfer, Engelbert, 725
Kaffirs, 486, as students at College of St Paul, 263
Kagoshima, 657, 663, 664, 667, 672, Jesuits in, 290, Xavier in, 283
Kaimal (Nayar chief), 357 n.
Kakazaki Yoshihiro, 725
Kakuban (or Kōkyō Daishi, founder of *Negoro*), 716

Kaladan river, 551 n
Kalama (Sangihe islands), 621
Kalamur (India), 454
Kalanao, ruler of Quipit (Philippines), 637
Kalari (Nāyar school), 362
Kalidasa, 77
"Kalileah and Dimnah," 74
Kalimer ul-lāli, ruler of the Deccan, 383
Kalinadi river, 372 n
Kalinga (India), 412
Kambhāyat (India), 454
Kami (Japanese deities), 681, 682, 716 n
Kampaku (title for regent in Japan), 303, 711
Kampar (Sumatra), 509, 510, 571
Kampongs (villages of Amboina), 595 n , 610
Kamul (India), 374 n
Kanara (India), 352, 382, 436 n
Kandy (Ceylon), 344–45, Portuguese control of, 273, 274
Kangra (India), 454
Kaniyans (caste), 367, Priest Joseph's depiction of 157
Kappata (India), 351
Kapuas river, 581 n.
Karakorum, 32, 33
Karanja (India) Franciscans in, 234
Kashmir, 467, Jerome Xavier in, 277, textiles, 15
Kathiawar peninsula, 394, 396, 402
Kayans (tribe of Borneo), 584 n
Kazhu, 358–59
Kĕchil, ruler of Tidore, 608. *See* Tidore Vongue
Kĕchil Bubacar, ruler of Halmahera, 600
Kĕchil Umar, ruler of Makian island, 600
Kedah (Malay peninsula), 510, 512, 524, 526, 627
Kediri (Java), 589 n
Kēgon (Japanese Buddhist sect), 670 n
Kelantan (Siamese territory on Malay peninsula), 524
Kerit Ram Rājā, ruler of Travancore, 265
Khalji sultans of Delhi, 419 n
Khāndesh, Deccan kingdom of India, 479
Khanua (India), 420
Khudāband Khan, ruler of Surat, 435, 436
Khurasanis, 401, 421
Khush-'adam, noble of Gujarat, 398
Kiack (Burmese for "holy place"), 556
Kiangsi, province of China, 739 n.
Kilakarai (India), 409
Kiul river, 424
Kiwam-ul Mulk, noble of Gujarat, 398
"Klings" (name for natives of Kalinga in Malacca), 412, 513
Kōbō Daishi, Buddhist patriarch of Japan, 716
Koda Shigetomo, 726
Kōkyō Daishi, founder of *Negoro* sect of Japanese Buddhism, 716
Kolambu, ruler of Limasawa in the Philippines, 628, 629, 630, 631, 633
"Kolathiri." *See* Cannanore
Kolli-Kolli (on Seram island), 594
"Komar" (short for Kanyā Kumārī), 408, 408 n
Kokani language, 260 n , 390, 436
Korea (Chōsen), 309, 729, Christians in, 308, 721, climate, 721, depicted as an island, 721, emperor, 722, on European maps, 223, 224, 225, 226, 720, European sources on, 720, geography, 722, gold, 722, Hideyoshi's wars in, 308, 720, location, 720, 721, and Marco Polo, 37, military strength, 720, 721, Mongol invasion of, 722 n , name, 720, people, 720, 722, piracy, 654, printing, 83, products, 722, relationship to China, 720, 721, 817, relationship to Japan, 720, seclusion, 722, silver, 722
Kotta river, 351
Kottakulam (India), 350
Kottayam (India), 350
Kotte (Ceylon), 344, Portuguese in, 272, 273, succession crisis in, 272
Kotwāl (title of chief bailiff at Akbar's court), 455
Kovilagams (name for residences of royal ladies of Malabar), 353
Kōya or *Kōyasan* (Shingon monastic school and sacred place in Japan), 665
Kozhikkot Talachannavar (governor of Calicut), 358 n
Krishna Dēva Rāyya, ruler of Vijayanagar, 372 n , 375, 411 n.
Krishna river, 409, 411
Kromberger press (Seville), 183
Kron, Ferdinand, 138
Kshatriyas (Brahmans of Malabar), 360
Kubikake no maga-tama (neck decorations worn at festivals in Japan), 659 n
Kublai Khan, 34, 35, 36
Kubō (another Japanese word for Shōgun), 712
Kuch Bihar, 481
Kūfukugi (temple at Nara in Japan), 716
Kulbarga (India), 384 n
"Kumaon." *See* Himalayas
Kusavan (caste), 366
Kutb Shāhi dynasty of Golconda, 478, 479 n
Kutb-ub-Mulk (popular title for the rulers of Golconda), 384 n.
Kutch, Gulf of, 402
Kutumbi (caste), 405, 486
Kuyuk, Mongol Grand Khan. and Christianity, 32
Kwangsi, province of China, 739 n., 748
Kwangtung, province of China, 296, 732, 733, 737, 739 n , 749, 767, 801
Kweichow province of China, 739 n.
Kyōto *See* Miyako

Kyūshū, 303, 664, 667, 668, 683, 685, 689, 710, emissaries of, to Rome, 301, Jesuit mission in, 292, political units, 713, Spanish in, 298. *See also* Japan

Labbai, Muslim traders, 236
Lac, 406, 420, 542, 545, from Cabral's voyage, 104
Laccadive islands, 346, 348
Ladrones (Mariana) islands, 493, 628, 643, arms, 627, 640, birds, 640, customs, 640, 644, diet, 627, internal wars, 644, language, 644, Mendoza on, 644, name, 627, Oviedo on, 185, 640, people, 627, placement, 640, Spanish in, 627, thievery, 627, trade, 644
Lagan (shellfish of the Philippines), 633
"Laghan." *See Lagan*
Lagos, 52, 53, 92, 93
Lagos, Vicente de, 237
Lahore, 454, 459, 461, 464, Akbar's court in, 276–77; Armenian Christians in, 463, Jesuits at, 278, 463–65, 467, Yogis at, 464–65. *See also* Akbar, India, Jesuits
Lainez, Diogo, Jesuit general, 798, Goan policies, 252
Lake Baikal, 819 n
Lake Vampanad, 443
Lakon. *See* Lugor
Laksamana (of Cambodia), 312
Lakshmi statuette found at Pompeii, 15
Lampacão island, 738 n, 796 n; Portuguese trading at, 295
Lancaster, James, 215, 478, 500, 502, 593
Lancillotto, Nicolo, 723, and the Indian mission, 249, in Quilon, 265, suggestions on communication, 254
"Langeiannes." *See* Lan-nas
Langenes, Barent, 490 n.
Languedoc, 124
Lan-nas (a people of southeast Asia), 536
Laos, 311, 561, Burmese in, 565, Cruz on, 565–66, geography, 566, kingdoms, 523; people, 566; religions, 566; trade, 566
Lao-t'ai (Chinese for "officials"), 754
Lao-tzu, 815
Lapu-Lapu (chief of Mactan island in the Philippines), 634, 635
"Lassamane" (admiral of Malacca), 510, 511
Lasso, Bartolomeu, 225, 820 n.
Latini, Brunetto, 29, 74, 75
"Laue." *See* Lawai
Lauenburg, duke of, 199
Laurentian portulan of 1351, 66, 67
Lavanha, João Baptista. revision of Barros' work, 190
Lavezaris, Guido de, 297
Lawai (Borneo), 581, 583
"Leachis" *See Hsun-an chien-ch'a yu-shih*
Lead, 102, 108, distribution of, 108, price of, 102
Leagues, Portuguese maritime definition, 341 n.
Leão Pereira, Gaspar de, 241, 253
"Leasse" *See* Uliasser island
Lecam (Timor island), 599
L'écluse, Charles de, 194, 195, 201, 203
Legaspi, Miguel Lopez de, 627, 645, 725, 746, in Philippines, 289, 296
Leghorn, 694, pepper importation, 136
Lei-lâos (auctions), 482
Leipzig, 744, establishment of spice staple at, 134
Leitão, Duarte mission to Akbar, 276
Leme, Henrique, 586, 589
Lemos, Jorgé de, *197*, 203, 496, 497, 513, 517, 573, 574
Lemro river, 551 n
Leo, king of Armenia, 77
Leo X, pope, 179, 232 n, 504, 561, relations with Portugal, 113, 115, and Spanish-Portuguese territorial claims, 167, 168, use of Franciscans in missionary work, 234
Leo of Naples. and Alexandrian legends, 28
"Leonhard" (Portuguese vessel), 163
Leopards gift to papacy, 167
Lepanto, battle of, 130
Lepusculus, Sebastian, 316
"Lequeos." *See* Liu-ch'iu islands
Lesser Sundas, 61, 599, cartography of, 70, Marco Polo on, 37
Leubenstein, Martin, 703
Levant, 3, 9, 16, 20, 39, 45, 49, 63, 71, 81, and Crusaders, 22, as intermediary, 27, 77, Italian losses in, 50, Louis IX's expedition to, 33, and Portuguese spice monopoly, 124, 128, 129, 130, and Prester John legend, 26, and sericulture, 46, 84, in trade, 91, 129
Levya, Buxeda de, 184
Leyden. printing in, 150
Leyma, Dom João de, 412 n.
Leyte island (Philippines), 628, 643
Lhoost, Jacobus, 429
"Liampo" (islands near Ningpo). *See* Ningpo
Liaotung peninsula, 819, 825
Lichefield, Nicholas. *See* Nicholas, Thomas
Li-chia (tax system of Ming China), 736 n.
"Lichsana" *See* Lecam
Lido (Venice), 699
Liége, 77, 702
Liegnitz· Mongols in, 31
Liga river. *See* Kalinadi river
Lima, Dom Paulo de, 517
Limadara (India), 404
Limasawa island (Philippines), 628, 628 n, 630, 631
Limos, Pedro de, 224
Lin Fêng (Chinese pirate), 746
Lingāyats (phallic worshippers of Shiva), 378 n., 379

Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, 182, *198–204*, 216, 227, 478, 490, 501, 505, 506, 513, 517, 540, 552, 574, 578, 580, 588, 589, 593, 598 n., 625, 709, 777, 824, on India, 482–90, influence, 489, his map of Asia, *225*, 820, sources, 197, 200–201, 499, 820, on southeast Asia, 499
Lin-tsin· Odoric of Pordenone in, 41
Lintun island (sometimes Lintin, Tun-mên, "Veniaga," or "Tamao"), 737
Lisbon, 57, 96, 100, 101, 102, 103, 131, 162, 737, 770, 798, admiralty office, 223, blockade of, 140, as center of exploration, 55, as center of trade, 54, 92–94, 95, 97, 98, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 111, 114, 116, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 136, 138, 140, 158, Columbus in, 56, Dutch in, 133, 138, 200, Florentines in, 103–4, 114, Germans in, 94, 108–10, 111, 119–20, 161, Italian colony of, 93; Japanese mission in, 691–99, 701, Malabar priests in, 232, and Moors, 51, pepper prices, 143, 144, pestilence of 1568–69, 748; population, 100, 665 n., printing in, 149, 150, reception of Cabral, 101, reception of Vasco da Gama, 96, rehabilitation of, 99–100, Spanish in, 94, supply of spices at, 138, Venetians in, 104–7, 119, Xavier in, 246
Litchi nut, 766
Litterae annuae, 318, 446, Valignano's work on, 261. *See also* Jesuit letters
Little Armenia, 34
Liu-ch'iu islands, 729, 753, 789, on European maps, 223, 722, Europeans in, 722; people, 657
Livre d'heures (*ca.* 1460), 72
Loaisa, Garcia de, 117, 297, 580, 599, 639
Loarca, Miguel de, 746, 747, 773 n.
Lowenstein, Scipio, 108
Lohani rulers of Bihar (India), 423
Loloda islands, 607, 614
Lomellini, Bartolommeo, 93
London, 46, 58, 665 n., printing in, 149, 150; as spice staple, 128 n.
Long John of Ypres, 38
Lontar (Banda island), 609
Lope de Vega, Felix, 196
Lopes, Francisco, 435
Lopes, Tomé, 121, 206, 495
Lopes de Castanheda, Fernão, 153, 182, *187–90*, 196, 201, 203, 212, 226, 325, 339, 340, 371, 413, 418, 427, 431, 506, 513, 540, 551, 555, 562, 573, 574, 580, 588, 591, 593, 603, 606, 656 n., 739, 747, on "Baneanes" of Vijayanagar, 378–79; censorship of his work, 153–54, 188; on China, 738–39; at Coimbra, 187, 188; in contemporary libraries, 189; Couto on, 188 n.; on Deccan, 383–84, description of Goa, 390; influence on Maffei, 448; informants, 425; on Japan, 652; on Malacca, 516, on Mughul-Afghan wars, 420–26, on Mughul empire, 453; on pearl-fishing, 347; sources, 187–89, 425, 496, 738, on southeast Asia, 496–97, translations, 189, travels, 187, 496
"Loreçore" *See* Saparua island
Lorenzetti, 72, 73
Loreto, 698
Louis IX, king of France, 33
Lourenço, Fernão, 95
"Louthias," *See Lao-t'ai*
Louvain, 70, 319, 430, 675
Lovek (Cambodia), 309, 309 n., 310, 311, 565, 566, 569
Low Countries as intermediary between France and Germany, 123, relations with Spain, 127, 131, in sugar trade, 94
Loyola, Ignatius de, 254, 314, 316, 318, Barreto's letter to, 295; biography, 245, 326, canonization, 326, organization of Society of Jesus, 251; relationship with Francis Xavier, 245–46, 272
Loyola, Jorge de, 689
Loyola, Martin Ignatius de, 498, 562, 569, 750, 752
"Lozon" *See* Luzon
Luang Prabang (Laos), 523, 565
Lubeck pepper in, 139
Lucca. sericulture, 46
Lucena, João de, 327
Lucerne, 703
Lucidarius in Germany, 29
"Luções." *See* Luzon
Ludovicus Georgius. *See* Barbuda, Luiz Jorgé de
"Lugo." *See* Lugor
Lugor (Siam), 521, 524, 563
Lull, Ramond, 85
Lung-ch'ing emperor (China), 754 n.
Lusiads, 184 n., 196–97, 201, 388
Luso-Indians, 482, 483, 485
Lu-sung (Luzon), 789
"Lutatão." *See* Lontar
Luther, Martin, 122
Luzon (also referred to as "Lozon," "Luçoes," "Luzones"), 599, 626, 637, 643, 644, gold of, 626, 643, 645; Ilocos region, 645; on European maps, 626 n.; Muslims in, 643; products, 626 n., 646, religion, 645
"Luzones." *See* Luzon
Lyons, 32, 702; as center of trade, 124, 125; printing in, 149, 150
Lyons, Council of: and Mongols, 31, 32

Ma' bar, 407
Maaya Dunnai, rebel of Ceylon, 472
Mabas (a people of "Moro"), 614
Macao, 229, 686, 689, 706, 708, 742, 745, 753, 796 n., 798, 801; Camoens in, 196; conversion policy in, 296, as diocese, 241,

Macao—(*continued*)
297, on European maps, 224, 817–18; "Father of the Christians" in, 240, Jesuits in, 295, 296, 301, 797, 799, Portuguese in, 135, 295, 296, 738, 788, 800, Portuguese-Spanish rivalries at, 299–300, printing in, 262, 809, Sanchez in, 299, 800–801, Spanish in, 298, Valignano in, 256, 257, 296, 799, 800 *See also* China
Macassars, 616
Maccareo (tidal waves), 470, 545
Mace, 599
Macerata (Italy), 698
Machado, Antonio, 277
Machuca, Gregorio Vargas, 310
Mactan island, 634, 636
"Macuas" (Christians of Travancore), 434
Madayi (India), 350
Madeira, João, 309 n , 310
Madeira islands, 52, 92, 94, in the sugar trade, 94, 100
Madoni. *See* Maaya Dunnai
"Madre de Dios" (Portuguese carrack), 215, 809
Madremaluco. *See* Imad 'l-Mulk
Madrid, 124, 571, 665 n , 686, 701, 710, 744, 745, 798, 805 n , Japanese mission in, 692–93, printing in, 150, 183
Madrignano, Arcangelo, 164
Madura (India), 434, 466, 589, missionary activity in, 265, Pimenta in, 274
Maffei, Giovanni, 201, 211, 212, 496, 506, 540, 554, 573, 609 n , 680, 681, 696, 703, 704, 706, 707, 708, 710, 711, 724, 727, 728, 777 n., 809; on Buddhism in Burma, 558–59; on Burma, 556–57, on China, 803–5, Chinese characters compared to Egyptian hieroglyphics, 803 , on Chinese examination system, 804, criticisms of China, 804–5, exoticism in, 451; *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI*, 325, on India, 448–49, 449–51, influence of Barros on, 326, on Japan, 706, as Latinist, 325–26, objectives, 448; on Portuguese in East, 450–51, 805, relations with Frois, 686, reliability, 324, *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente* 324, Ricci on, 324, Sassetti on, 325 n ; sources, 324–25, 448–49, 451, 501, 655 n , 706, 803; on southeast Asia, 501 Valignano on, 326, and Xavier's biography, 327, on Yogis, 449
"Magaduras" (festivals of Luzon), 645
Magalhães, Diogo, 618, 619, 620
Magalhães, Gabriel, 739 n
"Maganitos" (Tagalog deities), 645
Magellan, Ferdinand, *115–16*, 117, 123, 168, 170, 173, 220 n., 595, 624, 628, 630, 631, 633, 639, 655, his Asian slave, 172, 628, blood compacts (*kasikase*), 629, 632, in Cebu, 631–35, contacts with Charles I, 115; death, 635, Eden on, 210, significance of, 227
Magellan, Strait of, 199
"Magepaher " *See* Majapahit dynasty of Java
Magnetic compass Conti on, 82
"Magot," 59
Maguindanao (on Mindanao island), 641
Maha Chakrap'at, king of Siam, 537
Maha Sangréach (high priests of Cambodia), 568
Maha T'ammaraja, king of Siam, 535, 536
Mahabharata, 12, 438, 439, compared with the *Divine Comedy*, 75
Mahamakham ("big sacrifice" of Malabar), 356 n , 409
Mahānanda river, 414
Mahavira (Jain apostle), 460 n
Mahe (India), 351
Mahi river, 403
Mahim (India), 402, 404
Mahin, king of Siam, 535 n
Mahmūd I, sultan of Gujarat, 393, 397, 397 n , 402
Mahmūd Shah, ruler of Bengal, 413, 424, 425, 426
"Mahometto Zelaldim Echebar." *See* Akbar
"Mainatos " *See Mainattu*
Mainattu (caste), 366, 485
Mainz. book fairs, 150
Maiolica, 82
Maitry-Upanishad, 18
Maize in China, 766, 768
Majapahit dynasty of Java, 586, 589
Majorca, 694
Majumdar, R. C., 492
Makassar *See* Celebes
Makian island, 592, 595, 600, 604
Malabar (Kerala) Barbosa on, 186, 348–49, Brahmans of, 360–62, Cabral in, 101, calendar, 349, castes, 157, 353, 358, 360–69, castes of foreigners, 368–69, Chērumān Perumāl, 348, Christian missions in, 229, 235, 265, cities, 349–53, dress, 354, extent, 348, Franciscans in, 231, Gujaratis in, 368, history, 348–49, imperial regalia, 349, 354, Jordan of Severac in, 43, justice, 358–59, kings of, 353, 355, Mar Abraham in, 267, marriage, 166, 355–56, matrilineal system, 101, 166, 355, Menezes in, 268; military organization, 358, 365; Muslims in, 348, 358, 359, 368–69, name, 348, Nāyar-related subcastes, 366, Nāyars, 362–65, Odoric of Pordenone in, 40, political divisions, 341, 348–49, polluting castes, 366–68; and Portugal, 97, 103, 132, pregnancy rites, 362, priests from, in Europe, 101, products, 352; punishments, 358–59, religion, 354, Romans in, 347, St. Thomas Christians in, 231; Sernigi on, 155; Springer on, 163, succession practices, 355, 357–58; superstitions, 361, temples, 361; topography,

341, 348, Varthema on, 166, waterways, 348, women, 359
Malabar Christians *See* St. Thomas Christians
"Malabar rites," 268 n
Malacca, 112, 115, 137, 140, 160, 229, 500, 608, 627, 689, 731, 733, 748, 788, acceptance of Islam, 509, Bengalis in, 415, 514, Burmese in, 539, Cambodian envoys at, 504, Cannibals, 511; censorship of Pires' information on, 186, Chinese in, 514, 731–32, Christian community of, 241, 249, 281, 286–87, climate, 513, diocese of, 241, Dominicans in, 285, *duções* (plantations), 508, Empoli in, 168, environs, 513, extent, 509, 512, extraterritoriality, 512, "Father of the Christians" in, 240, Filipinos at, 626, Florentines in, 113, food imports, 513, 517, founding, 506–7, 508, 509, Gujaratis in, 513, harbor, 513, history, 573, Japanese in, 514, Javans in, 514, 585, Jesuits in, 260, 287, 795–96, justice, 511, Kings in, 513, law code, 512, Lemos on siege of, 197, marriage, 511, Muslims in, 517, name, 508, news of conquest reaches Europe, 166–67, officials, 511–12; Osório on, 196, people, 508, 510, 514, Francisco Peres in, 265, Pires on, 170, population, 509, 512, Portuguese in, 286, 513, 517, Portuguese conquest of in 1511, 113, 166–67, 233, 406, 497, 516, 571, Portuguese control of, 38, 114, 512–13, 518, products, 513, punishments, 511, Quadros in, 254, relationship to Gujarat, 406, 518; relations with Cambodia, 310–11, relations with Sumatra, 510, replaces Singapore, 508, revolts, 510, rice trade with Japan, 514, Sequeira's reconnaissance of, 113, Siamese in, 520, 521, sieges of, 137, 182, 197, 488, 517, trade, 119, 128, 132, 508, 518, Valignano on, 256, 260, Varthema in, 166, as vassal of China, 509, 511, 571, 734, as vassal of Siam, 508–9, vassals of, 515, war with Siam, 509, 510–11, women, 514, Xavier in, 248, 270, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286
Malagueta pepper, 54, 129
Malatesta, Giovanni Battista, 175
Malay language, 178, 508, 582, 592, 606, 640, 829, as lingua franca, 515, Pigafetta's vocabulary, 176, 515, translations into, 515
Malay peninsula Asian sources on, 506, "Cellates," 507–8, Conti in, 61, 62, early history, 506–12, on European maps, 69, 219, 222, 223, 226, European sources on, 506; Filipinos in, 627, as Golden Chersonese, 14, history, 505–6; Johore Lama, 516, Johore sultanate, 517; oral tradition, 505, 506, people, 508, Pires on, 170; revelations with Java, 507, 509, villages, 508
Malayālam, 436, 437; areas in which spoken, 438, study of by Franciscans, 279
Maldive islands, 64, 348, 412, 417, baptism of king of, 265, on European maps, 69, French in, 178, government, 345, language, 346, Muslims in, 346, name, 345, people, 346; placement, 345–46, Portuguese in, 345, products, 346
Maleka (also known as Sirela), ruler of Brunei, 585
Malhón island (more commonly Homonhón), 624
Malibog (on Mindanao), 641
Malik Ali, bailiff of Akbar, 464
Malik Ayaz, governor of Diu, 394, 402, 403
Malik Gopi, minister of Gujarat, 393, 398, 400, 404 n
Mālīs (caste), 405
"Malpueres" *See* Moplahs
"Maltan" *See* Multan
"Malucobuco" *See* Malibog
"Malva" (Alor or Ombai Island), 599
Malvenda, Francisco and Pedro de, 139
Malwa, 341, 396, 398, 406, 419, 422, 454, 480, Amazons of, 420, Ghori dynasty, 421, history, 420
Mamans (caste), 366
Mamelukes, of Egypt, 106, 113, 401, trade policies, 49, wars, 33
"Mamuco Diata" *See Manuk-dewato*
Manaar, Straits of, 409, 434, pearl fisheries, 346
Manaar island, 444, 466, Henriques at, 270–71, Paravans move to, 270, Portuguese control of, 274
Manado (in Celebes, also written "Menado"), 616, 618, 619, 621; Jesuits in, 288
Manakkudi (India), 432 n, 434 n.
Mānavikrama, Rājā Zamorin of Calicut, 354 n
"Mancy" *See* Mangi
Mandapa (temple stone in India), 361
Mandarii (councillors of Malacca), 508
Mandavi river, 389
Mandeville, Sir John, 41, 70, *77–80*, 85, 148, 823, "insular romanticism" in, 78; reliability, 77
Mandsur (India), 423 n.
"Māndū." *See* Malwa
"Manens" *See Mamans*
Mangalor (India), 396, 475, Franciscans in, 234
Mangāt achan, or regent of Calicut, 358
Mangcas See Breadfruit
Mangelim (one carat), 374 n
Mangi (south China), 41, 79, 817, on European maps, 67; in Marco Polo, 37; as synonym for Upper India, 40
Mang-mang (Philippine festival), 636 n.
Mani. in India, 19
Manichaeanism and Buddhist doctrine, *19*; influenced by India, 18, 86

Manila, 135, 706, 717, 805, Chinese colony in, 646, conquistadorial designs in eastern Asia, 297–98, 311–12, 329, 370–71, 537, 723, 749, designs on Formosa, 722–23; as diocese, 298, Franciscans in, 297, jurisdiction, 645, missionaries at, 313, origins, 643, placement, 644–45, Portuguese attempts to limit Spain to, 297, relations with Borneo, 584–85, relations with Cambodia, 310–11, relations with Japan, 304, 305
"Manjaim" *See* Mayyazhi
Mansilhas, Francisco de. ordered to Spice Islands, 282
Mansur Shah, ruler of Malacca, 510
Mantegazzi, P. N di, 161
Mantua, 173, 175, 700
Manuel I, king of Portugal, 58, 104, 105, 157, 158, 160, 161, 163, 170, 171, 179, 192, 731, and Albuquerque's letters, 192, announcement of discovery of the sea route, 96–97, capital and credit, 94, in Castanheda, 188, censorship policy, 152, 153, 154, 155, and Christian mission, 232, 233, death, 170, 171, decisions of 1495, 58, decree of 1500, 103, decree of 1504 on secrecy, 152, 219 n, decrees of 1507 and 1509, 120, encouragement of Barros, 190, expulsion of Jews and Moors, 94, historians of, 182, 196, and Indian expeditions, 96–97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, letter of 1501 to Castile, 157, letter of 1505 attributed to him, 161, letters, 153, 154; letters of 1513 to papacy, 167, 504, 561; title, 97; trade administration, 103, 104, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 120, 121, 162, 166, 167
Manuel the Fortunate. *See* Manuel I
Manueline style, 100
Manuk-dewato, 598 n.
Manuzio, Antonio, 180
Manuzio, Paolo, 180
Manzor, sultan of Tidore, 594–95
Mar Abdiso, Chaldean prelate journey to Rome, 266
Mar Abraham, Chaldean bishop in Malabar, 267, 268
Mar Elias, Chaldean bishop, 266
Mar Jacob, 232; as bishop of St. Thomas Christians, 266
Mar Joseph, 266, in Lisbon, 267
Mar Simon Sulaga journey to Rome, 266
"Mara." *See* Makian island
Maranos (Portuguese "New Christians") definition, 123; emigration from Antwerp, 127
Marāthī language, 436; Jesuit knowledge of, 280; study of by Franciscans, 279
"Maravel." *See* Madayi
Marcellinus, Ammianus, 29
Marchionni, Bartolommeo, 94
Marchionni, house of, 94, 96, 104, 110, 164, 165
Marianas *See* Ladrones islands
Marie, empress of Austria, 693
Marie Louise of Savoy reception of Pigafetta, 174
Marignolli, John da, *42*, 43, 44, 231
Marín, Jerónimo, 746, 747
Marramque, Gonçales Pereira, 620, 621, in Spiceries' conflict, 289
Marseilles in spice trade, 125, 136
"Marusa" *See* Mansur Shah
Martaban (Burma), 522, 526, 536 n, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 554, 557, 559, jars, 542
Martānda Varma, prince of Travancore, 434
Martellus, Henricus, 70
Martianus of Heraclea, 23
Martinez, Pedro de, 307, 308, 456 n
Martyr, Peter as cartographer, 221, as tutor of Maximilian of Transylvania, 172, writings on America, 184
"Martyrdom of the Franciscans at Ceuta," 73
Marudu (Borneo), 581
Mary Tudor marriage to Philip II, 127, 210
Mascarenhas, Francisco de, 701
Mascarenhas, Pero, 246, 618, 619, 620, 621, in Spice Islands, 289
"Massana" *See* Limasawa island
"Massancraches" *See* Maha Sangréach
Masulipatam (India), 479
Mataram (Java), 586, 590 n
Mathias, priest of Malabar, 157
Matsuda Kiichi, 726
Matsuura Takanobu, 667
Matthew, Japanese convert of Xavier, 667, 668, 672
Maucler, Pierre, 178
Maurice of Nassau, 199
Maurya rulers of India, 9
Maximilian, Holy Roman Emperor, 108, 119, 162
Maximilian of Transylvania, *172–73*, 181, 184, 494, 495, 504, 579, 580, 584, 593, 595, 624, 625, 627, 634, 637, his definition of "Indians," 4
"Maynattos." *See Mainattu*
Mayr, Hans, 162
Mayyazhi (India), 351
"Meccao" (Burma), 545
Medes and Prester John legend, 26
Medici, Francesco dei, Grand Duke of Tuscany correspondence with Sassetti, 476, reception of Japanese mission, 694
Medici, Giovanni dei. *See* Leo X
Medici, Giuliano dei, 206
Medicis, 169
Mediterranean area, 66; cartography of, 69; Castile's role in, 57; commercial revolution,

44, rise of Catalonia, 50, spice routes of, 125, 128, 129, 130, 139, trade, 5, 11, 44, 50
Megasthenes, 18, 19, 61, 62, account of India, 9–10, 12
Meghira river, 481
Mekong river, 523, 561, 563, 565, 566, 570, Tonle Sap, 566
Mela, Pomponius, *14*, 85, conception of China, 17
Mělayu (pre-Portuguese Malaya), 506, 507, 588
"Melique Verido" (popular title of rulers of Bīdar in India), 384
"Melitai," 543
Mello, Martim Affonso de, 425
Melo, Gonçalo Vaz de, 431 n
Menam river, 504, 521, 523, 526, 538, boat races, 530, floating markets, 531, royal processions on, 532
Menangkabow (Sumatra), 564 n, 575, 578, 579 n
Mendoza, Juan González de *See* González de Mendoza, Juan
Menezes, Alexis de, 268, and Latin jurisdiction of Serra, 268–69
Menezes, Duarte de, 203
Menzes, Jorge de, 579, 602
Mercator, Gerhard, 150, 213, 217, 225 n, 228
Mercurian, Edward, General of the Society of Jesus, 255, 323
"Mergen" *See* Gangawali river
Mergui. *See* Tenasserim
Mesa da Consciéncia, 242
Mesquita, Diogo Lopez de, 257, 325, 620, 621, 689, 691, 692 n, 693, 696, 705, as captain of Ternate, 289
Mesquita, Pedro, 434
Messina, 316
Methéa (priest of Cambodia), 568
Mewar (India), 341, 418, 420. *See* Chitor
Mexia, Affonso, 118–19
Mexia, Lourenço, 687, 714 n.
Mexico, 298, 313, 749, 777, 793, 805; Chinese in, 747, 807, as intermediary between Europe and Asia, 116, 117, 298, 745, Mendoza in, 746, Sanchez in, 299, Spanish in, 175
Meyer, Sebald, 319
Middle Ages and Alexander Romance, 28, 29, art, 71, 72, borrowings from China, 46, exoticism, 29; geographical theory, 22, 23, 38, 42, 57–58, 59, 65; and Holy Land, 22, image of Asia, 28–29, 29–30, Indian themes in literature of, 27, influence of Persia on literature, 27; maps and cartography of, 14, 23–24, and Prester John legend, 25, spice trade in, 50, 141, use of knowledge of Asia, 3, 7, 14, 20, 23–24, 28, 29–30, 32, 43, 46, 48, 85
"Middle Kingdom". Boccaccio's use of term, 76
Middleburg, 490 n, 499, pepper in, 139
Miechow, M. de, 179
"Milagobim" *See* Malik Gopi
Milan, 136, 700
Militans ecclesia, 160
Minamoto Yoritomo, 712 n
Mindanao island (also written as "Vendenao" and "Migindanao"), 616, 624, 625, 638, 643, arms, 642, cinnamon, 638, 641, 642, fauna, 642, gold, 630, 637, names, 642, Oviedo on, 640–42, people, 637, 642, placement, 641, products, 642, provinces, 641, size, 641, 642, Spanish in, 640–41, trade with China, 642
Ming-hsin pao-chien (*The Precious Mirror Which Enlightens the Mind*), 805 n
Minjani (Malay Peninsula), 627
Minsetya, king of Arakan, 552
"Minutaranghen" (Java), 589
Minyaza, king of Arakan, 551
Mira island, 593
Mirabilia Dei, papal bull of 1583, 295
"Mirandu," 543
"Miraporam" *See* Nileshwaram river
Miroku (the "future Buddha"), 716 n
Mirón, Diego, 316
"Mitres" *See* Methéa
Miyako (Kyōto), 307, 667, 668, 678, 683, 685, 716, center of culture, 685, Christian churches of, 292, Fróis in, 292, monasteries, 665, monuments, 684, under Oda Nobunaga, 292, population, 665, 677, Vilela in, 291, Xavier in, 284, 667–68
"Mjjam." *See* Minjani
Modena, 219, 701
"Modu faixa" *See* Muzaffar Shah
"Moduro." *See* Marudu
"Mogen" *See* "Mugs"
"Moger" or Mogors *See* Mughuls
"Mogeres" *See Mogers*
Mogers (caste), 367
Mohammed I, ruler of the Deccan, 384
Mohammed Kasim *See* Ferishta
Molin, Constantino, 699
Moluccas (also written "Monoch"), 185, 263, 500, 579, 593, 594, 595, 600, 639, 753; ancient names, 604, beliefs, 598, 607; birds, 173, Cavendish in, 213, censorship of information about, 154, 196, 226, Chinese in, 607–8, Christian communities, 622, climate, 604–5, cloves, 597, correspondence with Goa, 258, currency, 608; diet, 605–6, 615; distance from Malacca, 603–4, 612, divers, 598, Drake in, 622–23; fauna, 598, 606, 615; Franciscans in, 281; Fróis on, 612–14, Galvão on, 195, geography, 597, 604, gold, 606; Hakluyt on, 622–23; harems, 608, Javans in, 608; in Jesuit letters, 330; Jesuits in, 288, 612, 617, 620; languages, 606; location, 172, 494,

Moluccas—(*continued*)
501, 504, 594 n., 603–4, Magellan's voyage to, 116, Malays in, 608, Maximilian of Transylvania on, 172, Muslims in, 596, 606, 608, 620, "noble savages," 172, northern passage to, 209, oral traditions, 606, 607, origins, 606, 607; Osório on, 196, people, 172, 606, Pigafetta on, 176, political divisions, 595, Portuguese control of, 118–19, products, 172, 597, 605, prospect of Spanish control, 115, 117, 118, 167, 168, question of distance to, 154, revenues, 608, rivers, 605, rulers, 607, sago palm, 597, 605, size, 604, soil, 605, spices, 173, trade, 606, 608, use of poison, 612, Varthema in, 165, 166, volcanoes, 605, wars, 595 n, 606, Willes on, 212 *See also* Spiceries
"Momudi-Xa" *See* Mohammed I
Mon language, 558, 560
"Mongol Archer," 73
Mongol empire administration, 35, 36, chief divisions, 67, Cresque's cartography of, 67, and Innocent IV, 31
"Mongol Peace," 46, 47
Mongols, 37, 39, 40, 44, 774 n, 812, in Asia Minor, 33, in Avignon, 41, decline of, 43, 46, 49, 59, embassy of Andrew of Longjumeau to, 33, European knowledge of, 42, 59, foreigners in their service, 35, Grand Khan, 31, 32, 33, 39, invasion of Europe, 30–31, John of Monte Corvino mission to, 39; Mandeville on, 80, Marco Polo to, 34–35, missionary accounts of, 42, mission of Bar Sauma to Europe, 39, rise to power, 30–31, 33, 34, 49, in Rome, 38, tolerance of Christians, 31, 39, 41, 42, William of Rubruquis to, 33
"Monoch." *See* Moluccas
"Monquers" *See Mukkuvans*
Monserrate, Antonio, 456, dairy of, 278, in mission to Akbar, 276, *Relaçam...* (Account of Akbar), 452, 465
Monsoons, 417, 474, 596, 610, role in trade, 9, 11, 13, 20, 64
Montaigne, Michel de, 196, 777 n
Montalboddo, Francanzano da, 163–4
Monte, Giovanni Battista di· in Japan, 291
Monteiro, Domingos, 720
Montera, Ignacio. *See* Morera da Virique, Ignacio
Monti, Urbano, 705
Montserrat, 701
Monzon, 701
Moors, 456, and Christian missionary activities, 231, 237, relations with Portugal, 51, 97, 102, 112, in Spain, 54, 57, Valignano on, 259 *See also* Muslims
Moplahs (Moorish caste of Malabar), 236, 368
Moraes, Manuel de in Ceylon, 273
Moraes, Sebastian de, 307 n
Moravia Mongols in, 31
Morera da Virigue, Ignacio, 710, 724
"Moro," 609, animism, 615, Christian settlements, 282, 614, definition, 614, fauna, 615, Franciscans in, 281, 611, Jesuits in, 287, 611, 612, 615, languages, 287, 614, people, 614, Portuguese control of, 614–15, size, 614, tribal groups, 614, Xavier on, 282, 611–12
Morocco Portuguese in, 56, 132
Moros (Muslims of the Philippines), 638, Pigafetta's description of, 175
Morotai island, 609, 614, 619, 620
Morotia northern promontory of Halmahera, 614
Motir island, 592, 595, 604, 622
Moucheron, Balthasar de, 200
Moulmein (Burma), 533 n, 536 n.
Mount Deli, 346, 348, 350
Mount Kōya, 716
"Moutil" *See* Motir island
Mozambique, 113, 486
Mu'ang Thai (southern Siam), 524
"Muantay" *See* Mu'ang Thai
Muar river, 507, 516
Munster, Sebastian, 179, 209, 222, 817
Mughul-Afghan wars· Castanheda on, 420–26
Mughul empire, 478, administration, 454, 456, area of jurisdiction, 454, arms, 456, Castanheda on, 453, cities, 454, eunuchs, 480, European writings on, 451–53, geography, 224, justice, 456, Kashmir, 467, military forces, 456–57, Muslims in, 467, ports, 454, revolts, 456, rivers, 454, trade, 480
Mughuls (also called "Mogors"), 395, 421, 424, arms, 421, customs, 421; wars in Bengal, 424
"Mugs" (a people of Arakan), 481, 552
Muhammed, ruler of Malacca, 510, 511, 516
Mukkuvans (caste), 367, Priest Joseph on, 157
Multan (India), 341, 418, 454
"Munchuas" (small Indian boats), 425
Murād, sultan of Delhi, 456, 461, 464, Deccan campaign, 460, visited by Jesuits, 460–61
Murakami Naojiro, 726
Muratori, L. A, 695
Murcia, 693 n, 694
Murdoch, James, 725, 726
Musk, 542, 570, 767, 768, 811, of China, 816, described in *Calcoen*, 160
Muslims, 22, 26, 32, 39, 49, 66, 313, 341, 433, in Amboina, 282, in Asia, 831, in Borneo, 582, 585, in China, 795, 815, and Christian mission, 239, 250, convenience marriages, 462, at court of Akbar, 275, 458, conquest of the Deccan, 382, defeat at Samarkand, 26, in Goa, 264, in Gujarat, 397, 401, harems, 596,

and Hinduism, 245, in Hindustan, 419, in India, 43, 243, 447, in Indonesia, 572–73, in Japan, 518, in Java, 586, Jesuits on, 444, in Malacca, 509, 510, in Moluccas, 131, 596, 606, 608, 611, 620, *navāyāta* (newcomers), 404, and Paravans, 236, in Philippines, 631, pilgrimages, 461–62, relations with Portugal, 54, 94, 101, 107, 130, 140, Shiites, 404, in Siam, 526, in southeast Asia, 648, and spice monopoly, 141, in Sumatra, 510, 575, Sunnites, 404, 444, in trade, 44, 46, 48, 50, 51, 52, 64, 103, 107, wars with Christians, 26, 31, 32, 43, 54, 289–90, 381, women, 401, 444
Muzaffar II, ruler of Gujarat, 394, 398, 399, 404 n
Muzaffar Shah, ruler of Malacca, 509
Myaungmya creeks, 541
Mylapore (India), 60, 407, 408, 411, 466, 784, Franciscans in, 233, 235, 410, Jesuits in, 274, tomb of St Thomas, 410
Myohaung (Arakan), 541, 551, 552

"Nacsendeches" *See* Neak Sámdach
Nadal, Jeronimo, 316, 317, 319, 706
Nagasaki, 224, 303, 307, 308, 689, 717, as center of trade, 291, 293, Valignano in, 257
Nagato province (Japan), 667, 668
"Nagirano" (Burmese for "interpreter"), 549
Nagoya (Japan), 306
Naha (Okinawa), 653
Naira island, 609
"Naires." *See* Nāyars
Nakaura, Julien, 689, 695, 697, 701
Nambūtiri (Malabar Brahmans), 355, 356, 360
"Nancarote Xa" *See* Nusrat Shah
Nan-chih-li. *See* Nanking
Nanda Bayin, king of Burma, 521, 535, 536, 549, 550
Nanking, 739 n., 810, 813, Mandeville on, 79
Nanking, Gulf of *See* Yangtze river
Naples, 42, 255, 298, 665 n, 673
Nara (Japan), 704 n., 716
Narasimha (Hindu festival), 464 n
"Narasinha." *See* Narsinga
Narbada river, 404, 454
Naresuen, prince of Siam, 535, 536 n.
"Narsea." *See Narasimha*
"Narsin" *See* Narsinga
Narsinga (European name for Vijayanagar), 371 *See also* Vijayanagar
"Narsyngna" *See* Narsinga
Nasrat Shah, sultan of Bengal, 423
Navagero, Andrea, 205
Navigation, 226, 406, in Bengal, 473, charts, 771 n., compass, 82, 771–72, dangers, 96, Formosa in, 722, in Gulf of Cambay, 470; at Gulf of Manaar, 472, Japanese skill at, 653 n, of south Atlantic and Indian oceans, 98 *See also* Ships
Navigationi et viaggi, Delle, 192, 204, 205–8 *See also* Ramusio, Giovanni Battista
Naxac (word for "Hell" in Burmese Buddhism), 559
Nāyakas (viceroys), 269, 274
Nāyars (military caste of Malabar). 351, 351 n, 354 n, 355, 465, 472, 488, ablutions, 365, "amoques," 450, Barbosa on, 362–65, conversion of, 231, death rites, 364, derivation of name, 362 n, functions, 362, investiture, 362–63, legal position, 359, Maffei on, 450, matrilineal kinship system, 363–64, military prowess, 450, numbers, 362, pollution ideas, 364–65, 450, Priest Joseph on, 157, as protectors of the people, 365, slaves of, 367; training, 362, 450, as warriors, 363, 365, and Xavier, 269
Neak Sámdach (high clergy of Cambodia), 268
Negapatam (India), 409, 410, 472, Franciscans in, 233, 235, Pimenta at, 274
Negariott (India), 454
Negoro (famous monastery of Japan), 665, sect of Buddhism named after it, 716
Negritos, 637, 638
Negroes Valignano on, 259
Negros island, 625
Nei-ko (Grand Secretariat of Ming China), 756 n
Neo-Platonism geographical concepts, 23, influenced by India, 18, 86
Nestorians, 38, 61, 266 n., 267 n., 268, and John of Monte Corvino, 39, missionary activity, 30
New Christians, 241, in trade, 94, 123
New Guinea (Papua), 593, 598 n, 602, 602 n, 607, *616*, 620, 825, cartography of, 224
Newberry, John, 213, 477, 478, 487
Newsletters, 167, 170, 226, *Calcoen* (1504), 160, *Gesta proxime* .. (1506), 162 n., of Damião de Góis (1539), 179, *Die Merfart uñ Erfarung nuwer* .., 162–63; *Den rechten veg* (1505), 161–62; of André de Resende, 179, Rome collection of 1505, 161 *See also* Jesuit letter-books, Printing
Nichijo Shonin, 684
Nichiren (Japanese Buddhist sect), 715
Nicholas V, pope, 152, 168
Nicholas, Thomas, 189, 212, 746 n.
Nicobar islands, 478, 502, cartography of, 69
Nicuveran *See* Nicobar islands
Nile in medieval geography, 23
Nileshwaram river, 350
Ningpo (China), 299, 656, 737 n, 817, 819
Ninjitsu, 666
Nizam Shah, ruler of Ahmadnagar, 193
"Nizamaluco." *See* Nizamu'l-Mulk

Nizamu 'l-Mulk (popular title for ruler of Ahmadnagar), 384 n.
Nizan (Burmese word for "*Nirvana*"), 559
Nobili, Roberto de', 259, and Jesuit mission at Madura, 274, study of Sanskrit literature, 280
Nobunaga Oda *See* Oda Nobunaga
Noort, Oliver van, 580
Noronha, Garcia de, 188
Noronhas, Afonso de attack on Kotte, 273
North America as extension of Asia, 114
Northern Sircars (India), 411
Nova, João da economic results of his voyage, 102
Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum, 179, 180, 181, 215
Nunes, Duarte, 233, 234, 287
Nunes, Nicolau, 612, 614, 617, 620
Nunes Barreto, Melchior (called also Barreto), 252, 253 n, 265, 681, 796, 797, 798, 799, on China, 796–97, description of Canton, 295, in Japan, 290, 291, on military crusade against China, 297
Nuniz, Fernão, 187, 191, 370
Nuremberg, 112, 121, 162, information about voyages at, 161–62
Nusalaut island, 616
Nusrat, ruler of Bengal, 424
Nutmeg, 699, in Banda, 166
"Nutmeg group," 609

Oda Nobunaga, 303, 654, 657, 684, 689, 693, 706, 711; Buddhist monasteries razed, 292, relations with Frois, 292, rise to power, 291, 292
"Odirgualemado" *See* Udayagiri
Odo, abbot of St Remi in Rheims. knowledge of Prester John, 26
Odoric of Pordenone, 40–41, 43, 44, 67, 70, 78, 79, 80, 495, 502, 561, 580, 623, 765, extant manuscripts, 40, on Java, 587; and Prester John legend, 27; reliability, 40, travels in Asia, 39
Odyssey idealization of unknown world, 5
"Oia" *See P'aya*
"Oibich" *See* Vaibico
Okinawa island, 653
Olas, 488
Oldenbarnevelt, Jan van, 489
Ombai island, 599
Ōmura (Japan), 291, 292, 294, 689
Ōmura Sumitada (Dom Bartolomeu), 304, 305, 683, 691 n., conversion of, 291
O'Neill, Eugene. *Marco's Millions*, 35
Ōnin Civil War (Japan), 654
Onor (India), 475
Ophir, 37, 553, as synonym for Golden Chersonese, 14
Opium, 402, 481, 498, 518, 545, 565, 826, cultivation in Gujarat, 406
"Orancays" (tribes north of the Tumen?), 721
Orange, house of, 131
Oranges, 343, 766
Order of Christ, 52, 126, 160, 229, 233, 393
Oriente, Francisco di study of Tamil, 279
Orissa, 341, 370, 371, 407, 409, 414, 418, armies, 411, Gajapati dynasty, 411, history, 473, Klings, 412, languages, 412, Muslims in, 411, placement, 411, relations with Vijayanagar, 411, towns, 411, trade, 473
Ormuz, 64, 112, 140, 393, 406, 432 n, 439, 445, 469, 477, 478, 488, 748, Marignolli in, 42, missionary schools at, 249, number of missionaries in, 255, Portuguese in, 445 n
Ornieto, Andreas, 253 n
Orosius as source for King Alfred of England, 25
Orta, Garcia da, *192–94*, 196, 201, 203, 339 n, 370, 388, 391 n, 413, 418, 419, 422, 427, 476, 488, and ancients vs moderns, 193, credibility 194, on credibility of Varthema, 165 n, at Elephanta, 405, on Gujarat, 395; sources, 193, translations and adaptations, 194–95, travels, 193
Ortega, Francisco de, 747
Ortelius, Abraham, 150, 213, 217, 220, *224–25*, 227, 228, 563, 604 n, 709, 710, 745 n, 776 n, *Asia orbis partium maximae nova descripto*, 224, and Barbuda's independent map of China, 818–19, description of Japan, 709 n; editions, 224–25
Ortona a Mare· remains of St Thomas at, 25
Ōsaka, 307, 711
Ōsaka castle, 304
Osório, Jerónimo, *196*, 322, 325, 805
Osouro, Fernão d', 618
Ōtomo baptism of family, 293
Ōtomo Yoshishige, 290, 294, 305, 668, 683, 685
Otto, bishop of Freisingen chronicle of, 26
Ottoman Empire, 130
Ōuchi clan (Japan), 667
Ōuchi Yoshitaka, 668
Oviedo y Valdés, Gonzalo Fernandez de, 182, 184–85, 203, 495, 584, 588, 589, 590, 593, 599, 624, 626, 639; *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, 184, on Ladrones, 640, on Mindanao, 640–42, sources, 184–85, 639–40, on the Spiceries, 600–601
"Oya." *See P'aya*

Pacheco, Diogo, 160, 167
Pacific Ocean, 337, 745, 825; Balboa's discovery of, 114; cartography of, 217, 221, 225; exploration of, 47, 116, 117, mythical islands of gold and silver, 725 n.; national

demarcation of, 118, Pigafetta's depiction of, 175
Padma river, 481
Padrão (marker), 590
Padrão (the standard chart), 219
Padroado (Portuguese), 328, 433, activities within, 233, 239, 242, 245, 262, China within, 294, definition, 230, 231, 235, Italians in, 258, Japan within, 294, Jesuits in, 247, 249, 313, papal relations to, 294, position of St Thomas Christians in, 266–67, Spanish in, 298, 798
Padua, 38, 255, 316, 700
Paes, Domingo, 187, 191, 370
Pagan (Burma), 539, and Marco Polo, 38
Pago (near Malacca), 507, 508
Pagodes (temples), 377, 378, 390, meaning, 440
Pahang (Malay peninsula), 509, 510, 512, 515, 516, 524, 526
"Paharı" (nickname of Murād), 455
Paiva, Afonso de, 64, 94
Pajang (Java), 586
Palawan island, 637–38, Pigafetta's description of, 176
Palayakayal (India), 353, 408
Pale (India), 341
Palembang (Java), 509
Palembang (Sumatra), 572
Palı language, 529, 559
Palirone, S Benedetto dı, 700
Palk Strait, 472
Palladıo, 700
Palluruthı (India) Jesuit mission station at, 265
Paludanus (Bernard ten Broecke), 201, 202, 488, 553 n , 777
Palurt (India), 447
"Pam " *See* Pahang
Panan (India), 487
"Pananee." *See* Pounanı
Pānans (caste), 367
Panaon island, 630, 631
"Panaruca " *See* Panarukan
Panarukan (Java), 588, 590, 591
Panchatantra· Boccaccio's use of, 76, migration to West, 27, 74, translations of, 74
"Pandanare." *See* Pantalāyinı
Pândya. Paravan pearl-fishing monopoly of, 236
"Pāneens " *See Pānans*
"Pangim." *See* Mandavı river
Panglao island (Philippines), 637
"Pangoçaı." *See* Bang Plassoy
"Panıcals." *See* Pannikars
Pānipāt, battle of (1526), 420
Pannikars, 362
Pantalāyinı (India), 351
Panther. gift to papacy, 167
Pao-chia system (China), 736, 760–61, 793, 828
Papacy, 39, 41, 42, 43, 55, 117, 133, *Aeternı regis* of 1481, 55, bull of 1500, 233, bull of 1588 elevating Goa to archdiocese, 241; bulls of 1493, 56; diocese of Manila created, 298, *Ea quae* of 1506, 160, *Ex pastoralı officio* of 1585, 706 n , Japan policy, 294–95, 307, and Mendoza's book, 743–44, *Militans ecclesia* of 1506, 160, *Mirabilia Dei* of 1583, 295, and the *padroado* system, 230, Portugal's embassy of 1505 to, 112, 160, Portugal's embassy of 1514 to, 167, 227, *Praecelsae devotionis* of 1514, 168, relations with Portugal, 56–57, relations with St Thomas Christians, 266–67, and request for embassy to China, 302, role in Portuguese-Castilian dispute, 57, 58, *Sedes apostolica* of 1506, 160
Paper, 488, 526, 526 n , 559, 688, Chinese invention and manufacture of, 83, 767, 777; in Europe, 148, transmission to Europe, 148, Varthema on, 166. *See also* Printing
Paper money use of in China, 83
"Papuas." *See* New Guinea
Paradēśī (name for foreigners in India), 369
Paramesvara (founder of Malacca), 507, 508, 509
"Paramısvra " *See* Paramesvara
Parão (warship), 425
Paravans (Fishery Coast Indians), 408, 428, 433, 442, 443, conversion of, 236, 260, 269, emigration to Manaar, 270–71, 433–34; pearl-fishers, 236
Parayans (caste), 368
"Parchia." *See* Parthia
"Pardesıs " *See Paradēśī*
"Pareans." *See Parayans*
Paris, 79, 316, 430, 665 n., 675, Bar Sauma in, 39, compared to Cathay, 34, 42, compared to Karakorum, 33, printing in, 149, 150
Paris, Giraldo, 137
Parke, R , 744, 791, 792
Parmentier, Jean, 178, 181
Parmentier, Raoul, 178
Parrots from Cabral's voyage, 104, gift to papacy, 167
Parsis, 43, 405, 832, at court of Akbar, 275
Parthia, 42, St Thomas in, 25
Parthians as middlemen, 13
"Parus " *See* Parsis
Pārvatī (Hindu deity), 439
Pasay. *See* Pasei
Paschasius, Pedro, 558, in Pegu, 285
Pasei (Sumatra), 571, 575, 577, 578, Bengalis in, 578; succession by assassination, 578
Pasig river, 646
Pasio, Francesco, 801; meeting with Sanchez, 299
Pasqualigo, Pietro, 105, 106
Pātaliputra. *See* Patna
"Patamares." *See Patemarı*

Patana (towns), 345
"Patane." *See* Patani
Patangali relation to Neo-Platonism, 18
Patangatins (village heads of the Paravans), 442
Patani (Malay peninsula), 509, 521, 524
Pate Udara, ruler of Java, 589
"Pateudra." *See* Pate Udara
Pate Unus, ruler of Japara in Java, 589
Patemari (caste), 485
Pathan (India), 461
"Pathanes" (Afghan kingdom of Bihar), 424, 425
Pathans, 456, 473
"Pationus" *See* Pate Unus
Patna (India), 9, 454, 480, 481
Pattars (Brahmans of Malabar), 360, 400 n
Paul III, pope, 179, 235, and Society of Jesus, 246
Paul IV, pope, 255, 673
Paul of Camerino, 246
Pavia, 700
Pawlowski, Christophe, 468
P'aya (Siamese official title), 524, 529
Pazhayangadi (India), 350
Pearl-fishing, 434, *Calcoen* on, 160, in Gulf of Manaar, 346–47, 408
Pearl river, 737
Pearls, 546, 565, 767, 768, 826, of Borneo, 347, of China, 347, 811, grades of, 472, imported by Rome, 15, of India, 9, 236, of Ormuz, 347
Pedir (Sumatra), 571, 576, 577, king, 577
"Pedirpatam" river. *See* Kotta river
Pedro, prince of Portugal, 53, 63, 151, 159, travels, 52
Pegado, Antonio, 435
Pegolotti, Francesco Balducci, 45–46, 474
Pegu (name for Burma). Balbi on, 474, Chinese in, 741, climate, 541, currency, 546, etymology, 540, on European maps, 540, extent, 540–41, fauna, 542, Franciscans in, 285, Osório on, 196, ports, 541, Portuguese missions to, 520–21, products 541–42, rubies, 542, towns, 541, trading practices, 546, Varthema in, 165, 166, wars with Arakan, 541 *See also* Burma
Pegu, city of Balbi's description of, 544, destruction in 1600, 544, 551, Fedrici's description of, 543–44, fires, 550, location, 541
Pei-chih-li. *See* Peking
Peking, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 80, 720, 739, 754, 756, 761, 788, 810, 813, cartography of, 67; first Portuguese mission to, 187, foreigners in, 789, Jesuits in, 801, Marignolli in, 42; Odoric of Pordenone on, 41; Pires in, 734
Penrose, Boies, 223, 581 n.
Penugonda (India), 471
Pepper, 29, 96, 119, 162, 575, 589, 642, adulteration, 79, 144, 472, from Cabral's voyage, 104, in Calicut, 156, cultivation, 79, 162, 599, deliveries to Lisbon, 138, fixed price of, 139, 143, 472, in Germany, 122, Odoric on, 40, Pliny on, 16, prices, 97, 123, 124, 136, prices in Antwerp, 107, 125, 129, prices in Egypt, 49, 107, prices in England, 129, prices in Europe, 50, 98–99, 133, 143–47, 824, prices in India, 99, prices in Lisbon, 107, 109, prices in Marseilles, 136, prices in Old Castile, 136, prices in Vienna, 129, quality, 824, quantities imported, 144, quintal of, 97, relation between supplies and price, 144, relationship to general commodity prices, 144–45, Santo Stefano's description of, 64, Sernigi's knowledge of, 156, sources, 351, 352, table of price fluctuations, 145–46, types, 79, uses in Europe, 16, 136–37
"Peraia." *See P'ra Chao*
Peregrini, Gerard, 40
Pereira, Diogo, 284, 436
Pereira, Duarte Pacheco, 95
Pereira, Galeote or Galiote, 211, 739 n., 748, 749, 754, 759 n , 762, 764, 775, 776, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 788, 792, 796
Pereira, Gaspar de Leão. *See* Leão Pereira, Gaspar de
Pereira, Gonçalo, 580 n
Pereira, Julian, 457, at Akbar's court, 275
Peres, Francisco, 265, 434, 797, his attempt to enter China, 295–96
Perestrello, Bartolameu, 733 n
Periapatam (India), 271
Periplus of the Erythrean Sea. on the Indian Ocean, *14–15*, 495
Persia, 5, 47, Cristobal de Acosta in, 194, alliance with Venice, 64, frontier, 7, Greek knowledge of, 5, influence on medieval literature, 27, as intermediary, 20, 73, 128, under jurisdiction of Bishop of Goa, 235, 241, and Prester John legend, 26, silk, 15, trade, 11
Persian Gulf, 42, and Marco Polo, 37, 38, role in trade, 11, 130
Persian language, 438
Persians, 340, 401, 456
Persica, 7
Perumāl, ruler of Malabar, 348. *See also* Malabar
Peruschi, Giovanni Battista, 330, *452–53*, 465
Pesaro (Italy), 82
Pescadores islands, 816
Peter of Lisbon, 215, 550 n.
Peter of Lucolongo, 39, 43
Peter the Tartar, 47
Petrus, Aloysius training as priest, 271
Peutinger, Conrad, 156 n., 162, 219 n., 494, correspondence with Fernandes, 159–60
Pfyffer, Ludwig, 703

Philip II, king of Spain, 130, 131, 133, 134, 192, 202, 203, 227, 488, 569, 706, 719, 745, 754, 770, 776, 779 n, 786, 787 n., 808, 818, barring of Dutch and English vessels, 200, communication with Akbar, 276, 277, indebtedness, 139, and "Invincible Armada," 694, marriage to Mary of England, 127, 210, message from Lavezaris, 297, and military crusade against China, 297, 301, 746, 808, negotiations with Venice, 136, reception of Japanese emissaries, 692–93, 701, relations with Jesuits in Asia, 261, and request for embassy to China, 302, role in Asiatic affairs, 298, 300, spice trade, 136, 137, 139, 140, and union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns, 134–35, 198, 299, 688–89
Philip III, king of Spain, 467, and dispatch of Goes to China, 278
Philip IV, king of France, 108, and Bar Sauma, 39
Philippa of Lancaster marriage alliance, 51
Philippine Islands, 115, 504, 584, 655, 656, 709, 722, 745, 746, 750, 753, 782, 800, anarchy, 645, Asian sources on, 625, Augustinians in, 262, 798, *barangay*, 626 n, cannibalism, 638, ceremonial wine drinking, 629, Chinese in, 642, 645, 745, 752, 790, 805, 806, Christian missions, 227, 286, 296–97, 299, 630, 633–34, climate, 646, coconut palm, 628, customs, 631, 635, 636, Dominicans in, 262, 297, 805, ethnohistory, 626, on European maps, 221, 222–23, 625, European sources on, 623–25, 626, fauna, 631, Franciscans in, 297, geography, 644, gold, 626, 628, 633, Gómara on, 185, habitations, 629, 633, history, 626, intermediary role between China and Spain, 749, Jesuits in, 297, 625, languages, 639; Legaspi in, 289, 296, 643, levels of civilization, 639, Malay language in, 628, 635, 640–41, Mendoza on, 644–46, Muslims in, 645, names, 625, Oviedo on, 185, people, 628, 638, 643, Pigafetta on, 175–76, piracy, 298, placement, 501, 636 n, polygamy, 635 n, Portuguese in, 624, 641 n., 643 n., products, 626, 628, 631, 639, Ramusio's use of Pires' information on, 186, relations with Japan, 305 n., 306, religion, 630, 636, 645, slavery, 645 n, "Tendaia," 643, trade with China, 646, as vassal of China, 789, Villalobos in, 642–43
Phillip, William, 202, 489
Philosophoumenos, 18
Phnom Pénh (Cambodia), 310, 311
Phra Attaros (Siamese religious image), 528 n.
Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius, 63, *70–71*, 85
Pigafetta, Antonio, 173–76, 181, 184, 337, 495, 504, 524 n, 579, 580, 581, 588, 593, 595, 596, 598, 599, 604, 606, 608, 624, 625, 627, 629, 632, 635, 637, 638, 639, 818, his Bisayan vocabulary, 494, 629, 636, on Brunei, 583, in Cebu, 175–76, drawings, 602, his Malay vocabulary, 176, 494, manuscripts of his work, 175, on Moluccas, 176, 597, peregrinations in Europe, 173–75, relationship to Venice, 173 n, 174, 175, in Rome, 174–75; sources, 173
Pillars of Hercules, 50
Pimenta, Nicholas, 257, 312 n, 458, as Jesuit Visitor to India, 274–75, 278
Pina, Ruy de, 153
Ping-pu (Chinese board of war), 755 n.
Pinheiro, Antonio, 325
Pinheiro, Manuel, 459, 461, 467, mission to Akbar, 277
Pinto, André, 797 n
Pinto, Fernão Mendes, 325, 327, 445, 522, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 536, 554, 555, 562, 563, 655, 668, 795, 796, credibility, 538
Pinto, Manuel, 281 n.
Pipino, Francesco, 38, 158
Pippli (India), 407
Pirckheimer, Willibald, 164
Pires, Domingo on mission to Akbar, 277
Pires, Tomé, 153, *169*, *185–86*, 188, 191, 226, 338, 388, 409, 427, 497, 504, 522, 540, 561, 580, 581, 582, 603, 626, 652, 747, 753, 793; on Bengal, 415–16, on China, 733, in Chinese sources, 734 n., on Gujarat, 395, 398, India in, 340–42, on Indochina, 563–65, on Japan, 653–54, in Ramusio, 495, reliability, 339, on Vijayanagar, 370
Pisa, 73, 103
Pisanello, 73
Pisani, Domenico, 104, 105
Pius II, pope *See* Piccolomini
Pius IV, pope, 191, ruling on jurisdiction in Serra, 267
Pius V, pope on Japanese mission, 294
Plancius, Pieter, 225
Plantin press of Antwerp, 194, 195, 319
Plato, 169
Platonism John Scot Erigena as exponent of, 24
Pliny the Elder, 9, 13, 19, 21, 29, 70, 75, 78, 97, attitude toward luxuries, 15, as basis for *Le livre du trésor*, 29, on pepper, 16, substantiation of by Montalboddo, 164, transmission of Ctesias of Cnidus, 7, view of China, 17
Plotinus influenced by India, *18*
Po river, 41, 698
Pocarago, Elizabeth Niachile, 282 n, 613 n.
Poggio, *60*, 61, 62, 63, 85, *Historia de varietate fortunae*, 62, manuscript copies of, 62–63
Pohai, gulf of, 810 n, 817, on European maps, 224
Point Calimere, 409
Point Palmyras, 411, 413

Point Tinaka, 641, 643
Poitiers, 42
Polanco, Juan de, 315, 316, 326, 681 n , 798 n
Poland, 32, interest in discoveries, 179, Mongols in, 31, 33, trade, 134
"Poleas." *See Pulayans*
Polo, Maffeo, 34–35, 37, 38
Polo, Marco, 20, 24, *34–38*, 39, 41, 43, 44, 47, 57, 60, 61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80, 81, 85, 158, 159, 179, 180, 204, 212, 347, 399, 407, 408, 416, 455, 495, 523, 560, 587, 623, 653, 727, 769 n , 793, 819, 823, on Buddha, 37, on Burma, 539, celestial observations, 38, on Ceylon, 339, on China, 735 n , 752, 767 n., contemporary references to, 38, contributions to cartography, 218, edition of, by Valentim Fernandes, 158, English translation by Frampton, 212, influence of, 24, 38–39, 66–67, on Japan, 37, 652, 657 n , knowledge of Chinese language, 36, literature on, 38, on Malabar, 339, manuscripts extant, 35–36; Mongol sympathies of, 36–37, on porcelain of Fukien, 81, and Prester John legend, 27, Ramusio on, 207, return route to Europe, 27–38; on southeast Asia, 37, 502, on Sumatra, 573
Polo, Nicolo, 34–35, 37, 38
Polybius as source for Strabo, 13
Pongsawadan (*Annals of Ayut'ia*, 1349–1765), 522
Ponte, Nicolas da, 699
Porakád (India), 352, 447–48, Jesuit mission station at, 265
Porcelain, 404, 565, 601, 642, 704, 731, 768, 811, 816, European efforts to imitate, 81–82, price, 101
"Pori." *See* Elephanta
"Porqua " *See* Porakád
Portugal, 51, 83, 222, 262, and Africa, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 92, 93, 95, 97, 98, 102, 109, 120, 152, alliance with Bachan, 288, attitude towards heathens, 238–40, 243, carrying-trade between China and Japan, 726, and cartographic development, 218–22, and Christian mission in East, 229–30, 233, 237, 238, 239, 245, chronicles, 182; church and state in East, 235–36, 237–38, 241, 252–53, 262, 283, 288–89, 313, 429, 435, 484, 618, closure of factory at Antwerp, 181; commercial agreement of 1294 with England, 51, commercial agreement of 1502 with Cochin and Cannanore, 103; commercial agreement of 1504 with Lucas Rem, 109; commercial agreement with German merchants of 1503, 108; concordat of 1940, 231; control of Asian information, 54, 55, 64, 150, 151–54, 158, 169–71, 181, 185, 188, 195–96, 219, 226, 227, 493, 500, 592, 603, 604, 653–54 n., 726, 732, 752 n , 805, 823, 824, control of Macao, 296, control of Manaar, 274, Cortes' petition of 1481, 152; at Council of Florence, 59, demarcation question, 57, 298, 604, difficulties in East, 130, 131, 137, 140–41, 171, 202, 269, 270, 271, 287, 381, 395, 433, 447, 487–88, 621, 824, directives of 1545, 239–40, Dutch in, 198, early history, 51, 229, ecclesiastical organization in East, 235, 240–41, embassies to China, 187, 295, 733–34, embassy to Gujarat, 394, embassy to Rome in 1505, 112, 160, embassy to Rome in 1513–14, 113, 167–68, 227, in Europe, 58, 89–90, 91, and exploration of East Indies, 115, "Father of the Christians" (*Pai dos Cristãos*), 240; Fishery Coast wars, 236, fleet of 1498, 95–96, fleet of 1500, 100, fleet of 1505, 110, fleet of 1561, 129; geography, 51, gold, 53, indebtedness, 126, 127, 132, 133, 134, 139, 141, Indian reaction against, 244–45, Inquisition, 181, intermediary in China-Japan trade, 731, 737, international commercial interests in, 103–5, 152, 153, Italian merchants in, 53, 93, 152, Jews in, 94, 95, 100, 103, "law of avoidance" in, 759 n , loss of Ternate fortress, 289, Mesa da Consciéncia in, 242, monopolies, 53, 93, 152, 230, 307, 468, 824, naval power, 57; overseas claims, 55; portulan charts, 218–19; and pre-Columbian discovery of America, 56, printing, 148, 170, 182, 226, products, 53, in program of Philip II, 135; relations with Antwerp, 119–27, relations with Brazil, 57, 120, relations with Burma, 539–40, relations with Castile, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 96, 101, 115, 116, 117, 118, 133, 297, relations with Ceylon, 271–74; relations with China, 113, 172, 187, 283, 295, 296, relations with Florence, 52, 167, 475–77; relations with India, 93, 95–98, 100–103, 106, 111, 112, 113, 119, 120, 121, 129, 370, 393–94, 447, relations with Japan, 128, relations with Muslims, 94, 95, 100, 101, 102, 112, 238; relations with papacy, 55, 56, 57, relations with St. Thomas Christians, 231–32, 239, relations with Siam, 520–22, relations with Venice, 171, and religious uniformity, 51, 94, 238–39, 243, 244, 253, and sea route to India, 50, 56, 59, 66, size of fleets, 132, 140, slave trade, 53, 93, 120, 239, 486–87; Spanish party in, 133 n., 134–35; spice monopoly, 38, 108–12, 113, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 136, 140, 141, 227, and subsidized marriages in India, 234, trade, 51, 64, 65, 91, 93, 94, 100, 103–19, 131, 307, 767; treaty of 1513 with Calicut, 113, treaty of 1518 with Siam, 521; treaty of 1519 with Burma, 539, 557, treaty of 1534 with Gujarat, 422, treaty of 1598 with Calicut,

265, union with Spain, 134–35, 298, 299, viceroys of Goa, 238, 483–84, war in Indian Ocean, 101, war with Jaffna, 270, war in Morocco, 132, war of 1534 with Gujarat, 394–95, wars with Calicut, 236, wars with Muslims in Spiceries, 288–90, war with Turks, 104, 105, war with Vijayanagar, 236 *See also* Cartography, Goa, Jesuits, *Padroado*, Pepper, Philip II, Ships
Portuguese in foreign service in Europe, 153
Portulans, 66, 218, 222, 223
Posidonius as source for Strabo, 13
Possevino, Antonio, 709, 710
Postel, Guillaume, 604 n
Pounani (India), 351
Pozzuoli (Italy) role in trade, 15
P'ra chao (title meaning "Lord of All" of king of Siam), 524, 526
P'ra chao chang Phenak ("Lord of the White Elephants," a title of the king of Siam), 531
Praecelsae devotionis, papal bull of 1514, 115, 168
"Prage " *See* Prayāga
Prague, 702
Pratbach (Siamese paper), 559 n.
"Praissur " *See* Préas Eysaur
"Pralocussar." *See* Préas Lok Eysaur
Prancudo, Marcus, 435, 436, 440
"Praput prasar Metri." *See* Préas Put Préas Séar Metrei
Prayāga (now Allahābād in India), 480
Préas Baram Eysaur (Cambodian deity), 567
Préas Eysaur (Cambodian deity), 567
Préas Lok Eysaur (Cambodian deity), 567
Préas Put Préas Séar Metrei (Cambodian deity), 567
"Precaosale " *See* P'ra chao chang Phenak
Prenestino, Antonio, 720
Prester John legends about, 24–25, 26, 29, 30, 47, 54, 59, 63, 64, 75, 76, 78, 156, 822, letter to Europe, 26, locations of his empire, 26–27, Odoric of Pordenone's refutation of, 41, and rise of Mongols, 31
Primitivism, 5, 12, 584
Printing: in Asia, 827, Asian titles, 182–83, 227, 437, book sizes, 150, centers of book production in Europe, 148–51, 182, 183–84, 316–17, 430; in China, 811–12, at Coimbra, 316–17, European books about, 150; German travel collections, 215–16, history, 777, Jesuit letterbooks, 182–83, 319–20, 323, 431, 446, Jesuit presses in Asia, 250, 262, 308, 701 n., at Macao, 809, of maps, 218, of Mendosa's book, 744, of newsletters, 340; numbers of books printed, 182, 183–84; of Chinese and Japanese characters, 680; spread of from China to Europe, 777–78, Venetian printers and Ramusio, 205; of Xavier's letters, 315–16, 428–39. *See also* Cartography, Jesuit letterbooks
Priuli, Girolamo, 104, 105
"Probar Missur " *See* Préas Baram Eysaur
"Prom " *See* Prome
Prome (Burma), 543
Protestants, 727, reaction to Japanese mission, 702
"Pesudo-Callisthenes," *8–9*, 28
Ptolemaic tradition, 17, 58, 68–69, 219, 823
Ptolemy, historian of Alexander, 8
Ptolemy of Alexandria, *16–17*, 20, 23, 24, 58, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 85, 150, 162, 191, 218, 222, 407, 603, sources of his *Geographia*, 16–17 *See Geographia* (of Ptolemy)
Pu-chêng-shih (Chinese title meaning governor or provincial treasurer), 740, 758 n , 813
"Pudricaraja " *See Putrikarāja*
"Pulaoan." *See* Palawan island
Pulaw Pisang (in the Riau archipelago), 511
Pulayans (caste), 367
Pulicat (India), 409, 410–11
Pulo Cabale ("island of pots" in the Moluccas), 605
"Pulopicão " *See* Pulaw Pisang
Punical (India), 433, 434, 437, Jesuits at, 271, language seminar at, 260
Punjab, 9, 420
Purchas, Samuel, 77, 78, 208, 397 n., 776
Puteoli *See* Pozzuoli
Putrikarāja (first minister of Malacca), 511
Pygmies, 29, 70, 599
Pythagoreans conception of spherical earth, 10, relation to Indian thought, 12, 449

Quadros, Anton de, 252, 253, 323 n., 797, encouragement of language study, 279, and policies of Jesuits in Asia, 254–55, report on Xavier, 282, Valignano compared to, 261
"Quaile." *See* Palayakayal
"Quategatam." *See* Kottayam
"Quelim" (judge of Malacca), 510
"Quiai Colompon" (Burmese deity), 555
"Quichelhumar." *See* Kĕchil Umar
"Quichil Bubacar " *See* Kĕchil Bubacar
Quilon (also "Columbum," "Coilam," and "Coulan"), 43, 103, 437, 447, 448, 466, Amazons of, 353, "Bentady" (ruler), 349 n , castes, 443; and Chĕrumān Perumāl, 348; climate, 447; "Cobritim" (or pontiff), 349; extent, 352–53, 447, Franciscans in, 234, 266, history, 348, Jesuit mission station at, 265, missionary schools at, 249; monopoly of pearl fishing, 408; relations with Ceylon, 352; as religious center of Malabar, 349, 360, St. Thomas Christians in, 231, 352, Strozzi in, 169, temples, 353, towns, 352–53, trade, 352,

Quilon—(*continued*)
and vassal states of Cape Comorin, 408–9, Xavier in, 269, 270
Quipit (Mindanao), 637, 638
Quiroga, Gaspar, 692
Qutb-ud-dīn Khan, Sarkar of Broach (India), 457

Rabelais, 222 n
Rada, Martin de, 298, 746, 747, *749*, *750*, 752, 755, 756, 764, 767, 772, 773, 775, 776, 777, 778, 780, 782, 783, 785, 786, 787, 790, 806, 806 n , on Chinese tributary system, 789
Rāganighantu (Sanskrit textbook of chemistry), 477
Ragusa, 128, 129
Rāhu story, 534
Raichur (India), 384 n
Rājā Abuleis, ruler of Ternate, 595
Rājā Emir, ruler of Tidore, 600, 613
Rājā Jessu, ruler of Halmahera, 596
Rājā Papua, ruler of Halmahera, 596
Rājā "Siripada" *See* Sripadh
"Rajamir" *See* Rājā Emir
"Rajapute" (the "white rājā" of Malacca), 509, 510
Rajput confederacy, 398
Rājputāna (India), 461
Rajputs, 396, 397, 399, 419, 420, defeated at Chāmpāner, 397
Rama Raya Vitthala, viceroy of southern India, 269 n
Rama T'ibodi II, king of Siam, 520, 521, 530
Ramayana, 77
Ramusio, Giovanni Battista, 35, 63, 150, 153, 168, 170, 175, 178, 179, 181, 186, 191, *204–9*, 213, 217, 222, 223, 227, 431, 492, 626, 727, 742, 793, 825, agents of, 186; and *Book* of Duarte Barbosa, 186, compared to Hakluyt, 215, maps, 223, 495, 563, 603, 604 n., 625, 643, 710, 817, omissions in, 186, 624 n , 632 n , Pires in, 186, on southeast Asia, 495 *See also* Travel collections
Rana Sanga, ruler of the Rajput confederacy, 420
Randēr (India), 402, 404
Rangoon (also "Dogo" and "Dagon"), 541, 544, 545, 547, 555, Shwe Dagon Pagoda at, 555
Ramiero, Antonio, 701 n
"Raphael," Portuguese ship, 162
Rattan *See Rotas*
Rau island, 620
"Raulim" *See* "Rolis"
Ravi river, 454, 463
"Rayen" (rāyya or rājā of Vijayanagar), 375
Raynal, Abbé his definition of East Indies, 4
Rebello, Amador, 453
Rebello, Gabriel, 196 n , 465
"Rebincur" *See Rep-un-quar*
"Recon" *See* Arakan
Red Sea, 11, 12, 112
Reformation, 127
Reinel, Jorgé, 217, 220, 601
Reinel, Pedro, 217, 220, 221, 625
Reis Magos, College of as center of Franciscan activity, 262
Rem, Lucas, 108, 109, 119
Remuna (India), 411
Renaissance accounts of East, 59, art, 71–74, cartography in, 69, circulation of Odoric of Pordenone's book, 41, conception of world, 65, diffusion of, in Europe, 84, exoticism, 71, 72, 73, geographical theory, 65, 70–71, Humanism, 84–85, its image of Asia, 71, 80, 84–86, impact of discoveries on, 86, migrations in art, 72, 73, migrations in literature, 72, Oriental traces in paintings of, 72–73, textiles, 73, Tuscan art, 72, trade, 50
Renou, L , 68
Rep-un-quar (name for Sakhalin in the Ainu language), 725
Resende, André de, 179
Resende, Garcia de, 397 n , 553 n
Restello (Portugal), 99
Retes, Ynigo Ortiz de, 616 n
Revadanda (India), 385 n
"Revoleens" *See Eravallens*
Rhinoceros, 394, 399, 515 n , 566, 569, gift to papacy, 167, in Lisbon, 169, in Madrid, 569 n , present to King Philip II, 488
Rhodes Eratosthenes' use of in geography, 10–11
Rhubarb, 489, 816, 826
Ribadeneira, Marcelo de, O.F M , 306 n , 307 n , 719, on Japan, 718
Ribadeneira, Pedro de, 326, 328, 673, biography of Loyola, 327
Ribeiro, Diogo, 563, 625, as a cartographer, *221–22*, and the translation of Barbosa's *Book*, 186
Ribeiro planisphere of 1529, 223
Ribera, Juan Bautista, 297, 799, in China, 797–98
Ribero, Nunius, 282 n
Ricci, Francisco. in Chittoor, 274
Ricci, Matteo, 301–3, 314, 324, 329, 467, 698, 753, 758 n , 769 n , 781 n , 821, in Chao-Ch'ing, 302, in China, 801–2, on Chinese military weakness, 802, influence of, 802–3, 809, in Macao, 301–2, writings, 801–2
Rice, 343, 350, 352, 405, 409, 416, 473, 541, 589, 597, 605, 630, 637, 642, 677, 712, 722, in Asia, 826, of China, 768, 772, 811, cultivation, 373, 764, 826, double-cropping, 373, grades of, 373, production of Coromandel coast, 409

Ricold of Monte Croce, 78
Rimini (Italy), 698
Rites controversy bases of the problem, 250
Ritsu (Japanese Buddhist sect), 670 n
Rivera, Captain Gabriel de, 585, 770
"Rõ" *See* Run island
Rodrigues, Francisco, 188, 220, 601, 816
Rodrigues, Gonçalves, 432, 435, 438, 444
Rodrigues, Nuño, 689, 690 n, 692, 706 n
Rodrigues, Simão, 246, 254, 428, 672, 795 n
"Rolis" (priests of Burma), 555 n, 557
Roma island, 499
Román, Jerónimo, 743 n, 792
Román, Juan Bautista, 300, 301, 802
Roman Catholic Church attitudes towards heathen practices, 238–40, 243, 244, Barlaam and Josaphat in *Vitae sanctorum*, 27, and caste, 244, 269 n, church and state in Asia, 230, 235–36, 239–40, 241, 244, 252, 262, 283, 288–89, 313, 429, 435, 484, 618, 799–800, converts, 243, 262, 265, 271, 274, 308, ecclesiastical organization of East, 232, 233, 235, 240–41, and education of natives, 232, 237, 239, 243, 265, Indian reaction against, 244–45, martyrdoms in Japan, 309, mission policy, 238, 313, 319, 719, mission stations in Asia, 286, 312, mission statistics, 231 n, 238 n, missions as compensation for losses suffered in Reformation, 429, native clergy, 238–40, 263, and orphans, 243, and problem of penetrating high cultures, 278–79, regulars and seculars in Asia, 263, relations with St. Thomas Christians, 232, synods or Councils of Goa, 242–45
Rome, 34, 67, 101, 102, 316, 665 n., 702, 708; Asian influences in, 18, Asian products in, 15, 16, 17, 18, Bernard of Kagoshima in, 673, compared to Cambaluc, 42; construction of warehouses in, 15, and geographical theory, 14, 22, image of Asia, 17, Indians in, 696, influence of Confucian thought on, 17, influence of Taoist thought on, 17, Japanese mission in, 301, 695–98, knowledge of, in Asia, 158, knowledge of Seres, 30, loss of Red Sea hegemony, 20, Manichaeanism in, 19; and Mongols, 30, 31, 38, 40, moralists' attitude towards trade, 15, 16, *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* as a source for its trade, 14, and Prester John legend, 26, printing in, 149, 674–75, replacement of Greece, 12, Ruggiero in, 801, slave trade, 15, sources of information about East, 19, 33, spices, 13, 16, 20, trade, *12–19*, 20–21, 22, 49
Ronquillo, Diego. and Sanchez, 300
Ronquillo, Gonzalo, 299
"Roots of China" *See* Ginseng
Rosingain island (Bandas), 609
"Rosolanguim." *See* Rosingain island
Rota island, 627
Rotary reel migration to Europe, 81
Rotas (rattan), 607
Rott, Konrad, 134, 136, 137
Rouen in spice trade, 125
Rovellasca, Giovanni, 134, 136, 137, 139, 475
Roz, Francisco, 267
Rubies, 96, 542, 546, 547, 826
Ruchamer, Jobst, 164
Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor, 346
Ruggiero, Michele, 302, 800, 801, 821 n, at Chao-Ch'ing, 296, in Europe, 302, meeting with Sanchez, 299, in Rome, 820 n
Ruiz, Simon, 136
"Rumes" (Turks or Egyptians), 422
Rumi-Khan, Turkish engineer, 422
Run island (Bandas), 609
Russia, 32
Rustichello of Pisa, 35
Rutilius, Johannes, 319
Ruysch, Johann, 220

Sá, Cristovão de, 612
Sá, Henrique de, 619
Sá, Simon, 274
Saavedra, Alvaro de, 599, 600, 639
"Sabaio" (ruler of Goa), 384, 391, 392
Sagar (India), 384 n
Sago bread, 615, 636, 642
Sago palm, 597, 605, 826
Sagre, 52, observatory at, 52, 53
Sahara Desert in medieval geography, 24
St. Catherine, church in Goa, 233, 235
St. Dié, 220
St. Euthyme d'Hagiorite and Barlaam and Josaphat legend, 27
St Francis' church of, in Goa, 234
St John's island (Shang-ch'uan), 748, 749, Xavier on, 284
St Paul, College of, 263. *See also* Goa, Jesuits
St. Remi. Odo as abbot of, 26
St. Thomas, Apostle of India, 466, 784, 786, 831, legends about, *24–25*, 66, 75, 283, shrine at Mylapore, 42, 60, 79, 233, 235, 410
St. Thomas, city of (India), 410, 473
St. Thomas Christians, 98, 101, 102, 158, 160, *231–32*, 235, 237, 239, 240, 259, 260, 337, 349 n., 351, 391, 410, 438, 439, 443, 451, and caste system, 232, 269, Chaldean bishops of, 266, in Cochin, 352, and Dominicans, 266, history, 231; internal feuds, 266, numbers in Malabar, 353, in pepper trade, 98, 231, in Quilon, 352, relationship to *padroado*, 266–67; relations with Jesuits, 267, 269, relations with papacy, 266, relations with Portuguese, 232, rites question, 266; as soldiers, 231

St Thomas island, 92
Sakai (Japan), 668, 677, 682, 684, 716 n., Vilela in, 291
Sâkhi ses (Cambodian priests), 568
Sakuntala or the Ring, 77
Saladin, 81
Salamanca, 673
Salazar, Domingo de, 299, 300, in Manila, 297
Salīm, son of Akbar, 455, 463
"Salomon" (religious symbol of Kashmir), 467
Salsette island, 395, 404, 466, 482, Christianization of, 264, conversions in, 448, Franciscans in, 236, language seminar at, 260
Salsette martyrs, 446
Salvador, Luís do, 232, 233
Salvago, Antonio, 104
Sámal Laut (a people of the Philippines), 638
Samar (Philippines), 628, 643, 644 n
Samarkand, 454, defeat of Muslims at, 26
Sambandhams (Nāyar alliances), 360
"Samibelgan" (approximation of Burmese title for viceroy), 557
Sampantangu island, 641, 643
"San Felipe," Spanish ship, 718, 719
"San Felipe" affair, 308–9
San Lúcar de Barrameda, 639
"Sanbon." *See Jōbon Dai Ō*
Sanchez, Alonzo, 793 n 807, audience with Philip II, 301, in China, 299, 300, 301; in Macao, 299, 800–801, in Mexico, 299, 301, and military crusade against China, 300, 808, in Philippines, 299, 300–301, relations with José de Acosta, 301
Sancho, Martin, 808
Sandalwood· Santo Stefano's description of, 64
Sande, Duarte de, 214, 708, 809, in Chao-Ch'ing, 302
Sande, Francisco de, 585, 746, 747, 750, 754
"Sandinguar " *See* Sampantangu island
Sandwīp island, 473
Sanga (Japan), 684
"Sanga" (Rajput territory under Rana Sanga), 396
"Sangages" (from Malay, *sangá-agi*, meaning "prince"), 608
Sangermano, Vincentius, 543 n , 552 n
"Sangesinga" (lord of Singapore), 507
Sanghe islands, 618, 619, 621
"Sangleyes" (Tagalog word for Chinese), 752, 806
"Sanguim " *See* Sanghe islands
"Sangiun." *See* Sanguir
Sanguir island, 641
San-kuo-chih ("The Story of the Three Kingdoms"), 773 n.
Sannyāsis: European knowledge of, 280
Sanskrit language, 279–80, studied by Sassetti, 477
Sansom, Sir George, 725, 728 n
Santaella, Rodrigo de, 159, 181
Santarem, 187
Santo Domingo, 639
Sant' Orso, Enrico di, 164
Santo Stefano, Girolamo da, 64, 539, 573, edition of by Valentim Fernandes, 158, on southeast Asia, 503
Sanudo, Marino, 66, on Pigafetta in Venice, 174
"São Gabriel," Portuguese ship, 95, 96
S Luzia, Jorgé de as bishop of Malacca, 287
S Maria, Fernando de, 536
S Mathies, Manuel de study of Sinhalese, 279
"São Raphael," Portuguese ship, 95
Saparua island, 616
Sapta-nātha, temple of Divar, 441
Saragossa, 600, 639, 701, printing in, 183
Saragossa, treaty of (1529), 118, 177, 221, 495
"Sarangã." *See* Sarangani island
Sarangani island, 602, 638, 641, 643
Sarawak (Borneo), 581
Sarmiento, Pedro, 746
Sassetti, Filippo, 137–38, 198, 325 n., 490, 694, 826, correspondence, 475–77, Sanskrit studies, 477, travels, 476
Sassetti, Francesco, 475
Sātgāon (India), 417, 473, population, 417, Portuguese factory at, 275, 413
Sâtha, ruler of Cambodia, 310, 311, 569
Sati, 378, 388, 471, 484, condemnation of by Christian missionaries, 243, Conti on, 61, Megasthenes' account of, 10, Priest Joseph's description of, 157
Satsuma (Japan), 290, 304, 664, 666, 667
"Sazes." *See* Sâkhi ses
Scheldt river, 121
Schurhammer, Georg, 322, 726
"Scieco " *See* Salīm
"Scuum" (Burmese word for "Heaven"), 559
Scylax of Caryanda, 5–6
Scythians Pomponius Mela on, 17
Sebastian, king of Portugal letter of 1573 to Borneo, 585 n., and religious uniformity, 242, support of Jesuits, 289, suspension of payments at Antwerp, 127, trade policies, 131, 132, 133
Sede apostolica, papal bull of 1506, 160
Segovia, 673
"Seilan " *See Ceylon*
Seixas, Domingo de, 524
Sějarah Mělayu (*The Dynasty of Mělayu*), 505
"Selani" island, 627
Seleucus Nikator. treaty with Chandragupta, 9
Selim II, sultan of Ottoman Empire, 130
Semedo, Alvarez, 781 n
"Semini" (Talaing word for "lords"), 549
Senegal river Portuguese exploration of, 54
Sengoku ("country at war" epoch in Japan), 654

Seoul, 308
"Seque" *See* Bachan island
Sequeira, Diogo Lopes de, 113, 507 n, 509, 731, 820
"Sequita" (city of Morotai), 620
Seram island, 593, 594, 601, 617
Seres (China or Chinese), 22, 29, in *Le livre du trésor*, 29, Pomponius Mela's consideration of, 17, Roman knowledge of, 30, silk of, 17, William of Rubruquis on, 34
Serica Latin name for China, 4, 17, 71
Sericulture Europe, 21, 45
Sernigi, Girolamo, 104, 155–57, two letters of 1499, 155–56, letter of 1500, 156–57
Serra (territory of the St. Thomas Christians), 267, 269
Serrão, Francisco, 594, 595, 603, 624
"Servidore" (possibly Bīdar), 479
Sesame, 390
Settala, Giovanni Giorgio, 225 n.
Severio, Aurelio, 168
Seville, 212, 665 n., printing in, 150, 183, 184
Seytz, Simon, 108
Shakyamuni or Shaka (Japanese for "Buddha"), 662 n., 670, 715, 716, 815 n.
Shang-tu (China), 34, 80
Shansi, province of China, 739 n, 810, 817, 819
Shantung, province of China, 739 n, 817, 819, Odoric of Pordenone in, 41
Shensi, province of China, 739 n, 810
Sher Khan, Afghan ruler of Delhi, 424, 435, 426
Sher Khan Sur, ruler of Bihar, 424
Sher Shah, ruler of Bihar, 413, 425
Shih-chia-fo (Chinese for "Buddha"), 815 n.
Shikoku (Japan), 710, political units, 713
Shimazu Takahisa, 666, 667
Shimonoseki, 667
Shin (Japanese Buddhist sect), 661 n., 670 n.
Shingon (Japanese Buddhist sect), 660, 661 n, 670 n, 715, 716 n.
Shintō, national religion of Japan, 305, 659, 832, beliefs, 681, 682, ethical code, 681, festivals, 659, idols, 659, 660, *kami*, 681, 682, origins, 681, priests, 659, 682, relationship to Buddhism, 681–82, rites, 660
Ships, 346, 483, 486, 766, *almadias* (Indian rafts), 425, Asian types, 834, *barangays*, 626 n, calking, 767 n., cargoes, 119, caturs, 352, in China, 771, 787, construction of, 827, 834, fore and aft rig, 82, houseboats of China, 741, 771, Javan vessels, 585–86, junks, 37, 542, 564, 576, 771, 787 n, munchas, 425, naus, 95, *parão* (warships), 425, praus, 583, 596, 623, pumps, 771, 834, *quintalados* (space on a ship for a quintal or hundredweight of merchandise), 120, recruitment of sailors, 95–96, royal barges of Siam, 532, sailing chariots, 741, stores, 108, stern-post rudder, 82
Sholapur (India), 384 n
Shrivijay (Buddhist kingdom of Sumatra), 572
"Siaça" river, 575
Siam (also called "Sarnam," "Sion," "Sião," "Sornao," "Cernove," "Xarnauz"), 629, 630, 631, 752, 788, agriculture, 526, animism, 534, armies, 529, 530, Asian sources on, 522, Barros on, 522–25, 529–30, books, 529, Buddhism, 527–29, 538, calendar, 529, cannibals, 523, "Chaumua" (Chau Nua, or peoples of the north), 524, Chinese in, 741, cosmography, 528–29, currency, 346, duels, 530, early Portuguese missions to, 520–21, education, 529, etymology of its name, 524, European sources on, 522, 530–31, extent, 522–23, festivals, 528, Franciscans in, 286, 537, geography, 523, 526, Góis on, 196, and "Gueos," 523–24, harem, 527, history, 522, *Kathina* ceremonies, 530 n king, 526–27, 529, 531–32, 538, lack of Jesuit attention to, 285, land-holding, 529–30, languages, 524, 529, military aid from Portugal, 521, "Muantay" (Mu'ang Thai or southern Siam), 524, Muslims in, 526, 534, 537, official titles, 524; people, 526, 527, Pigafetta on, 175, political divisions, 524, ports, 524, 526, Portuguese in, 521, 526, priests, 528, products, 526, reception of foreign emissaries, 534, religious images, 527–28, religious tolerance, 534, royal barges, 532, royal domain, 592, royal palaces, 532, royal processions, 532–33, statistics, 538, succession, 527, superstitions, 529, suzerain of Malacca, 509, suzerain of Singapore, 507, temples, 528, Tenasserim (or Mergui) in, 525, Thai migrations, 519, Thai writings, 522, *Thot Krathin* pilgrimages, 532, trade, 15, 526, 538, treaty of 1518 with Portugal, 521, vassal of China, 534, vassal states, 510, 520, 525, wars with Burma, 521–22, 533, 535–36, 543, 550, wars with Cambodia, 310–12, 561, wars with Chiengmai, 520, 521, wars with Malacca, 509, white elephants, 527, 532–33
Siberia, 15
"Sichao" *See* Sangihe islands
Sicily sericulture, 21, 46, 81
Sidayu (Java), 588
Siena, 694
Sienese school, 72
Sighelm search for St Thomas' tomb, 25
Sikandar Shah, ruler of Malacca, 508, 509
Silabão (Timor island), 599
Silesia and Mongols, 31
Silk European imports of, 21, 46, of China, 34, 41, 44, 45, 767, 768, 816; cultivation, 15, 811, Lucca's production of, 46, myths about, 15, 29, reprocessing in Syria and Egypt, 16, state monopoly in Byzantine Empire, 21

Silkworms introduced into Europe, 11, 81
Silva, Duarte da, 679 n , in Japan, 290
Silva, Martine da, 256
Silva Meneses, Diogo de, 104
Silva Rego, A da, 322
Silveira, Gonçalo da, 252, 431, 435
Silveira, João de, 412, 550, 551
Silver, 345, 417, 526, 536, 545, 546, 548, 601, 725, of Argyre, 14, in Asia, 826, of China, 767, 768, 811, distribution of, 108, of Japan, 653, 656, 657, 677, 712, of Korea, 722, as payment, 155, 156, prices of, 102
Sinae as name for China, 17
Sind, 43, 396, 398, 419, *420*, 461
Singapore, 507, 508, 509, 608
"Singapura" (from Sanskrit, Singhapura, or City of the Lion), 507
Sinhalese as students at College of St Paul (Goa), 263, wars of, 272
Sinhalese language, 343, study of by Franciscans, 279
Sinica as Latin word for China, 4
Sintra, 692
Sinus Magnus in cartography, 69, 219
"Sion," 620, 621 *See also* Macassars
Sipra river, 423 n.
Sirela, ruler of Brunei (also known as Maleka), 585
Sironj (India), 480
Sita (Hindu god of fortune), 441
Sittang estuary, 470 n
Sittang river, 539
"Siusai" *See Hsiu-ts'ai*
Sixtus IV, pope, 168
Sixtus V, pope, 306, 698, 708
Slavery in Asia, 486–87, 577, 631, 659, 734, 774, 830, in Ceylon, 345, in China, 47, 734, 774, European slaves in Asia, 32, in India, 15, 239, 409, 416, 443, 482, 483, 486, in Italy, 47, 72, 73, in Japan, 659, in Portugal, 53, 93, 120, 239, 486–87, in Rome, 15
Soares, Lopo, 108, 109, 111, 120
Society of Jesus, 181, 824, accommodation policy, 294, archives, 325, 328, 329, biographies of Loyola and Xavier, 326–28, constitutions, 251, 252, 254, 256, 294, 462, 719, correspondence system, 314–15, dissolution, 315, and doctrine of direct action, 329, finances, 796 n , first general congregation, 315, growth of, 246, 251; Italians in, 799, 800; Japan-China trade, 799, leadership problems, 260–61, Malabar province, 266 n , membership, 251, and military crusade against China, 298, 299, 329, 805, organization, 251, 254–55, 261, in Portugal, 181, procurators, 256, 261, 329; province of India, 254, 256, 260, provinces, 251, provincial congregations, 254, 256, 261, recruiting, 429, 445, Spanish in, 798, visitations, 254–55, 261. *See also* Jesuits
Society of Merchant-Adventurers (England), 126, employment of Sebastian Cabot, 209
"Socotay" *See* Sukhothai
Sodré, Vicente, 102, 103
Solinus, 22, 29, 70, 75, 78
Solomon and land of Ophir, 14
Sonārgāon (India), 425 n , 481, 482
"Sondiva" *See* Sandwip island
"Sotumas" (a people of Sumatra), 575
Sousa, Bernardin de, 613
Sousa, Diogo de, bishop of Oporto, 160, 466
Sousa, Domingo de, 232, 233, 275
Sousa, Martim Affonso de, 192, reception in Lisbon, 272, and Xavier, 246
Sousa Coutinho, Lopo de, 396
Sousa da Tavera, Fernão de, 281, 610
Sousa Tavares, Francisco de, 195, arrival of his fleet at Amboina, 281
South America, 117
Southampton as spice market, 128 n.
Southeast Asia Albuquerque on, 192, archipelago, 649–50, Barros' geographical divisions of, 504–5, books of, 647, Buddhism in, 520, 663, cartography of, 67, Chinese in, 501, 536, 647, configuration, 37, 67, continental states, 648, definition, 4, 493, European image of, 646–50, Indians in, 647–48, Japanese in, 501, lack of Jesuit attention to, 285, languages, 647, Malay power in, 433, maritime routes, 594, Muslims in, 501, 648, oral traditions, 647, place names, 502–4, Portuguese military control of, 262, Portuguese sources on, 496–97, Ramusio on, 495, role of Siam in, 537–38 *See also* Malacca
Soveral, Didacus do, 433 n.
Spain, 44, 70, 74, 104, 115, Alexandrian legends in, 21, and cartography, 221, Chinese in, 791, Chinese books in, 778–80, chroniclers, 182, 184, 495, demarcation question, 115, 167, 298, 595, 602, El Escorial, 776–77, expeditions in Mexico, 175; Fuggers in, 114, Jews in, 94, libraries, 779 n , and military crusade in East, 298–99, 300, 311–12, 570–71, 745, 746, 786, 791, 793–94, 798, 833, mission policy, 296, 298, 746, 747, 750, Moors in, 54, 94, paper in, 148; pepper prices, 145, printing in, 183–84, relations with Dutch, 135, 198, 199, relations with Portugal, 51, 52, 58, 118, 297, and "San Felipe" affair in Japan, 308–9, sericulture, 21, 46, 81, trade, 114, 117, 123, 124, 133, union with Portugal, 134–35, 298, 299, voyages to East, 114, 117, 184, 494–95, 639–40, war of 1475, 55, war with England, 1585–1604, 138–40, wars with France, 127

Spanish Armada, 138, 302
"Spanish Fury" sack of Antwerp, 131
Spanish language, 743 n , international importance of, 182
Spice trade, 22, 111, 337, 823, in Alexandria, 128–29, and the Anglo-Spanish-Dutch war, 138–40, in Antwerp, 91, 99, 121, "Asian contract," 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, in Augsburg, 91, at Chaul, 386, *contratadores* in, 111, duties, 109, 110, in eastern Asia, 731, Eden on, 210, "European contract," 133, 134, 136, 139, expenses and losses of Portugal, 112, 119, fixed prices, 103, 109, 111, Florentines in, 133, French in, 125, 177, general European involvement in, 91–92, German-Italian syndicate in, 109–12, German reactions to, 122–23, Germans in, 108, 133, 134, 137, Hakluyt's interest in, 213, international commercial interests in, 103–5, Italians in, 93–95, 109, 136, and Legaspi expedition of 1564, 129 n , in Lisbon, 128, in Lyons, 124–25, of Middle Ages, 141, monopolistic control of, 20, 21, 49, 108–12, 122, 132, Moors in, 369, in northern Europe, 134, 139, overland route, 124–25, in the Philippines, 129 n , private profiteering from, 131, 132, profits, 105, 106, 111, 112, 132, regulation in Lisbon, 97, 109, 110–11, 132, reorganization of, 139, Sassetti on, 475–76, in Spain, 133, speculation, 125–26, Valencia agreement of 1586, 137, in Venice, 91, 99, 129, 133, 136, Wheeler on, 126, *See also* Portugal, Spiceries
Spiceries, 113, Barros on, 603–9, cannibalism in, 594, 599, 611, censorship of information on, 186, 196, Christian settlements in, 286, 287, 290, 616–17, climate, 611, cloves, 605, currency, 601, definition, 592–93, in demarcation controversy, 116, 167, 593, 595, 600, 601, 620, earthquakes, 611, on European maps, 220, 223, 225, 601–2, 603, 623, European sources on, 593, 603, geography, 611, Gómara on, 185, harems, 596, Jesuit letters on, 609, 612–22, Jesuits in, 287–90, languages, 611, Malay language in, 611; Marramque's fleet in, 289, Muslims in, 596, 611, origins, 607, *Oulilima* (Five-Power Alliance), 595, *Oulisivia* (Nine-Power Alliance), 595, 610, Oviedo on, 185, 600–601, peoples, 594, 611; piracy, 609, placement, 221, 603–4, Portuguese in, 594, 609, 613, 620, rulers, 607, Spanish in, 595–603, Spanish-Portuguese hostilities in, 600, 620, Varthema on, 593–94, volcanoes, 611, wars, 613, 620, Xavier on, 248, 609–12 *See also* Celebes, Halmahera; Moluccas, Spice trade
Spices illustrations of plants, 194–95, inferiority of Portuguese imports, 112, Mandeville on, 79–80, Orta on, 194, Pegolotti's list of, 45, quantities in the Levant, 113, sources of, 64, 102, 103, 173, as substitutes for gold and silver, 20
Spindle wheel transmission to Europe, 81
Spitelli, Gasparo, 320, 452
Springer, Balthasar, 162–63
Sri Radaraxa Panchta conversion of, 273, in Lisbon, 272
Srinigar (India), 467
Sripadh, ruler of Brunei, 582
Srīpur (India), 481
Ssŭ-ma Kuang, Chinese historian, 779 n
Stevens, Thomas, 213, 215, 478
Stevin, Simon, 771 n
Stongia, Pedro da, 235 n
Strabo, 9, 10, 85, 169, books on Asia, *13–14*
Straits of Formosa Marco Polo on, 37
Strassburg printing in, 149
Streit, R , 322
Stropeni, Michael, 468 n , 477, 478
Strozzi, Pietro, 169
Stuchs, Georg, 162
"Suai " *See* Suzi
Subarnarekha river, 407
"Subuth " *See* Cebu
Suez under Axum's control, 20
Sugar, 417, 481, 542, 656, 766, 811
Sukhothai (Siam), 528
Sulayman, heir-apparent of Malacca, 510, 511
Suleiman the Magnificent, 128, 130
"Sultan Halamo " *See* Jalal Khān
Sulu archipelago, 638
Sulu Islands, 616
Sulu Sea, 637, 638, Pigafetta in, 176
"Sumas" (a people of Halmahera), 616
Sumatra (also called "Samudra," "Sciamuthora," "Sumātrobhúmi," and Taprobane), 64, 397 n , 415, 753, arms, 576, arts, 577, Bataks, 523 n , 575, cannibals, 511, 523 n., censorship of Pires' information on, 186, cities, 575, 576; climate, 574, connections with Malacca, 510, Conti on, 60, 62, conversion to Islam, 510, diet, 575, Dutch voyagers to, 574, Empoli in, 168, on European maps, 67, 70, 219, 223; European sources on, 573–74, flora, 575, "Gemal," 577, geography, 574, as Golden Chersonese, 574, history, 572, "Jaus," 576, languages, 575, Lemos on, 197, Malaccans in, 516, Mandeville on, 79; Marco Polo on, 37, 38, 573, Muslims in, 573, 575, Normans in, 178, Odoric of Pordenone on, 40, Pasei, 578, people, 575–76, placement, 504, 574, political divisions, 576, population, 574, 575, Portuguese in, 576, 577–78, size, 574, "Sotumas," 575, as Taprobane, 574, trade, 576, Varthema in, 165, 166, volcanoes, 575. *See also* Java, Malacca
Sumbawa island, 61, 587, 593, 601

Summaria (of India and Japan) *See* Valignano, Alessandro
Sunda (western Java), 589, 590, 796
"Sunda Calapa" (possibly Djakarta or Bantam in Java), 589
Sunda Strait, 574, 588
Surabaya (Java), 589
Surajgarh (India), 424
Surat (India), 398, 402, 404, 435, 436, 454, siege of 1573, 457
Surhanpur (India), 479
Surigao (Mindanao), 630
Sutlej river, 454
Suzi (Timor), 599
Svetāmbaras (Jain sect), 459
Switzerland, 702
Syria, 64; Mongols in, 30, 53, reprocessing of Chinese silk in, 16, *21*, role in trade, 15, 21, 107, 113, 129, 136, sericulture, 81
Syriam (Burma), 540, 545
Syro-Malabar Church. *See* St. Thomas Christians
Szechwan, province of China, 739 n, 819

Tabarīdji, sultan of Ternate, 610, 613
Tabinshwehti, king of Burma, 533, 543, 548
Tagalog language, 645, 752 n.
"Tagima." *See* Tapima island
Tagus valley, 95, 96, 99, 101; and Moors, 51
T'ai tzu (heir apparent in China), 755 n
Taiko (a Japanese title meaning "prince" or "regent"), 307
Taira (Japanese clan), 712 n.
Talaing (the Mon people of lower Burma), 549, 556 n., 559
Taland Island, 641
"Talão Island" *See* Taland Island
Tāli (golden jewel worn by girls of Malabar as a sign of maturity), 356
Talikota, battle of, 471
"Talinate," province of Vijayanagar, 372
"Talinjano" *See* Trenganu
"Taliparam." *See* Taliparamba
Taliparamba (India), 350
"Talixe." *See Kozhikkot Talachannavar*
"Tallipoies" (mendicant priests of Burma), 556
"Tamão." *See* Lintun island
Tamburāns, kings of Malabar, 355
Tamburāttis (royal ladies of Malabar), 355, 356
Tamerlane, 81, 453
Tamil language, 372, 429, 433, 436, 439, areas in which spoken, 438, study of by Franciscans, 279
Ta-ming jên (Men of the Great Ming), 752
"Tampoi" (wine of the East Indies), 581
Tamu no mine (monastic school of Japan), 665
"Tamungo" (military official of Malacca), 512
Tana (India), 43, 404, 405, 432, 444, 470, Franciscans in, 234, Xavier in, 264
"Tanavaca" *See* Dinavaca
Tāndā (India), 481
"Tanga" *See* Toungoo
Tanguts William of Rubruquis' knowledge of, 34
"Tanjapura" *See* Tanjungpura
Tanjore (India) Pimenta in, 274, 466
Tanjungpura (Borneo), 581, 582
Tanur (India) conversion of prince of, 250
Taoism, 17, 36, 784 n, priests, 815
Tao-tzu (Taoists), 815
Tapima island, 616
"Taprobana" *See* Taprobane
Taprobane, 339, 342, as Sumatra, 166, 503. *See* Ceylon
Tāpti river, 404, 454
"Taquanqutes" (a people of India), 443
Taravad (a Malabar woman and her suitors), 363
"Tareghe" (royal brokers of Pegu), 546
"Tarnassari." *See* Tenasserim
Tartars, 36, 38, 47, 59, 73, 80, 421, 644, 721; and papacy, 31, 34, 42, in Western art, 72, in Western literature, 74, 75, 76, 77
Tartary, 38, 59, on European maps, 225, as Scythia, 17, represented at Council of Ferrara-Florence, 52
"Tauzu" *See Tao-tzu*
Tavares, Pedro, 457, in Akbar's court, 275
"Tavaros" (a people of Halmahera), 614 n
Tavoy (Burma), 541
Tavora, Pires de, 128, 602
Tea of China, 772, 803
"Teārragei," province of Vijayanagar, 372
Teatro Olimpico (Vicenza), 700
Teive, Diogo de (Jacobus Tevius), 396
Teixeira, Domingos, 224
Teixeira, Emmanuel, 265, 327, 439, 798, attempt to enter China, 295
Teixeira, Luis, 225, 709, 710, 725
Teixeira, Manuel, 723, 797 n.
Telingāna (Telegu area of India), 372 n.
"Telingue" *See* Telingāna
Tellicherry river, 351
Telugu language, 412
"Temiragio." *See* Tirumala
Temporal, Jean, 208
Tenasserim, 60, 411 n, 519, 521, 522, 524, 525, 533, 541; customs, 525–26, products, 525, province of Siam, 525, Varthema in, 165, 166
Tendai (Japanese Buddhist sect), 670 n
"Tendaia" island (possibly Samar in the Philippines), 643
Tenreiro, António, 204 n.
Tenreiro, Francisco, 730 n.
Tenshi (central provinces of Japan), 713

Ternate island (Moluccas), 131, 592, 594, 599, 602 n, 609, 610, 615, 621, ancient name, 604, Brito in, 176, in confederation of Muslim rulers, 289, Drake at, 135, 622–23, Galvão in, 195, history, 608, Jesuits in, 619, Muslims in, 606, placement, 612, Portuguese fortress at, 289, 604, 608, 612, 617, 618, 620, 622, rulers 594–95, Spanish at, 655, vassals, 608, wars, 613, 621–22, Xavier in, 282
"Terra leucorr," 817
"Terreca" (treasury of Burma), 549
Tevius, Jacobus *See* Teive, Diogo de
Thai peoples, 524 n
Thamara, Francisco, 212
Theatrum orbis terrarum (Ortelius), 220, *224–25*
Thekkumpur (India), 443
Themudo, George, 265
Thêngâppattanam (India), 434 n
Theophylactus Simocatta depiction of China, 22
"Thin" as reference to China, 15
Thorne, Robert, 209, 213
Thuringian Company, 134
Tibet, 467, 481, 519, 825, identified as Cathay, 278, Marco Polo's knowledge of, 37, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41, products for trade, 15, 454, William of Rubruquis' knowledge of, 34
Tibetans, 454, 825
Ticon (Sumatra) sailors of Dieppe in, 178
"Ticuari" (native name of Goa), 389
Tidore island (Moluccas), 592, 595–96, 602, 608, 610, 619, 620, beliefs, 598; Brito's knowledge of, 176, houses, 598, Magellan's crew at, 116, 117, Muslims in, 606 n, Pigafetta on, 176, Portuguese fortress at, 289, 622, relations with Halmahera, 599–600, rulers, 600; Spanish in, 600
Tidore Vongue, ruler of Ternate, 608
Tigers, 515, 544
Ti-hsueh (literary chancellor in China), 671 n.
Timbuktu gold of, 52
Timor island, 467, 593, 597 n., 601, 617 n., and John of Monte Corvino, 39, 40, kings, 599, products, 599; towns, 599, trade, 599
Tin, 513, 526, 826
Tinnevelly (India), 408
Tintoretto, Venetian painter, 699
"Tippara." *See* Tippera
Tippera (India), 481, 552
"Tipperdas" *See* Tripura Dās
Tipura (India), 414
"Tiramgoto." *See* Tiruvankodu
"Tiramunigate." *See* Tiruyangad
"Tircore." *See* Trikkodi
Tiru-koyil (temple in Malabar), 356 n
Tirumala (regent of Vijayanagar), 471
T'-irūmāsam (mourning rites of Calicut), 357
Tiruvalur (India), 410, 466
Tiruvankodu (India), 353
Tiruyangad (India), 351
"Tissoury" *See Tisvadi*
Tisvadi (native name for Goa), 389 n.
Ti-tu (Chinese military official), 758 n.
Titus Livius, 73
Tiyans (caste), 366
Tokugawa Ieyasu (shogun of Japan), 654
"Toledam" (governor in Burma), 545, 547
Toledo (Spain), 692
Tolentino, Tommaso da, 40
Tolo (Celebes), 615, 620
Tolomei, Marcantonio, 695 n
Tomar (Portugal), 233, 393
Tongking (Indochina), 561
Tonle Sap ("arm of Lovek" of the Mekong river), 566
Tonos (minor lords of Japan), 714
Tordesillas, Augustin de, 750
Tordesillas, treaty of (1494), 57, 58, 116, 118, papacy confirms, 160
Toreno, Nuno Garcia de, 601 n.
Torre, Bernardo de la, 643
Torreno, Garcia de, 221
Torres, Cosmas de, 602, 603, 663, 667, 668, 674 n, 676, 677, 678, death of, 292, in Japan, 290, 291, meeting with Xavier, 281–82
Tosa (clan of Japan), 309, 713
Toscanelli, 63
"Totoc" *See Ti-tu*
"Totole" *See* Toutoli
Toungoo, 533, 539, 541, 542, 543, 547, 548 *See also* Burma
Toutoli (Celebes), 619
Toyotomi Hideoshi, 307, 654, 657, 708, 711, 717, 719, 720, 723, 724, attack on Korea and China, 304, 308; and Buddhists, 303, conquest of the Kanto, 305, conquest of Kyūshū, 304, edict of Jesuit expulsion of 1587, 303, 304–5, persecution of Christians, 308–9
Tramezzino press (Venice), 319, 674
"Tranate" *See* Ceylon
Travancore (India), 249, 353, 408, 428, 429, 432, 433, 434, 440, 443, 466; attacked by *Badagás*, 271; disorders, 434, Franciscans in, 262; as Jesuit mission station, 265, 266, languages of, 279, "Macuas" 434, Moors in, 434; St. Thomas Christians in, 231, Xavier in, 248, 265, 269, 270
Travel collections: De Bry, 216, Eden, 209, Feyerabend, 216, Hakluyt, 209, 212–15, Hulsius, 216–17, Long John of Ypres, 204; maps in, 180, 227, *Marco Polo* of Fernandes (1502), 158–59, *Novus orbis regionum. . .*, 179, 204, objectives, 217, *Paesi novamente retrovati . .*, 163–64, 204, as popular literature, 180, 215, 217, Ramusio, 204–9, as sources of

Travel collections—(*continued*)
exoticism, 217, as a stimulus to new enterprises, 180, translations of Nicholas and Frampton, 212, *Viaggi fatti alla Tana* . . , 180–81; Wilkes, 211
"Tremopatam" *See* Dharmadam
Trenganu (Siam), 524
Trent, council of, 242, 258, 269, 323, 429, jurisdiction in East, 269
Treviso (Italy), 40
Trichandur (India), 271
Trigault, Nicholas, 802
Trikkodi (India), 351
Tri-mūrti (Sanskrit for "three forms"), 439, 442
Trincomalle (India), 270, 345, Portuguese attempts to control, 273
"Trinidad" (Magellan's ship lost in the Spiceries), 115, 598
Trinidade (India), 432, language seminar at, 260
Tripura Dās, governor of Patna (India), 481
"Triquinámale" *See* Trincomalle
Tsugaru (Japan), 725
Tsung-ping (regional commander or brigadier general in China), 740, 813
Tsushima island, 721, 729
"Tuaca." *See Tuāq*
Tuaq (Sago wine), 605 n
"Tūba" *See* Tuban
Tuban (Java), 588, 589
"Tuias" *See Tiyans*
"Tundos" (Buddhist prelates of Japan), 714
Tung oil, 732
Tungabhadrā river, 374, 381
Tun-mên. *See* Lintun island
"Turcol" *See Tiru-koyil*
Turcomans, 401, 421
Turkestan products for trade, 15
Turkey capture of Constantinople, 50, 63, decline of, 130, role in trade, 50, 99, 114, 128, and St Thomas, 25; war of 1570–73 with Venice, 130
Turkimales, 456
Turks, 401, control of Egypt, 113, invasions of Near East, 49, 113, wars with Venice, 104, 123, 133
Tursellinus, Horatio, 321, 327, 428, 429, 430
Tuscany, 694, Japanese mission in, 694–95
Tu-t'ang (inspector-general or viceroy in China), 740, 758, 813
Tuticorin (India), 408, 428, Franciscan mission stations at, 235, Jesuits in, 271
Typhoons, 476, 720

Udayagiri (mountain chain south of the Krishna river in India), 372 n, 409, 411 n.
"Udigirmele." *See* Udayagiri
Ujjain (India), 480
Ulhasser island, 616
Ulloa, Alfonso, 189, 192
Unicorn, 569 n
Union of Tomar, 299, European reaction to, 135
Union of Utrecht, 131
Upanishads Plotinus' use of, 18
Upeh (Malacca), 514
"Upi" *See* Upeh
Upper India· definition, 4, Odoric of Pordenone's use of term, 40
Urbino, 81
Urdaneta, Andrés de, 184, 580, 590, 599, 600, 601, 639, 640, 643 n, in Loaisa's expedition, 119, in Spanish missionary effort, 297
Urfa and St. Thomas, 25, Uzbeks at, 453

Vaibico (Timor), 599
Vaipokkotta (India) Jesuit mission station at, 265, 267, 268
Valencia, 316, 429, printing in, 183
Valignano, Alessandro, 242, 302, 306, 308, 323, 325, 329, 683, 686, 689, 698, 704, 705, 708, 711, 719 n, 724, 726, 728, 800, 809, accommodation policy, 262, 294, 300, admiration for Japanese culture, 280, 685–86, and *Annual Letters*, 318, on Asian peoples, 258–59, 827, biography, 255, Cabral disciplined, 293–94, on China, 803, death, 257, diplomatic mission to Japan of 1591, 305, education, 259, on Hindu temples, 280, his *Historia*, 257, 325, 693, 706, influence of, 803, instructions regarding Japanese mission to Europe, 690–91, in Japan, 293–94, on Jesuit letters, 261, 293, 318; as Jesuit Visitor, 255, 263, 271, lack of understanding for Hinduism, 280, on language study, 259, 260, 261, 279, in Macao, 296, 799, 800, and military crusade against China, 300, mission methods, 261, 262, project for papal embassy to China, 302, 801, as Provincial of India, 1583–88, 261, reform of Japan mission, 294; relations with Philip II, 261; on relations with seculars, 259, on Salsette martyrs, 446, and Sanchez, 299, sources of his writings, 802, *Summaria* as historical sources, 257, 686, *Summarium* of 1577, 256, *Summarium* of 1580, 256, *Summarium* of 1583, 256, travels, 256–57 *See also* Fróis, Luis, Japan, Jesuit letters, Society of Jesus
Vallerepattanam (India), 350
Valori, Baccio, 476
"Van-Svi." *See Wan-sui-yeh*
Varanasi Kataka (royal camp in India), 473 n.
"Varanura" *See* Seram island
Varella (Burmese for "temple"), 554
Vargas Machuca, Gregorio, 310, 311
"Varodna." *See* Baroda

Varthema, Ludovico di, 64, *164–66*, 179, 337, 340, 395, 410, 411, 413, 419 n , 495, 506, 512, 520, 525, 540, 573, 574, 576, 579, 580, 588, 591, 593, 611, 623, on Chaul, 385, credibility, 165, on Dabhul, 386, Eden's translation of, 211, 212, in Pegu, 547, on southeast Asia, 494, 503, on Spiceries, 593–94, travels, 164–65, on Vijayanagar, 370
Vasconcelos, Jorgé de, 152
Vatican library, 437 n , 777 n , 803
Vaz, Antonio, 617, 618
Vaz, Miguel, 239, 248, 283, 428, in Japan, 291
Vaz Dourado, Fernão, 224, 225, 710, 720, 818
Vedabha Sataka, 77
Veer, Gerrit de, 489 n.
Vega, Christoval de mission to Akbar, 276
Vega, Emanuel in delegation to Vijayanagar, 274
Velasco, D Juan Fernández de, 791, 792
Velho, Alvaro, 531 n
Velho, Bartolomeu, 224, 723, 818, 819
Vella (white ceremonial cloth of the Zamorins), 354 n
Vellore (India), 466
Veloso, Diogo, 309, 310, 311, 312, 569
"Vendanao" (Mindanao itself or Magindanao in present-day Cotabato province), 640
Venduruthi (India) Jesuit mission station at, 265
"Veniaga." *See* Lintun island
Venice, 20, 35, 38, 41, 47, 57, 59, 69, 79, 95, 99, 123, 316, 549, 744, apparition of St. Mark, 699, copyright to Pigafetta, 175, copyrights on travel literature, 180 n , Germans at, 95, 138, Japanese mission in, 698–99, knowledge of in Asia, 158, as middleman, 20, 171, notarial archives, 468 n., overland expeditions to India, 180–81, pepper imports, 139–40, pepper prices, 98, 107, 138, 143, 144, population, 100, 665 n , and porcelain, 82, printing in, 149, 674–75, and publication of *Viaggi fatti alla Tana*, 180, reaction to Portuguese direct trade with India, 104–7, relations with Egypt, 106, 112, relations with Spain, 136, revival of, 140; Rialto, 44, 119, St. Marks, 699; and spice monopoly, 20, 44, 45, 49, 50, 91, 103, 107, 113–14, 133, spices in, 99, 106, 119, 122, 124, 125, 129, 141, trade, 53, 54, 63, 64, 65, 102, 104, 105, 112, 123, 129, 138, war of 1498–1503 with Turkey, 99, 104, 105, 106, war of 1570–73 with Turkey, 130, 133
Venkāta II, ruler of Vijayanagar, 466
Vergil on silk production, 15
Verona, 700
Verrazano, Giovanni attempt to find northern passage, 177
Verteas (Jains), 459, 460 n., 464
Vervins, peace of (1598), 140
Vesconti, Pietro, 66
Vespucci, Amerigo, 161
Vettuvans (caste), 367
Vézelay cathedral of, 30
Viaggi fatti alla Tana , 180, 181, 206, 337, 494, 573
"Viçaya" (Mindanao), 640, 641
Vicente, Ruy, 256
Vicenza, 40, 700
"Victoria" (first ship to circumnavigate the globe), 116, 171, 173, 177, 598, 599, 601, 636 n , 639; Portugal's reaction to its return, 46, returns from its voyage, 116
Viegas, Gaspar, 602
Viegas, Vicente, 281 n
Vieira, Cristavão, 187, 734, 735, 736, 759 n.
Vieira, Francisco as head of mission in Spice Islands, 287
Vienna, 665 n ; pepper prices, 123, 129, 133, 143, 144
Vientiane (Indochina), 311
Vignére, Blaise, de, 702
Vighnanāśaka (Hindu deity), 441
Vigo, Gonçalo de, 600, 640, 641, 644 n
Vijayanagar, city of (also called "Bisinegar"), 340, 372, 374–75, "Baneanes" of, 378–79, Brahmans in, 378, Conti on, 60, history, 471, Paes and Nuniz on, 187, people, 376–77; population, 375, royal court, 376; sack of 1565, 471, Varthema in, 164, 370; wealth, 376
Vijayanagar, empire of (also called "Narsinga"), 269, 337, 341, 407, 435; administration, 375; armies, 379, 380, Barros on, 371, Ceylon as its tributary, 369, clothing, 377; control of Goa, 391, Coromandel territories, 409–11, currency, 373, diamond mines, 471, diamonds and precious stones, 374, duels, 375; elephants, 376, 380, extent, 369–70, 371–72, fauna, 373; geography, 371–72, 374, Guzman on, 466, heir apparent (*yuvarāj*), 376, history, 369–70, horse trade, 370, 373, 376; Jesuits in, 274–75, 466, jewelry, 374, justice, 375, land grants, 439, languages, 372–73; marriage practices, 376, military tactics, 380, northern frontier, 370, Orta on, 193; political divisions, 372–73, ports, 369, Portuguese sources on, 370–71, products, 373, religions, 377, revenues, 374, revolts, 466, 471, Salvador in, 233, 370, social classes, 377–79, temples, 377, trade, 373, women, 379
Vijrakurur (India), 374 n.
Vila de Conde, João de, 272–73
"Vilacem." *See* Wellassea
Vilela, Gaspar, 292, 676, 678, 680, 681, 682, 683, 720, 724, in Japan, 290, 291
Villalobos, Ruy Lopez de, 495, 602, 603, 624, 625, 642, 643, 655, survivors of fleet of, 281

Villani, Giovanni, 38
Villa-Viçosa (Portugal), 692, 701
Villegas, Pedro Ruis de, 816
Vilhers, Filippo de l'Isle Adam, 174
Vilna, 316
Vināyaka (Hindu deity), 441
Vincent of Beauvais, 42, 66, 78, 79, as transmitter of Barlaam and Josaphat legend, 27, use of *History of the Mongols*, 32
Vindhyan hills, 420
Vishnu Jesuits' knowledge of, 280
Viss (standard of weight in Burma), 545 n., 546
Viśvanātha, viceroy of Madura (India), 434
Vivero y Velasco, Rodrigo de, 665 n
Volga river, 31
"Voo" (stands for Japanese words Ō [king] or *Dai* Ō [great king]), 660 n., 661
Voragine, Jacobus de, 437 n , as transmitter of Barlaam and Josaphat legend, 27
Voyage et navigation faict par les Espaignolz es isles de Mollusques, 173 n
Vyābāri (caste), 366
Vyāsa and the authorship of *Mahabharata*, 438

Wada Koremasa, 684
Waghenaer, L J., 200
Waigeu island, 616
Wako (Japanese pirates), 654, 655, 796
"Wakwak " 652
Waldseemuller, Martin, 217, 220
Wallace, Alfred, 515 n , 594 n.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 212
Wan-li emperor (China), 754 n
Wan-sui-yeh ("Lord of Ten Thousand Years," a phrase used in addressing the Chinese emperor), 814
Wareru, dynasty of Burma, 543, 547
Warhafftige Beschreibunge aller theil der Welt, 216
Warsai (on Wiak island off New Guinea), 602 n.
Wats (Buddhist temples), 532
Wedas (a people of "Moro"), 614
Weissenburger, Johann, 161
Wellassea (Ceylon), 345
Welsers, 108, 109, 110, 114, 121, 122, 137, 138, 139, 159, 162
West Africa Ramusio's use of Barros' information on, 190
West Indies: Linschoten's account of, 202
Wheeler, John, 126
Wiak island (northwest of New Guinea), 602 n
Wicki, Josef, 322, 431
Willes, Richard, 215, 324, 748, editor Eden's *Decades of the newe worlde*, 211–12
William IV, duke of Hesse, 195
William of Rubruquis, 42, 78, observations on Asia, 33–34
Wolfe, John, 202
Wurzburg, 429 n

"Xá Nasaradim " *See* Julāl-ud-Din
"Xabandar" (Persian, *shāh-bândar*, or "king of the port"), 512, 583
"Xanadu." *See* Shang-tu
"Xaqua " *See* Shakyamuni
"Xaquem Darxa " *See* Sikandar Shah
Xavier, Francis, 128, 257, 329, 464, 534, 563, 602, 604 n , 613, his admiration of Japanese, 284, in Amboina, 281–82, 285, 609, as Apostolic Nuncio, 246, apotheosis, 326–27, his attempt to enter China, 284–85, 668, 794, baptism of king of Maldives, 265, biography, 245 n , 285, 326–28, his brief catechism, 247, 249, canonization, 285, 326, 327, 428, on Cathay, 467, on China, 282–83, 284, 795, circulation of his letters in Europe, 428–29, 674, in Cochin, 283, death, 284–85, 794, in East Indies, 285, evaluation, 285, extant letters of, 429, on Fishery Coast, 269, his "gift of tongues," 669 n , in Goa, 672, as head of the Jesuit College at Goa, 252, interest in Japan, 283, 284, and Islam, 247, 282, in Japan, 285, 663–68, 794, and Japanese youths, 667, 668, 672, in Kagoshima, 283, knowledge of Ceylon, 283, larger catechism, 249, 250, legend about, 328, letter to John III, 283, letters from Amboina, 609, letters from India, 428–30, letters published in Europe, 315, 321, in Malacca, 270, 281, 282, 283, 286, 515, missionizing policies, 238, *245–50*, 285, in Miyako, 284, 667–68, in Moro islands, 282; as official emissary of Viceroy of India, 668, principal letter from Japan, 664–66, 674, as Provincial of India, 254; in Quilon, 269–70, relations with Yajirō, 660, and reports on India from Martim Affonso de Sousa, 272, situation upon his arrival in Goa, 262, on Spiceries, 609–12, in Ternate, 282, in Travancore, 265, 269; travels, 248, 663, types of letters, 248, Valignano compared to, 261, visit to Paravans, 236, 269 *See also* Jesuit letters, Society of Jesus, Valignano, Alessandro
Xavier, Jerome, 329, 453, on Akbar, 463, mission to Akbar, 277, 278; religious ideas, 463; translation of Christian works into Persian, 279
"Xenxi " *See Zen-shū*
"Xequiam " *See* Shakyamuni
"Xercansur." *See* Sher Khan Sur
"Xetay." *See* Cathay
Ximenes, André, 139
"Xiritoles " *See Juru-tulis*
"Xodoxius." *See Jōdō-shū*
"Xulas." *See* Sulu Islands

Yajirō (or Paul of the Holy Faith), 283, 657, 662, 663, 664, 666, 667, 670 n , 675, 680, 683, 723, 727, on Japan, 660–63, relations with Xavier, 660
Yakata (a title for "ruler" in Japan), 712
Yāla (Ceylon), 344
Yamabushi (hermits of the Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism), 661 n., 662 n , 716
Yamagawa (Japan), 657, 658
Yamaguchi (Japan), 667, 668, 671, 677, 678, 680, 704 n , Jesuits in, 290, 291
Yangtze river, 819, cartography of, 223, Mandeville on, 79, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41
Yatis (Jain monks of Gujarat), 459
Yellow River, 783 n , 817, 819, Mandeville on, 79, Odoric of Pordenone on, 41
Yellow Sea, 819
Yemen as intermediary, 13, revolts in, 130
Yezo (or the Hokkaidō), 729, 825, Ainu people of, 723–24, arms, 724, 725, customs, 724, 725; on European maps, 224, 723, 724, 725, geography, 724, language, 724, location, 723–24, name, 723, 724–25, relationship to Japan, 724, 725, trade, 724, 725
Yogarāj Tilaka (a dialogue in the Marāthi language), 280
Yogis, 344, 398 n , 441, 444, 461, 831, Barbosa on, 419, beliefs, 419, 449, 465, and Christian mission, 250, converts, 442; doctrine of patanjali, 18, European knowledge of 18, 280; Greeks on, 18, 449, as hermits, 442, influence, at, Lahore, 464–65, as mendicants, 442; migration from Hindustan, 419, organization, 449, relations with Portuguese, 243, 419
Yokoseura (Japan), 683, Torres in, 291
Yu the Great (legendary founder of the Hsia dynasty of China), 783
Yunnan, province of China, 35, 739 n., 767 n , 819
Yūsuf 'Ādil Khan, ruler of Bijapur (India), 391

"Zaba" island, 507
Zamboanga Peninsula (Mindanao), 637, 638, 642
Zamorin (captain of the sea or ruler of Calicut), 98, 155, 166, 231, army, 358, caste affiliation, 353–54 n., children, 355, court personnel, 358, described by Castanheda, 354–55, funeral rites, 356–57, palace, 353, powers, 349, revenues, 351, succession, 356, 357–58; suzerain of Cochin, 352. *See also* Calicut
Zanetti, Roman publisher, 321, 675
Zasu (leading bonzes of Hiei-zan in Japan), 677
Zayton. *See* Ch'uan-chou
Zeeland: trade of, 199
Zen-shū (Japanese Buddhist sect), 661 n., 665, 715
"Zimpogu " *See* Japan
Zoroaster Mani's treatment of, 19
"Zuba." *See* Cebu
Zumárraga, Juan de, 745
Zwingli, Ulrich, 122